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ACCOUNTS AND PAPERS:

THIRTY-SIX VOLUMES.

—*(35.)*—

STATE PAPERS.

SYRIA.

Session

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THIRTY-SIX VOLUMES:—CONTENTS OF THE

THIRTY-FIFTH VOLUME.

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CONVENTION

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN,

AUSTRIA, FRANCE, PRUSSIA, RUSSIA,

AND

TURKEY,

RESPECTING

MEASURES TO BE TAKEN FOR THE PACIFICATION OF SYRIA.

Signed at Paris, September 5, 1860.

WITH

PROTOCOLS RELATING THERETO.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1861.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

2759

Convention between Her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the Prince Regent of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the Sultan, respecting Measures to be taken for the Pacification of Syria.

Signed at Paris, September 5, 1860.

[*Ratifications exchanged at Paris, October 18, 1860.*]

SA Majesté Impériale le Sultan voulant arrêter, par des mesures promptes et efficaces, l'effusion du sang en Syrie, et témoigner de sa ferme résolution d'assurer l'ordre et la paix parmi les populations placées sous sa souveraineté ; et Leurs Majestés la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, l'Empereur d'Autriche, l'Empereur des Français, Son Altesse Royale le Prince Régent de Prusse, et Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, ayant offert leur co-opération active, que Sa Majesté le Sultan a acceptée ;

Leurs dites Majestés et Son Altesse Royale ont résolu de conclure une Convention à cet effet, et ont nommé pour leurs Plénipotentiaires, savoir :

Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, le Très Honorable Henri Richard Charles Comte Cowley, Vicomte Dangan, Baron Cowley, Pair du Royaume Uni, Membre du Conseil Privé de Sa Majesté Britannique, Chevalier Grand-Croix du Très Honorable Ordre du Bain, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire et Plénipotentiaire de Sa dite Majesté près Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français ;

Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, M. Richard Prince de Metternich-Winneburg, Duc de Portella, Comte de Königswart, Grand d'Espagne de première classe, Grand-Croix de l'Ordre Royal d'Albert de Saxe et de l'Ordre Ducal d'Ernest de Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Grand Officier de l'Ordre Royal de Léopold de Belgique, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, Chevalier Honoraire de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Malte, Chambellan actuel de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique, son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire près Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français ;

Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français, M. Edouard Antoine Thouvenel, Sénateur de l'Empire, Grand-Croix de l'Ordre Impérial de la Légion d'Honneur, Grand-Croix de l'Ordre Impérial de la Couronne de Fer d'Autriche, de l'Ordre Impérial de St. Alexandre Newski de Russie, décoré de l'Ordre Impérial du Medjidié de première classe, &c., &c., &c., Son Ministre et Secrétaire d'Etat au Département des Affaires Etrangères ;

Son Altesse Royale le Prince Régent de Prusse, M. le Prince Henri VII de Reuss-Schleiz-Köstritz, Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal de l'Aigle Rouge de quatrième classe, de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem de Prusse, &c., &c., &c., Son Chargé d'Affaires par interim à Paris ;

Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, M. le Comte Paul de Kisséleff, son Aide-de-camp général, Général d'Infanterie, Membre du Conseil de l'Empire, Chevalier des Ordres de Russie, décoré du double portrait en brillants des Empereurs Nicolas I et Alexandre II, Grand-Croix de l'Ordre Impérial de la Légion d'Honneur, ayant le portrait du Sultan en diamants, &c., &c., &c., Son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire et Plénipotentiaire près Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français ;

Et Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Ottomans, Ahmed Vefik Efendi, décoré de l'Ordre Impérial du Medjidié de deuxième classe, &c., &c., &c., Son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire près Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français ;

Lesquels, après s'être communiqué leurs pleins pouvoirs, trouvés en bonne et due forme, sont convenus des Articles suivants :—

ARTICLE I.

Un corps de troupes Européennes, qui pourra être porté à douze mille hommes, sera dirigé en Syrie pour contribuer au rétablissement de la tranquillité.

ARTICLE II.

Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français consent à fournir immédiatement la moitié de ce corps de troupes. S'il devenait nécessaire d'élever son effectif au chiffre stipulé dans l'Article précédent, les Hautes Puissances s'entendraient sans retard avec la Porte, par la voie diplomatique ordinaire, sur la désignation de celles d'entre elles qui auraient à y pourvoir.

ARTICLE III.

Le Commandant-en-chef de l'expédition entrera, à son arrivée, en communication avec le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Porte, afin de combiner toutes les mesures exigées par les circonstances, et de prendre les positions qu'il y aura lieu d'occuper pour remplir l'objet du présent Acte.

ARTICLE IV.

Leurs Majestés la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, l'Empereur d'Autriche, l'Empereur des Français, Son Altesse Royale le Prince Régent de Prusse, et Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, promettent d'entretenir les forces navales suffisantes pour concourir au succès des efforts communs par le rétablissement de la tranquillité sur le littoral de la Syrie.

ARTICLE V.

Les Hautes Parties, convaincues que ce délai sera suffisant pour atteindre le but de pacification qu'elles ont en vue, fixent à six mois la durée de l'occupation des troupes Européennes en Syrie.

ARTICLE VI.

La Sublime Porte s'engage à faciliter, autant qu'il dépendra d'elle, la subsistance et l'approvisionnement du corps expéditionnaire.

ARTICLE VII.

La présente Convention sera ratifiée, et les ratifications en seront échangées à Paris, dans le délai de cinq semaines, ou plus tôt si faire se peut.

En foi de quoi, les Plénipotentiaires respectifs l'ont signée et y ont apposé le sceau de leurs armes.

Fait à Paris, le 5 Septembre, 1860.

(L.S.) COWLEY.
(L.S.) METTERNICH.
(L.S.) E. THOUVENEL.
(L.S.) REUSS.
(L.S.) KISSELEFF.
(L.S.) AHMED VEFYK.

(Translation.)

HIS Imperial Majesty the Sultan wishing to stop, by prompt and efficacious measures, the effusion of blood in Syria, and to show his firm resolution to establish order and peace amongst the populations placed under his sovereignty; and their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Prussia, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, having offered their active co-operation, which His Majesty the Sultan has accepted;

Their said Majesties and His Royal Highness have resolved to conclude a Convention to that effect, and have named for their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Henry Richard Charles Earl Cowley, Viscount Dangan, Baron Cowley, a Peer of the United Kingdom, Member of the Privy Council of Her Britannic Majesty, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Her said Majesty to His Majesty the Emperor of the French;

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, Richard Prince of Metternich-Winneburg, Duke of Portella, Count of Königswart, a Grandee of Spain of the first class, Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Albert of Saxony, and of the Ducal Order of Ernest of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Grand Officer of the Royal Order of Leopold of Belgium, Knight of the Legion of Honour, Honorary Knight of the Order of St. John of Malta, Actual Chamberlain of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, His Ambassador Extraordinary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French;

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, M. Edward Anthony Thouvenel, a Senator of the Empire, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Iron Crown of Austria, of the Imperial Order of St. Alexander Newski of Russia, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidie of the first class, &c., &c., &c., his Minister and Secretary of State for the Department of Foreign Affairs;

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Prussia, the Prince Henry VII of Reuss-Schleiz-Köstritz, Knight of the Royal Order of the Red Eagle of the fourth class, of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem of Prussia, &c., &c., &c., His Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* at Paris;

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Count Paul de Kisséleff, his Aide-de-Camp General, General of Infantry, Member of the Council of the Empire, Knight of the Orders of Russia, decorated with the double portrait in brilliants of the Emperors Nicholas I and Alexander II, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, having the portrait of the Sultan in diamonds, &c., &c., &c., His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French;

And His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, Ahmed Vefik Effendi, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidie of the second class, &c., &c., &c., His Ambassador Extraordinary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French;

Who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

A body of European troops, which may be increased to twelve thousand men, shall be sent to Syria to contribute towards the re-establishment of tranquillity.

ARTICLE II.

His Majesty the Emperor of the French agrees to furnish, immediately, the half of this body of troops. If it should become necessary to raise its effective force to the number stipulated in the preceding Article, the High Powers would come to an understanding with the Porte without delay, by the ordinary course of diplomacy, upon the designation of those among them who would have to provide it.

ARTICLE III.

The Commander-in-chief of the expedition will, on his arrival, enter into communication with the Commissioner Extraordinary of the Porte, in order to concert all the

measures required by circumstances, and to take up the positions which there may be occasion to occupy in order to fulfil the object of the present Convention.

ARTICLE IV.

Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Prussia, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, promise to maintain sufficient naval forces to contribute towards the success of the common efforts by the re-establishment of tranquillity on the coast of Syria.

ARTICLE V.

The High Parties, convinced that such a period will be sufficient to attain the object of pacification which they have in view, fix at six months the duration of the occupation of the European troops in Syria.

ARTICLE VI.

The Sublime Porte undertakes to facilitate, as far as lies in her power, the furnishing supplies and provisions for the expeditionary corps.

ARTICLE VII.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Paris within five weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed it, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 5th of September, 1860.

(L.S.) COWLEY.
(L.S.) METTERNICH.
(L.S.) E. THOUVENEL.
(L.S.) REUSS.
(L.S.) KISSELEFF.
(L.S.) AHMED VEFYK.

PROTOCOLS

RELATING TO THE PRECEDING TREATY.

Protocole d'une Conférence tenue au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, le 3 Août, 1860.

SA Majesté Impériale le Sultan voulant arrêter, par des mesures promptes et efficaces, l'effusion du sang en Syrie, et témoigner de sa ferme résolution d'assurer l'ordre et la paix parmi les populations placées sous sa souveraineté ; et Leurs Majestés la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, l'Empereur d'Autriche, l'Empereur des Français, Son Altesse Royale le Prince Régent de Prusse, et Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, ayant offert leur co-opération active, que Sa Majesté le Sultan a acceptée ; les Représentants de Leurs dites Majestés et de Son Altesse Royale sont tombés d'accord sur les Articles suivants :—

[*Here follow Articles I to VI, as above.*]

Il est entendu que les six Articles précédents seront textuellement convertis en une Convention qui recevra les signatures des Représentants soussignés, aussitôt qu'ils seront munis des pleins pouvoirs de Leurs Souverains, mais que les stipulations de ce Protocole entreront immédiatement en vigueur.

M. le Chargé d'Affaires de Prusse toutefois fait observer que la distribution actuelle des bâtiments de guerre Prussiens peut ne pas permettre à son Gouvernement de co-opérer dès à présent à l'exécution de l'Article IV.

Fait à Paris, le 3 Août, 1860, en six expéditions.

(L.S.) COWLEY.
(L.S.) METTERNICH.
(L.S.) THOUVENEL.
(L.S.) REUSS.
(L.S.) KISSELEFF.
(L.S.) AHMED VEFYK.

(Translation.)

Protocol of a Conference held at the Department of Foreign Affairs, August 3, 1860.

HIS Imperial Majesty the Sultan wishing to stop, by prompt and efficacious measures, the effusion of blood in Syria, and to show his firm resolution to establish order and peace amongst the populations placed under his sovereignty ; and their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Prussia, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, having offered their active co-operation, which His Majesty the Sultan has accepted ; the Representatives of their said Majesties and of His Royal Highness have agreed upon the following Articles :—

[*Here follow Articles I to VI, as above.*]

It is understood that the six preceding Articles shall be embodied *verbatim* into a Convention, which shall receive the signatures of the undersigned Representatives, as soon as they are furnished with full powers from their Sovereigns, but that the stipulations of this Protocol will come immediately into force.

The Chargé d'Affaires of Prussia, however, points out that the present distribution of the Prussian ships of war may possibly not permit his Government to co-operate at present in the execution of Article IV.

Done, in sextuplicate, at Paris, the 3rd of August, 1860.

(L.S.) COWLEY.
(L.S.) METTERNICH.
(L.S.) THOUVENEL.
(L.S.) REUSS.
(L.S.) KISSELEFF.
(L.S.) AHMED VEFYK.

Protocole d'une Conférence tenue au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, le 3 Août, 1860.

LES Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne, de l'Autriche, de la France, de la Prusse, de la Russie, et de la Turquie, désirant établir, conformément aux intentions de leurs Cours respectives, le véritable caractère du concours prêté à la Sublime Porte, aux termes du Protocole signé ce même jour, les sentiments qui leur ont dicté les clauses de cet Acte, et leur entier désintéressement, déclarent de la manière la plus formelle que les Puissances Contractantes n'entendent poursuivre, ni ne poursuivront, dans l'exécution de leurs engagements, aucun avantage territorial, aucune influence exclusive, ni aucune concession touchant le commerce de leurs sujets, et qui ne pourrait être accordée aux sujets de toutes les autres nations.

Néanmoins, ils ne peuvent s'empêcher, en rappelant ici les Actes émanés de Sa Majesté le Sultan, dont l'Article IX du Traité du 30 Mars, 1856, a constaté la haute valeur, d'exprimer le prix que leurs Cours respectives attachent à ce que, conformément aux promesses solennelles de la Sublime Porte, il soit adopté des mesures administratives sérieuses pour l'amélioration du sort des populations Chrétiennes de tout rite dans l'Empire Ottoman.

Le Plénipotentiaire de Turquie prend acte de cette déclaration des Représentants des Hautes Puissances, et se charge de la transmettre à sa Cour, en faisant observer que la Sublime Porte a employé, et continuera à employer, ses efforts dans le sens du vœu exprimé ci-dessus.

Fait à Paris, le 3 Août, 1860, en six expéditions.

(L.S.) COWLEY.
(L.S.) METTERNICH.
(L.S.) THOUVENEL.
(L.S.) REUSS.
(L.S.) KISSELEFF.
(L.S.) AHMED VEFYK.

(Translation.)

Protocol of a Conference held at the Department of Foreign Affairs, August 3, 1860.

THE Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Turkey, desirous of establishing, in conformity with the intentions of their respective Courts, the true character of the assistance afforded to the Sublime Porte by the provisions of the Protocol signed this day, the feelings which have dictated the clauses of this Act, and their perfect disinterestedness; declare in the most formal manner, that the Contracting Powers do not intend to seek for, and will not seek for, in the execution of their engagements, any territorial advantages, any exclusive influence, or any concession with regard to the commerce of their subjects, such as could not be granted to the subjects of all other nations.

Nevertheless, in recalling here the Acts issued by His Majesty the Sultan, the great importance of which was established by Article IX of the Treaty of the 30th of March, 1856, they cannot refrain from expressing the value which their respective Courts attach to the fulfilment of the solemn promises of the Sublime Porte, that serious administrative measures should be taken to ameliorate the condition of the Christian population, of every creed, in the Ottoman Empire.

The Plenipotentiary of Turkey takes note of this declaration of the Representatives of the High Powers, and undertakes to transmit it to his Court; pointing out that the Sublime Porte has employed, and will continue to employ, her efforts in the sense of the wish expressed above.

Done, in sextuplicate, at Paris, the 3rd of August, 1860.

(L.S.) COWLEY.
(L.S.) METTERNICH.
(L.S.) THOUVENEL.
(L.S.) REUSS.
(L.S.) KISSELEFF.
(L.S.) AHMED VEFYK.

SYRIA.

CONVENTION between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Turkey, respecting Measures to be taken for the Pacification of Syria.

Signed at Paris, September 5, 1860.

With PROTOCOLS relating thereto.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1861.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

11

CONVENTION

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN,

AUSTRIA, FRANCE, PRUSSIA, RUSSIA,

AND

TURKEY,

PROLONGING THE OCCUPATION OF SYRIA

TO JUNE 5, 1861.

Signed at Paris, March 19, 1861.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1861.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

9835 /

Convention between Her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the Sultan, prolonging the Occupation of Syria to June 5, 1861.

Signed at Paris, March 19, 1861.

[*Ratifications exchanged at Paris, May* 18, 1861.]

LEURS Majestés la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, l'Empereur d'Autriche, l'Empereur des Français, le Roi de Prusse, l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et l'Empereur des Ottomans, après les explications échangées entre leurs Gouvernements respectifs, s'étant entendus pour modifier, d'un commun accord, la Convention conclue entre eux le 5 Septembre dernier, ont nommé à cet effet pour leurs Plénipotentiaires, savoir :—

Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, le Très Honorable Henri Richard Charles Comte Cowley, Son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire et Plénipotentiaire près Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français, &c., &c., &c. ;

Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, M. Richard Prince de Metternich-Winneburg, Son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire près Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français, &c., &c., &c. ;

Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français, M. Edouard Antoine Thouvenel, Son Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat au Département des Affaires Etrangères, &c., &c., &c. ;

Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, M. Albert Alexandre Comte de Pourtalés, Son Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire près Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français, &c., &c., &c. ;

Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, M. Paul Comte de Kisséleff, Son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire et Plénipotentiaire près Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français, &c., &c., &c. ;

Et Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Ottomans, Ahmed Vefyk Efendi, Son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire près Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français, &c., &c., &c. ;

Lesquels, après s'être communiqué leurs pleins pouvoirs, trouvés en bonne et due forme, sont convenus des Articles suivants :—

ARTICLE I.

La durée de l'occupation Européenne en Syrie sera prolongée jusqu'au 5 Juin de la présente année, époque à laquelle il est entendu entre les Hautes Parties Contractantes qu'elle aura atteint son terme, et que l'évacuation aura été effectuée.

ARTICLE II.

Les stipulations contenues dans le deuxième Article de la Convention du 5 Septembre, 1860, en tant qu'elles n'ont point encore été exécutées, ou qu'elles ne sont pas modifiées par la présente Convention, demeureront en vigueur pendant la période qui s'écoulera entre la date de la signature de cet Acte, et le 5 Juin de l'année courante.

ARTICLE III.

La présente Convention sera ratifiée, et les ratifications en seront échangées à Paris dans le délai de cinq semaines, ou plus tôt si faire se peut.

En foi de quoi, les Plénipotentiaires respectifs l'ont signée, et y ont apposé le sceau de leurs armes.

Fait à Paris, le 19 Mars, 1861.

(L.S.) COWLEY.
(L.S.) METTERNICH.
(L.S.) THOUVENEL.
(L.S.) A. POURTALES.
(L.S.) KISSELEFF.
(L.S.) AHMED VEFYK.

(Translation.)

THEIR Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the Emperor of the Ottomans, having, after the exchange of explanations between their respective Governments, agreed to modify, by common consent, the Convention concluded between them on the 5th of September last, have for that purpose named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Henry Richard Charles Earl Cowley, Her Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French, &c., &c., &c.;

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, M. Richard Prince of Metternich-Winneburg, His Ambassador Extraordinary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French, &c., &c., &c.;

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, M. Edward Anthony Thouvenel, His Minister and Secretary of State for the Department of Foreign Affairs, &c., &c., &c.;

His Majesty the King of Prussia, M. Albert Alexander Count de Pourtalés, His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French, &c., &c., &c.;

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, M. Paul Count de Kisséleff, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French, &c., &c., &c.;

And His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, Ahmed Vefyk Effendi, His Ambassador Extraordinary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French, &c., &c., &c.;

Who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

The duration of the European occupation in Syria shall be prolonged until the 5th of June of the present year, at which date it is understood between the High Contracting Parties that it shall have reached its term, and that the evacuation shall have been effected.

ARTICLE II

The stipulations contained in the second Article of the Convention of the 5th of September, 1860, in so far as they have not yet been executed, or as they are not modified by the present Convention, shall continue in force during the period which will elapse between the date of the signature of the present Act and the 5th of June of the present year.

ARTICLE III.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Paris in five weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 19th of March, 1861.

(L.S.)	COWLEY.
(L.S.)	METTERNICH.
(L.S.)	THOUVENEL.
(L.S.)	A. POURTALES.
(L.S.)	KISSELEFF.
(L.S.)	AHMED VEFYK.

SYRIA.

CONVENTION between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Turkey, prolonging the Occupation of Syria to June 5, 1861.

Signed at Paris, March 19, 1861.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1861.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

17

CORRESPONDENCE

RELATING TO THE

AFFAIRS OF SYRIA.

1860—61.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1861.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

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Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Syria: 1860–61.

No. 1.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received July* 6.)

(Extract.) *Paris, July* 5, 1860.

I RECEIVED this morning a note from M. Thouvenel, requesting to see me as soon as possible, as the mail from Syria had brought him very afflicting intelligence.

On waiting on his Excellency, he read me various reports which had reached him from Damascus and Beyrout, varying in date from the 16th to the 21st ultimo, giving accounts of the massacres and horrors which the Christian population of the Lebanon, and more particularly the inhabitants of Hasbeya and Zahlé, had undergone at the hands of the Druses and Bedouin Arabs, under the eyes of the Turkish Authorities, without any protection from, if not with the connivance of, the latter.

As the Consuls of the Five Powers at Beyrout seem to have acted in complete accord, your Lordship will no doubt have received information direct from thence. The reports which have reached the French Government appear to be founded on information given by fugitive Christians alone. It is to be hoped, therefore, that there may be some exaggeration in them. Still, if but a tenth part be true, enough has occurred to excite universal reprobation, while the inability of the Turkish Authorities to maintain order and tranquillity is clearly shown in the Minutes of the proceedings of the Consular Body at Beyrout.

M. Thouvenel was much moved while reading these reports to me. He said that it would be impossible to leave matters in this state in Syria; that when the horrible treatment to which the Christian populations had been exposed came to be known, there would be but one cry of indignation in France. Neither sex nor age had been spared; priests, women, and children, had been indiscriminately slain; the convents had been plundered, and the Sovereign Authority being impotent, or unwilling to act, there was no saying what the next intelligence might bring. The arrangement of 1845 ought not to be considered a dead-letter, and authorized the interference of Europe. It might be impossible for either France or England to send troops to restore order; but no doubt their ships-of-war would be able to protect their Consular Officers, and such of their subjects as resided on the coast; but this would not be sufficient. Might not a Commission from the Five Powers be sent into the disturbed districts; and if it was found that the Porte was unable to furnish the force necessary to restore order, might not the Sultan be invited to ask for troops from the Viceroy of Egypt.

I said that I felt sure that Her Majesty's Government would deplore, as much as could the Imperial Government, the horrible excesses and atrocities which had been committed, and would be most ready to join with the Imperial Government in taking measures to insure an efficient protection of the Christian

inhabitants of the Lebanon, and a better administration of the Government of Syria. But that I must add, not however with a wish of palliating the conduct either of the Turkish Authorities or of the Druses, that it was Sir H. Bulwer's opinion that the latter had received considerable provocation from the Maronites. With respect to the measures to be taken, I could not, I said, venture to give an opinion. It was to be hoped that the reinforcements which it was known had been sent from Constantinople, would be found sufficient to restore order and tranquillity, and it was to be presumed, that if any benefit could be hoped from the presence of a Commission named by the Five Powers, the Representatives at Constantinople would already have taken the step of sending one.

M. Thouvenel replied, that he had inquired, by telegraph, of the Marquis de Lavalette, whether any intelligence of these events had reached Constantinople, and, if so, what measures had been taken by the Representatives of the Five Powers? His Excellency said, that it was to be apprehended that, in the present penury of the Turkish Treasury, the Porte would be unable to send such reinforcements as would be necessary; he considered those already sent would prove insufficient.

It appears, from the French reports, that a further consequence of these atrocities will be a scarcity, from the destruction or non-cultivation of the crops. The fugitives who have escaped the massacres are in a state of the greatest destitution, and are supported by rations and money given by the French Consular Agents.

M. Thouvenel will send to London copies of the reports which he has received.

No. 2.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, July* 6, 1860.

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government will press on the Porte the necessity of using the utmost efforts to repress the disturbances in Syria.

A British squadron will be sent to the coast of Syria, and, if necessary, Marines will be landed.

No. 3.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 10.)

(Extract.) *Paris, July* 9, 1860.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 6th instant, stating that Her Majesty's Government would direct a squadron to be sent to the coast of Syria, and Marines to be landed, if necessary, I have the honour to state that M. Thouvenel seems satisfied at the decision taken by the Porte to send Fuad Pasha, with extraordinary powers, to that country.

The French Government have also directed two men-of-war to proceed to the coast of Syria.

The instructions to the Officers commanding enjoin them to endeavour to act in concert with the men-of-war of any other nation with which they may meet.

No. 4.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 10, 1860.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the course which you have followed with regard to the disastrous state of things in Syria.

The first and most important object is to put an end to bloodshed and the destruction of property, and to restore tranquillity and order in that province; and you will, in concert with the Representatives at Constantinople of the other Great Powers, continue to press the Porte to make every exertion and take every measure to put an end to the present deplorable state of affairs there.

Her Majesty's Government, on the 9th instant, directed the Vice-Admiral commanding Her Majesty's Naval Forces in the Mediterranean to proceed forthwith to the coast of Syria, and have ordered him to act with Her Majesty's Consuls in affording protection to the lives and property of Christians; and in execution of this duty to land the marines from the ships under his command, if such a measure should be necessary.

Her Majesty's Government understand that the French Government has also sent ships of war to the Syrian coast with a similar object.

I have further to inform your Excellency, that Her Majesty's Government are in communication with the other Powers of Europe on the subject of the outbreak in Syria.

You will communicate to the Porte so much of this despatch as will be sufficient to evince the importance which Her Majesty's Government attach to the preservation of life on the coast of Syria, and their intention to co-operate with other Powers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 5.

Lord J. Russell to Mr. Erskine.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, July* 12, 1860.

IN reply to Prince Gortchakoff's inquiry as to what measures are contemplated by Her Majesty's Government in regard to the disturbances in Syria I have to instruct you to state to his Excellency, that for the present Her Majesty's Government propose to assist the Turkish Government in protecting British subjects and Christians residing on the coast from massacre.

By this means we trust that Fuad Pasha may be relieved from the necessity of opposing the Druses on the coast, and may be enabled at once to send succour to Damascus, where the lives of all Christians, and amongst them of Her Majesty's Consul and other British subjects, are in imminent danger.

Measures for the general and permanent pacification of Syria must be settled at Constantinople by the Representatives of the Great Powers.

No. 6.

M. Thouvenel to Count Persigny.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by Count Persigny, July 17)

M. le Comte, *Paris, le* 16 *Juillet*, 1860.

LES événements qui viennent de se passer dans le Liban ont, comme nous devions nous y attendre, profondément ému l'opinion et tous les Cabinets ont compris qu'ils leur créaient des devoirs. Tous se sont empressés de fournir à leurs Agents sur les lieux les moyens en leur pouvoir pour protéger les populations Chrétiennes, et il est à espérer que ces moyens, combinés avec l'envoi des

troupes Ottomanes mises à la disposition de Fuad Pacha, suffiront pour arrêter au moins l'effusion du sang. Mais, après de pareilles scènes et une semblable perturbation dans tous les rapports, il ne suffit pas, pour satisfaire aux principes de justice et d'ordre et pour rétablir un état de choses durable, de comprimer l'insurrection et d'obliger les Druses à déposer les armes. La situation exige des mesures propres, à la fois, à réparer d'effroyables calamités et à en prévenir le retour.

Dans cette seconde partie de la tâche, les Puissances, M. le Comte, me paraissent avoir un rôle tracé d'avance par les antécédents de la question. Les contestations entre les Maronites et les Druses, bien qu'elles n'aient point encore peut-être présenté un tel caractère d'acharnement et pris des proportions aussi fâcheuses, ont déjà, à diverses époques, occupé les Cabinets ; et l'arrangement de 1845, destiné à régler le régime administratif dans le Liban, est le résultat d'un accord conclu entre eux et la Porte. Cet arrangement se trouve aujourd'hui méconnu par les Druses ; et les Puissances qui en avaient arrêté les conditions et les termes avec le Gouvernement Ottoman sont, par cela même, naturellement appelées à examiner de concert avec lui, les causes auxquelles il convient d'en attribuer la violation, ainsi que les dispositions qu'il peut y avoir lieu d'y substituer. La Porte n'a jamais fait difficulté d'admettre les bons offices de la diplomatie dans les conflits qui ont successivement éclaté entre les populations du Liban, et l'accord que nous jugeons indispensable ne constituerait nullement une innovation ou une acte d'intervention dont on aurait à redouter l'effet pour la considération ou l'indépendance de la Turquie. Il serait conforme aux précédents, et l'on n'y pourrait voir qu'une conséquence logique d'une entente antérieure, à laquelle la Porte elle-même a prêté les mains, et qu'elle doit désirer de maintenir parcequ'elle y trouvera un moyen de donner à de nouveaux arrangements toute l'autorité nécessaire.

Pour se former une idée exacte des faits accomplis et des nécessités de la situation, la voie à suivre me semble indiquée par la nature des choses. Les Puissances ne seraient pas suffisamment éclairées sur les difficultés et les besoins dont il faut tenir compte, si l'on ne procédait par voie d'examen sur les lieux, et d'enquête collective. Le Gouvernement de l'Empereur jugerait donc utile l'institution d'une Commission formée de Délégués des Puissances et de la Porte. Cette Commission serait envoyée dans le Liban pour rechercher les circonstances qui ont provoqué les derniers conflits, déterminer la part de responsabilité des chefs de l'insurrection et des agents de l'administration locale, ainsi que les réparations dues aux victimes, et enfin, étudier, pour les soumettre à l'approbation de leurs Gouvernements et de la Porte, les dispositions qui pourraient être adoptées en vue de conjurer de nouveaux malheurs.

Si, comme l'accord qui s'est établi spontanément dans les appréciations de toutes les Cours à la nouvelle des massacres du Liban me donne lieu de l'espérer, elles approuvaient cette idée, elles auraient entre les mains tous les éléments nécessaires pour concerter avec la Porte un arrangement qui, résultant d'un examen approfondi et réunissant une adhésion unanime, offrirait toutes les chances possibles de durée.

C'est donc avec confiance, M. le Comte, que je vous invite à faire part de cette proposition au Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique : j'adresse la même communication aux Cours de St. Pétersbourg, de Vienne, et de Berlin. De tous temps la sollicitude de la France s'est exercée dans le Liban. C'est une tradition que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté ne saurait répudier. Elle nous imposait le devoir d'accomplir cette démarche auprès des Puissances. Toutefois, en prenant l'initiative dans les circonstances présentes, nous ne sommes dirigés par aucune vue particulière, ni par le désir préconçu de poursuivre en faveur de l'une des deux populations entre lesquelles le conflit s'est élevé aucun avantage exclusif. Nous ne nous proposons d'autre objet que de concourir avec les Puissances, et au même titre, dans l'intérêt de la paix de l'Orient, à rétablir le calme et l'ordre sur un point où ils ne peuvent être troublés sans la mettre sérieusement en danger.

Vous voudrez bien donner lecture de cette dépêche à Lord John Russell et lui en remettre copie.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) THOUVENEL.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte, *Paris, July* 16, 1860.

THE events which have lately taken place in the Lebanon have, as might be expected, caused a profound emotion, and all the Cabinets have recognized that they have created duties for them. All have hastened to furnish to their Agents on the spot the means in their power for the protection of the Christian populations, and it is to be hoped that these measures, combined with the despatch of the Ottoman troops placed at the disposal of Fuad Pasha, will suffice at least to stop the effusion of blood. But after such scenes and such a complete derangement of affairs, it is not sufficient, in order to satisfy the principles of justice, and order, and to establish a durable state of things, to suppress the insurrection, and to oblige the Druses to lay down their arms. The situation requires measures calculated, at the same time, to repair frightful calamities and to prevent their recurrence.

In this second part of their task, the Powers, M. le Comte, appear to me to have a course already traced out for them by the antecedents of the question. The disputes between the Maronites and the Druses, although perhaps they may never before have presented a character of such animosity, and assumed such dangerous proportions, have already at various times occupied the Cabinets; and the arrangement of 1845, intended to regulate the administrative Government of the Lebanon, is the result of an agreement concluded between them and the Porte. This arrangement is now set at naught by the Druses; and the Powers, who settled its conditions and terms with the Ottoman Government, are, for this very reason, naturally called upon to examine, in concert with it, the causes to which its violation should be attributed, as well as the arrangements which there may be occasion to substitute for it. The Porte has never made any difficulty about admitting the good offices of diplomacy in the conflicts which have successively broken out among the populations of the Lebanon, and the co-operation which we consider indispensable would in no way constitute an innovation or an act of intervention, the effect of which might be dreaded upon the position or the independence of Turkey. It would be in accordance with precedents, and nothing could be seen in it but a logical consequence of an anterior understanding, to which the Porte itself lent a hand, and which it should desire to maintain because it would find therein a means of giving to new arrangements all the necessary authority.

To form a correct idea of past occurrences and the necessities of the situation, the course to follow appears to me to be indicated by the nature of things. The Powers would not be sufficiently enlightened upon the difficulties and the requirements of which account must be taken, unless they proceeded by means of an examination on the spot and of a collective inquiry. The Government of the Emperor would therefore consider expedient the institution of a Commission composed of delegates of the Powers and of the Porte. This Commission should be sent into the Lebanon to ascertain the circumstances which have brought about the late conflicts, to determine the share of responsibility of the Chiefs of the insurrection and of the Agents of the local administration, as well as the compensation due to the victims, and lastly to study, for the purpose of submitting them to the approbation of their Governments and of the Porte, the arrangements which should be adopted with the view of averting fresh misfortunes.

If, as the harmony which was spontaneously established in the views of all the Courts at the news of the massacres in the Lebanon gives reason to hope, they should approve of this idea, they would have in their hands all the elements necessary to concert with the Porte an arrangement which, resulting from a profound examination and embracing an unanimous adhesion, would offer every possible chance of duration.

It is, therefore, with confidence, M. le Comte, that I request you to make known this proposition to the Principal Secretary of State of Her Britannic Majesty. I address a similar communication to the Courts of St. Petersburg, Vienna and Berlin. The interest of France has at all times been shown in the Lebanon. It is a tradition which the Government of His Majesty could not depart from. It has imposed upon us the duty of adopting this course towards the Powers. At the same time, in taking the initiative under

present circumstances, we are not actuated by any personal motive, nor by the preconceived desire of obtaining, in favour of one of the two populations between whom the conflict has arisen, any exclusive advantage. We propose to ourselves no other object than to co-operate with the Powers, by an equality of right, in the interest of the peace of the East, to re-establish tranquillity and order on such a basis as cannot be disturbed without placing it seriously in danger.

You will have the goodness to read this despatch to Lord John Russell, and to give him a copy of it.

Receive, &c.
Signed) THOUVENEL.

No. 7.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 17, 1860.

THE French Government are desirous of proposing to the Turkish Government that a Commission of Delegates from the Porte and from the Great Powers should be sent to the Lebanon, for the purpose of investigating the circumstances attending the recent acts of violence which have been committed in that district.

This Commission would have for its object to determine the responsibility of all persons concerned in those proceedings; to consider what compensation or punishment may be due, and finally to submit to the Sultan their opinion upon the measures best calculated to prevent further calamities.

Her Majesty's Government agree to this proposal, and I have accordingly to instruct you to give it your support. I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 8.

Mr. Erskine to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 18.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, July* 11, 1860.

I HAD the honour late last night to receive your Lordship's telegram, directing me to apprize the Russian Government that a British squadron was about to visit the coast of Syria, in consequence of the recent massacre of Christians in that province.

This morning I went down to Peterhoff, where Prince Gortchakoff is now in attendance on the Emperor, and informed his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government were ready to concert measures with the Government of Russia for the protection of their respective subjects and the Christian population in those parts.

Prince Gortchakoff promised to take the Emperor's orders upon this subject, and desired me to say to your Lordship that he had no doubt the Imperial Government would willingly assent to your Lordship's proposal to act in concert. It would, however, be desirable that he should be placed in possession of your Lordship's views without delay, as to the course it would be desirable to follow. For his own part, he was afraid that the harm was already done, and that any intervention of the Allied Powers would come too late to be of much use to the unfortunate Christians in Syria.

No. 9.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 18.)

(Extract.) *Paris, July* 17, 1860.

YOUR Lordship will probably have received, before this despatch reaches you, communication of a despatch addressed yesterday by M. Thouvenel to M. de Persigny, on the subject of the present state of affairs in the Lebanon. A

similar despatch has been transmitted to the Courts of the other Great Powers. The object of it is to propose that a Mixed Commission should be sent into the Lebanon, with a view of restoring tranquillity, inquiring into the origin of the late excesses, and punishing the authors of it.

When M. Thouvenel's despatch was written, the disastrous news from Damascus, which has since reached this Government, and which I had the honour to transmit to your Lordship this morning, by telegraph, had not arrived.

I saw M. Thouvenel this afternoon. He had just returned from St. Cloud, where he had been in consequence of the fresh intelligence to which I have adverted. He said that he had had a long conversation with the Emperor on this subject, and that both felt that the state of affairs in Syria required a more active intervention on the part of Europe. Public opinion would not brook the continued supineness of Europe in presence of such disasters. It was clear that the Porte had no authority left, and that the whole country was in a state of anarchy.

I asked M. Thouvenel whether he had any particular plan to propose. He replied that there was no plan which could be proposed which would not be fairly open to some objection or other. He intimated, however, the opinion that foreign troops might be sent and disembarked at different points along the coast of the disturbed districts. It would not be difficult for England, Austria, and France, to send detachments for that purpose.

I remarked that we ought well to weigh the consequences of such a proceeding.

M. Thouvenel repeated that no proposal which could be made could be free from all objection. He meant, of course, that the consent of the Powers should be asked before any occupation of Turkish soil should take place. He considered that the very fact of disembarking a few troops would strike terror into the aggressors, and restore confidence to the Christian populations.

No. 10.

Mr. Erskine to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received July* 20.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, July* 14, 1860.

ON my communicating to Prince Gortchakoff the substance of your Lordship's telegram of the 12th instant, stating that for the present Her Majesty's Government merely contemplated protecting British subjects and the Christians on the coast of Syria, and that more permanent measures of pacification must be concerted at Constantinople, his Excellency desired me to acquaint your Lordship that he would willingly send instructions in this sense to the Russian Envoy in Turkey. The officer in command of the only Russian vessel of war on the coast of Syria would, he added, be prepared to co-operate, if necessary, with the British naval force, without any fresh orders from hence, but he also should be directed to consult with the officer in command of Her Majesty's squadron as to the best mode of affording protection to the European residents and Christians.

Prince Gortchakoff, however, again urged me to give him some more definite notion as to the character of the "further and permanent measures" which Her Majesty's Government had in view. I replied, that it was probably as difficult for your Lordship as it would be for his Excellency to determine at this distance what remedy would be most applicable to a state of things which was constantly varying, and with which you could be but imperfectly acquainted, and that it was quite obvious that what Her Majesty's Government proposed was, that the Representatives of the Great Powers at Constantinople should endeavour to devise some scheme for the pacification of Syria, which would, if necessary, be submitted for approval to their respective Governments.

Prince Gortchakoff then agreed to authorize Prince Lobanoff to confer with his colleagues as desired by your Lordship.

No. 11.

M. Thouvenel to Count Persigny.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by Count Persigny, July 20.)

M. le Comte, *Paris, le 17 Juillet*, 1860.

L'AMBASSADEUR de l'Empereur à Constantinople m'a adressé au sujet des évènements de Damas, la dépêche télégraphique ci-jointe qui confirme celle dont M. le Ministre de la Marine m'avait fait connaître la substance. Ainsi se sont réalisées pour cette ville les craintes dont je vous entretenais il y a déjà quelques jours. Cette guerre impitoyable faite aux Chrétiens prend des proportions dont il devient difficile de prévoir l'étendu, et les Cabinets ne répondraient point aux justes exigences de l'opinion publique s'ils n'adoptaient, autant qu'il dépend d'eux, toutes les mesures propres à arrêter le progrès de ces scènes de carnage. La Porte semble avoir elle-même un juste sentiment de cette situation. J'en trouve la preuve dans une lettre que le Sultan a adressé à Sa Majesté Impériale, et que ce Souverain a fait communiquer à M. le Ministre De Lavalette pour être transmise par le télégraphe. Je joins également ici la copie de ce message, et vous verrez que le Sultan a dû écrire dans des termes analogues à Sa Majesté Britannique.

Toutefois il n'est pas moins nécessaire d'agir avec autant de promptitude que d'énergie, et comme il y a malheureusement lieu de craindre que les moyens d'action de la Porte ne répondent pas à ses intentions, je doute qu'elle pût satisfaire aux nécessités d'une situation si grave si les Puissances ne s'entendaient pour lui venir en aide.

L'ordre donné aux Commandants des escadres de mettre leurs équipages à la disposition des Consuls ne peut pas permettre d'atteindre l'insurrection dans son foyer, au sein du Liban, ni surtout dans les villes de l'intérieur qu'elle a déjà envahies ou qu'elle menace. Un corps de troupes mis à portée d'agir selon les circonstances serait seul en mesure de suffire à cette tâche. A tous les points de vue, il pourrait exercer une heureuse influence, non seulement à raison du concours éventuel qu'il prêterait aux troupes Turques, mais par l'autorité morale que sa seule présence, en rassurant les populations, ne manquerait pas d'avoir sur l'attitude et la conduite des fonctionnaires Ottomans eux-mêmes.

Cette combinaison, d'ailleurs, ne pourrait recevoir son exécution que de concert avec la Porte, et il serait en outre essentiel qu'elle fût le résultat d'un accord évident des Cinq Cours. L'intervention serait ainsi collective dans son principe, et les troupes Européennes, envoyées dans des vues communes, ne feraient, en quelque sorte, que remplir une délégation des Puissances.

Si le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique entrait dans cet ordre d'idées, il serait sans doute possible de concerter, sans retard, une entente avec les autres Cabinets et la Porte, et d'aviser aux moyens les plus prompts d'obtenir les satisfactions dues à l'humanité, et de concourir au rétablissement de la paix en Syrie.

Ce résultat, M. le Comte, serait important, non pas seulement pour la conscience publique et pour les Chrétiens, mais aussi pour la Porte, qui, dans l'état de crise où se trouvent son administration et ses finances, ne supporterait pas longtemps sans péril l'épreuve d'une insurrection aussi étendue à comprimer. C'est une considération qui n'échappera pas à la prévoyance du Cabinet Anglais. Quant à nous, nous pensons qu'une combinaison de la nature de celle sur laquelle je viens de vous exprimer notre manière de voir, peut être adoptée avec avantage. Je ne m'en dissimule pas les inconvénients, mais l'abstention en aurait assurément de beaucoup plus grands en présence des complications qui menacent de surgir.

Je vous prie de faire part à Lord John Russell de l'opinion du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté et d'en conférer avec lui. En raison de l'urgence, qui n'est que trop attestée par les événements, je vous serai obligé de me faire savoir le plus tôt possible ce que le Cabinet Anglais pense à ce sujet et quelles sont ses intentions.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) THOUVENEL.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte, *Paris, July* 17, 1860.

THE Ambassador of the Emperor at Constantinople has addressed to me, on the subject of the events of Damascus, the annexed telegraphic despatch, which confirms the one the substance of which the Minister of Marine had communicated to me. Thus, with regard to this town, the fears have been realized which I expressed to you some days since. This pitiless war, made on the Christians, assumes proportions the extent of which it is difficult to foresee, and the Cabinets would not meet the just requirements of public opinion, if they did not adopt, as far as depends on them, all the measures adapted to arrest the progress of those scenes of carnage. The Porte itself appears to have a just appreciation of this situation. I find the proof of this in a letter which the Sultan has addressed to His Imperial Majesty, and which that Sovereign has caused to be communicated to his Minister M. de Lavalette, to be transmitted by telegraph. I likewise transmit herewith a copy of that message, and you will see that the Sultan must have written to Her Britannic Majesty in analogous terms.

It is not, however, the less necessary to act with as much promptitude as energy; and as, unhappily, there is reason to fear that the means of action of the Porte do not correspond with her intentions, I doubt her power to satisfy the necessities of a situation of such gravity unless the Powers should arrive at an understanding to come to her assistance.

The order given to the Commanders of the squadrons to place their crews at the disposal of the Consuls would not admit of the insurrection being reached in its focus, in the heart of the Lebanon, nor, above all, in the towns of the interior, which it has already invaded, or which it threatens. A body of troops held ready to act according to circumstances would alone be capable of fulfilling that task. From all points of view, it would exercise a beneficial influence, not only by reason of the contingent aid which it would lend to the Turkish troops, but by the moral authority which its presence alone, by reassuring the populations, would not fail to have upon the attitude and conduct of the Ottoman functionaries themselves.

This combination, moreover, could not be carried into execution except in concert with the Porte; and it would further be essential that it should be the result of an evident agreement of the Five Courts. The intervention would thus be collective in principle, and the European troops, sent with common objects, would only, as it were, execute a commission intrusted to them by the Powers.

If the Government of Her Britannic Majesty should enter into these views, it would be, doubtless, possible to concert, without delay, an understanding with the other Cabinets and the Porte, and to consult as to the most prompt means of obtaining the satisfaction due to humanity, and of assisting in the re-establishment of peace in Syria.

This result, M. le Comte, would be important, not only as regards the public conscience and the Christians, but also as regards the Porte, who, in the present critical state of her administration and her finances, could not long support without peril the test of an insurrection too extensive to suppress. This is a consideration which will not escape the foresight of the English Cabinet. As for us, we think that a combination of the nature of that respecting which I have just expressed to you our views, may be adopted with advantage. I do not conceal from myself the disadvantages of it; but its rejection would assuredly have much greater in face of the complications which threaten to arise.

I beg you to communicate to Lord John Russell the opinion of His Majesty's Government, and to confer with him respecting it. In consequence of the urgency of the case, which is but too clearly shown by events, I shall be obliged to you if you will inform me, as soon as possible, what is the opinion of the English Cabinet on this subject, and what are its intentions.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) THOUVENEL.

No. 12.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received July* 20.)

My Lord, *Paris, July* 19, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Moniteur" of this day, a letter which the Sultan has addressed by telegraph to the Emperor of the French, on the subject of the late events in Syria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure in No. 12.

The Sultan to the Emperor of the French.

Palais de Dolma-Badjé, le 16 *Juillet,* 1860.

JE tiens à ce que votre Majesté sache bien avec quelle douleur j'ai appris les événements de Syrie. Qu'elle soit convaincue que j'emploierai toutes mes forces pour y rétablir l'ordre et la sécurité, punir sévérement les coupables, quels qu'ils soient, et rendre justice à tous. Pour qu'il ne puisse y avoir aucun doute sur les intentions de mon Gouvernement, c'est à mon Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, dont les principes sont connus de votre Majesté, que j'ai voulu confier cette importante mission.

(Translation.)

Palace of Dolma-Badjé, July 16, 1860.

I AM anxious that your Majesty should know well with what grief I have heard of the events in Syria. Let your Majesty be convinced that I shall employ all means in my power to re-establish order and security here, to punish severely the guilty, whoever they may be, and render justice to all. In order that there may be no doubt about the intentions of my Government, I have confided this important mission to my Minister for Foreign Affairs, whose principles are known to your Majesty.

No. 13.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received July* 20.)

My Lord, *Paris, July* 19, 1860.

YOUR Lordship will, no doubt, have received from Her Majesty's Consular Officers in Syria detailed accounts of the horrible events which have been passing there. M. Thouvenel read to me this afternoon the reports which had just reached him, and which recount a series of events, the atrocity of which is only to be equalled by the perfidy and treachery which marked the proceedings of the perpetrators.

The connivance of the Turkish Authorities and soldiers in the massacres of the Christians can hardly be doubted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 14.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received July* 20.)

(Extract.) *Paris, July* 19, 1860.

I CALLED on M. Thouvenel this afternoon, with the intention of communicating to him the substance of your Lordship's telegram of 8·30 P.M. yesterday, stating that Her Majesty's Government will not object to the landing of French or Austrian troops in Syria, if necessary, according to the terms of a Convention to be agreed upon between the Porte and the Allied Powers; that Her Majesty's Government would not furnish British troops, but would have a strong force of Marines on the coast.

I found that M. Thouvenel was already, through M. de Persigny, in possession of the opinions of Her Majesty's Government, M. de Persigny represents your Lordship to have approved the notion of send ng French troops to Syria, and to have said that they might be sent while the Convention was negotiating.

On the receipt last evening of M. de Persigny's telegram, announcing this, M. Thouvenel addressed a telegram simultaneously to the Governments of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and the Porte, mentioning the communications which had passed between Paris and London, and asking the assent of those Governments to the conclusion of a Convention by their respective Representatives at Constantinople.

If the answer returned shall prove favourable, that is, if the different Governments accept the principle contained in the French proposals, a corps of French troops will be immediately embarked and directed on Syria.

M. Thouvenel has prepared a draft of Convention, which will be transmitted to-night to M. de Persigny for your Lordship's information. The preamble declares the intention of the Sultan to put an end to the disorders which reign in Syria, and the readiness of the Great Powers to co-operate with him for that purpose; and the Articles provide for the sending of an European force, which M. Thouvenel conceives should consist of 10,000 men, the whole of which France will furnish, if necessary; for an understanding between the commander of that force and the commander of the Turkish forces in Syria; for the co-operation of the other Powers of Europe by sea; and leaves it to a further understanding between the Porte and the Powers to establish the exact objects of the expedition, and the period when it shall be withdrawn. A final Article saddles the Porte with the expenses of the expedition, but in the present state of the Turkish finances M. Thouvenel was uncertain whether or no he would have it inserted.

No. 15.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, July* 21, 1860.

HER Majesty's Government have learnt by a telegram from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople that peace was concluded, on the 10th instant, between the Maronites and Druses.

If this information be correct, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the expedition of troops to Syria, as contemplated by the French Government, will be unnecessary; and that, therefore, if the project be not entirely abandoned, it should at least be deferred.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 16.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 21.)

My Lord, *Paris, July* 20, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Moniteur" of this day, an article stating that the Imperial Government has placed itself in communication with the other Cabinets of Europe, with regard to the measures to be undertaken in concert with them, in reference to Syria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure in No. 16.

Extract from the "Moniteur" of July 20, 1860.

EN présence des déplorables événements dont la Syrie est le théâtre, et qui causent, à si juste titre, en Europe l'émotion la plus profonde, le Gouvernement de l'Empereur a cru devoir faire connaître sans retard ses impressions aux autres Cabinets et à la Porte, et provoquer l'adoption en commun des mesures exigées par les circonstances.

(Translation.)

IN face of the deplorable events of which Syria is the theatre, and which are so justly causing the most profound emotion in Europe, the Emperor's Government has considered it its duty to communicate without delay its impressions to the other Cabinets and to the Porte, and to urge the adoption in common of the measures required by the circumstances.

No. 17.

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 23.)

My Lord, *Vienna, July 19, 1860.*

ON waiting on Count Rechberg on Monday last, his Excellency informed me that he had just received the sad intelligence of serious disturbances having occurred at Damascus, and that a dreadful massacre of the Christians in that city had taken place. His Excellency was not then informed whether these excesses had been committed by the Druses or by the Mahommedan population, or by both.

The report he had received, however, stated that the American Consul had been wounded, and that the Dutch Consul had been killed.

His Excellency expressed his indignant horror at this barbarous outrage, and his anxious desire to co-operate in any measures to arrest cruelties so revolting to the feelings of humanity.

His Excellency informed me that the Emperor had decided to send a frigate to the coast of Syria for the protection of Austrian subjects and of the Christian population; and that orders had been given to the Commander to proceed thither without delay.

His Excellency further stated, that the Austrian Commander was instructed to concert with the Commander of Her Majesty's naval forces, and to act in complete unison with him.

His Excellency expressed a desire to be informed of the instructions given by Her Majesty's Government to the Admiral in command of Her Majesty's squadron, in order that similar instructions may be addressed to the Commander of the Austrian frigate.

I beg to inclose to your Lordship herewith a translation by Mr. Dillon of the announcement in the "Donau Zeitung" (the organ of the Imperial Government), notifying the intended departure of the Austrian frigate for the coast of Syria, and the object for which it was sent.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 17.

Extract from the "Donau Zeitung."

(Translation.)

HIS Majesty's screw-frigate "Radetzky," Captain Tegethof, Commander, has received orders to sail immediately for the coast of Syria, to operate in conjunction with the ships of the Maritime Powers, for the protection of the Christian population, and in the interest of Austrian subjects. As an understanding exists among the Powers as to the object of the measures, there is reason to hope that in spite of the latest most lamentable intelligence from the Levant, the peace of Europe will not be threatened from this side.

No. 18.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 23.)

My Lord, *Paris, July 22, 1860.*

I COULD only see M. Thouvenel for a few minutes this afternoon.

I informed his Excellency that intelligence had been received on the 20th instant at Constantinople, of the conclusion of peace between the Druses and the Maronites on the 10th instant, and that your Lordship was of opinion, that if this news should prove true, the French expedition to Syria should be deferred or abandoned.

M. Thouvenel said that he was not in possession of any intelligence which would confirm the news received by your Lordship. On the contrary, the French Government were in the receipt of advices from Beyrout up to the 12th instant, which made no mention of any suspension of hostilities between the Druses and Maronites, and yet if this had occurred on the 10th, it ought to have been known at Beyrout on the 12th.

It was possible, however, that peace might have been concluded, but even should that be the case, he could not agree with your Lordship, if it was your opinion that peace would render all further intervention unnecessary.

"For in fact," asked his Excellency, "what was this peace? It would turn out to be nothing more than the submission of the Maronites to the Druses, to save themselves from further massacre. But what reparation would they have for all the losses inflicted upon them? According to the accounts received by the Imperial Government, above 10,000 Christians had perished. Was nothing to be done to prevent a repetition of such horrors?"

I said that Her Majesty's Government had consented to the Commission of Inquiry proposed by the French Government, and would, I was sure, co-operate in making its labours useful; and as the Porte had now a large force in Syria, that would probably be sufficient to preserve tranquillity during the proceedings of the Commission.

M. Thouvenel said that the presence of a Turkish force might impose a suspension of hostilities on the Christians, but that it was his conviction that no justice would be done to the latter except under the presence of a foreign force.

At all events he could say nothing on the subject until he should be better acquainted with the terms on which peace had been concluded, if indeed, it had been concluded at all.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 19.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 23.)

(Extract.) *Paris, July 22, 1860.*

WHILE I was with M. Thouvenel this afternoon, he read me a telegram dated yesterday, which he had received this morning from the French Ambassador at Constantinople.

The substance is as follows:—

That M. de Lavalette had not received M. Thouvenel's despatch, proposing a Convention between the Porte and the Great Powers for the pacification of Syria until 4 P.M. yesterday; that on the receipt of it he (M. Lavalette) had gone to Aali Pasha; that that Minister had evinced considerable emotion on hearing the contents of it; that he had said he could give no official answer without consulting his colleagues, and taking the Sultan's orders; but that it was his conviction that the landing of a foreign force in Syria would be the signal for other catastrophes.

This had been said in the presence of Sir Henry Bulwer, who had received instructions to support the sending of a Mixed Commission into Syria, but none with regard to foreign intervention.

M. Lavalette concludes his despatch by asking, "Comment entend-on sauvegarder Constantinople?" adding, that the greatest agitation prevailed there.

M. Lavalette's despatch, as is often the case with telegrams, is somewhat obscure, as to the meaning of Aali Pasha's apprehensions of further catastrophes. M. Thouvenel considers that the words apply to Constantinople, and I am disposed to give them the same meaning.

M. Thouvenel observed that he could not admit the reasoning, that because a Turkish Minister was apprehensive that if a foreign force should be landed in Syria there would be disturbances at Constantinople, the Great Powers were on that account to desist from a measure that had appeared to them necessary for the future tranquillity of that country. If such reasoning were once to be admitted, it would be put forward on every occasion when an abuse was to be corrected in Turkey. I remarked that when the French Ambassador concluded his despatch by the question which I have quoted above, it seemed to me that he partook the apprehensions entertained by Aali Pasha of there being danger of a rising at Constantinople. Now, shocking as I admitted the late proceedings in Syria had been, I could not put them in the same scale with those that might follow a fanatic insurrection at Constantinople.

Would it not be better, I asked, to delay, or even to abandon, an armed intervention in Syria, if by pursuing that course still greater calamities at Constantinople might be the consequence. First let the peace of the capital be ensured, and it would then be seen how far it would be necessary to interfere in the provinces. M. Thouvenel, however, did not seem inclined to listen to this reasoning. He argued that it was the penury of the Porte which had placed the capital in danger.

No. 20.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received July* 23.)

My Lord, *Paris, July* 22, 1860.

M. THOUVENEL informs me that although the Austrian Government does not object to the plan of an armed European intervention in Syria, yet that they are not inclined to furnish troops themselves.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 21.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received July* 23.)

My Lord, *Paris, July* 22, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Moniteur" of this day, an article stating that the propositions made by the Imperial Government with a view of preventing further effusion of blood in Syria have been favourably received by the Great Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure in No. 21.

Extract from the "Moniteur" of July 22, 1860.

LES propositions que le Gouvernement de l'Empereur a faites dans le but d'arrêter l'effusion du sang en Syrie et de protéger les populations Chrétiennes ont été accueillies par les Grandes Puissances. L'Angleterre, prête à coopérer avec ses vaisseaux, reconnaît l'opportunité de l'envoi d'un corps de troupes dont la France fournirait la totalité ou la plus grande part. L'Autriche et la Russie émettent la même opinion. Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Prusse s'est rendu auprès de Son Altesse Royale le Prince Régent pour prendre ses ordres. Une Convention doit être signée pour déterminer le caractère et l'objet de l'intervention Européenne. On n'attend plus que l'acquiescement de la Porte.

(Translation.)

THE proposals that the Government of the Emperor has made, with a view to arrest the effusion of blood in Syria, and to protect the Christian population, have been entertained by the Great Powers. England, ready to co-operate with her ships, acknowledges the expediency of the dispatch of a military force, of which France will furnish the whole or the greater part. Austria and Russia are of the same opinion. The Prussian Minister for Foreign Affairs has waited on His Royal Highness the Prince Regent to receive his orders. A Convention should be signed to determine the nature and object of the European intervention. We are waiting for nothing but the acquiescence of the Porte.

No. 22.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, July 23, 1860.*

THE accounts which have been received from Syria during the last ten days have been of the most frightful character. Besides the numbers killed in actual conflict, 5,500 persons have been the victims of massacre, and 20,000, including the widows and children of the murdered, are wandering in a state of famine through the country.

While these dreadful scenes were going on, the Turks appear to have been inactive spectators, where they were not accomplices in the work of massacre.

At Deir-el-Kamar, Osman Pasha disarmed the Christian inhabitants, and, after eight days of privation, exposed them to be shot and cut to pieces by their ferocious enemies.

The conduct of the Turks, in other places, exposes them to the suspicions of favouring the wholesale murders of the Christians.

Indignant at this want of humanity and of energy, Her Majesty's Government have received, and accepted, a proposal of the Emperor of the French to send European troops to Syria to prevent further excesses.

I inclose a copy of the despatch from M. Thouvenel to the Count de Persigny upon this subject.*

To this despatch, I replied verbally to M. de Persigny, that Her Majesty's Government would not object to an expedition of European troops to Syria, to be regulated by a Convention between the Porte and the Five Powers.

M. Persigny yesterday put into my hands a project of the proposed Convention.

It appears to Her Majesty's Government, that although the exceptional circumstances justify this expedition, yet, if the news of the next ten days or a fortnight should justify the hope that the massacres are stopped, and will not be renewed, the very hazardous attempt of endeavouring to tranquillize the country by foreign troops should not be resorted to. In that case the French troops should not embark, or should at once return.

It appears also to Her Majesty's Government that a final term should be

* No. 11.

inserted in the Convention for the evacuation of Syria by foreign troops. Six months might be the period fixed for the occupation.

If Syria is not tranquillized in that time, it will be clear that no period, however long, will suffice to reduce it to peace and order.

Another Article of the Convention requires some remark. In the present state of the finances of Turkey, there is no prospect of the repayment of the expenses of this expedition by the Porte; but an engagement to this effect will leave the Sultan under a very onerous obligation, and complicate still further the financial condition of Turkey. Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that this Article should be omitted.

I have spoken throughout this despatch of French troops only. Her Majesty has determined to send a squadron to the coast of Syria, with a power to be vested in the Admiral to land Marines, if necessary; but it is not the intention of Her Majesty to employ her land forces in the effort to prevent these massacres and restore order.

It is not probable that any other of the Great Powers will send troops to Syria.

It must be added, that the employment of foreign forces in the interior of Syria is a measure which is sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government with great reluctance. It may provoke a fiercer fanaticism among the Mussulmans and may possibly retard, instead of hastening, the pacification of Syria. It is a measure which may lead to international difficulties of a grave character.

It is on these accounts desirable that the intervention should only be undertaken when the necessity is clearly proved, and that it should cease as soon as that necessity shall no longer exist.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 23.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, July* 23, 1860.

I HAVE to call your attention to a Protocol of the 17th of September, 1840, contained in the volume of "State Papers" of 1839-40, p. 348, and of which I inclose a copy.

I wish your Excellency to consider whether a Protocol in the same sense, declaring that the Powers seek no separate advantage by their intervention in the affairs of Turkey, might not at the present time tend to reassure Europe as to the intentions of the Allied Powers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Inclosure in No. 23.

Protocol of a Conference held at London, September 17, 1840.

Présents:

Les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne, d'Autriche, de Prusse, de Russie, et de la Turquie.

LES Plénipotentiaires des Cours de la Grande Bretagne, d'Autriche, de Prusse, et de Russie, après avoir échangé les ratifications de la Convention conclue le 15 Juillet dernier, ont résolu, dans le but de placer dans son vrai jour le désintéressement qui a guidé leurs Cours dans la conclusion de cet Acte, de déclarer formellement:

Que dans l'exécution des engagements résultant de la susdite Convention pour les Puissances Contractantes, ces Puissances ne chercheront aucune augmentation de territoire, aucune influence exclusive, aucun avantage de commerce pour leurs sujets, que ceux que toute autre nation ne puissent également obtenir.

Les Plénipotentiaires des Cours susdites ont résolu de consigner cette déclaration dans le présent Protocole.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Sublime Porte Ottomane, en rendant un juste hommage à la loyauté et au désintéressement de la politique des Cours Alliées, a pris acte de la déclaration contenue dans le présent Protocole, et s'est chargé de la transmettre à sa Cour.

(Signé) PALMERSTON.
NEUMANN.
SCHLEINITZ.
BRUNNOW.
CHEKIB.

(Translation.)

Protocol of a Conference held at London, September 17, 1840.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and of Turkey.

THE Plenipotentiaries of the Courts of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, after having exchanged the ratifications of the Convention concluded on the 15th of July last, have resolved, in order to place in its true light the disinterestedness which has guided their Courts to conclude that Act, formally to declare that in the execution of the engagements incumbent upon the Contracting Powers under the above-named Convention, those Powers will not seek any increase of territory, any exclusive influence, any commercial advantage for their subjects than that which may be equally obtained by every other nation.

The Plenipotentiaries of the said Courts have determined to consign this Declaration in the present Protocol.

The Plenipotentiary of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, in rendering just credit to the fairness and disinterestedness of the policy of the Allied Courts, has taken a note of the Declaration contained in the present Protocol, and engaged to transmit it to his Court.

No. 24.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received July* 24.)

(Extract.) *Paris, July* 23, 1860.

I HAD a further conversation with M. Thouvenel this afternoon on the position of affairs in Syria. His Excellency had received despatches from M. de Persigny, stating the disinclination of Her Majesty's Government to agree any longer to the expedition of a French force to Syria, and their general disapprobation of the project of Convention to be signed between the Porte and the Great Powers in furtherance of this expedition, the outline of which I had the honour to give your Lordship in my despatch of the 19th instant,* and which M. de Persigny afterwards communicated to your Lordship *in extenso*.

It is M. Thouvenel's intention to address an instruction in answer to M. de Persigny. It will, I believe, be very much in the language which his Excellency held to me yesterday, and which I had the honour to report to your Lordship in my despatch of the 22nd instant, but his Excellency in the remarks which he made to me to-day, said that Her Majesty's Government should recollect that it was not until the attack had been made on Damascus, that he had proposed an armed expedition to Syria, and that even if peace had been made between the Druses and the Maronites, of which he was still ignorant, there was no certainty that the massacre of the Christians had not been consummated at Damascus, and extended to Orfa, Aleppo, and other places. France, his Excellency continued, would be perfectly justified in asking and enforcing reparation for the plunder of the French Consul's house at Damascus, and for the sack of the Latin Convents in the Lebanon, which had been since

* No. 14.

the time of St. Louis under the protection of France, but she had no wish to act single-handed in any question arising in the East, and had given a proof of it in the course which she had now taken.

M. Thouvenel said further that he should desire M. de Persigny to inquire what steps Her Majesty's Government proposed should be adopted. He could not conceive it possible that they should advocate a policy of abstention (" une politique d'abstention") in face of such grave events.

No. 25.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 24.)

(Extract.) *Paris, July 23, 1860.*

A REPORT having reached me that several thousand Minié rifles had been distributed among the Maronites, I mentioned this to M. Thouvenel this afternoon.

M. Thouvenel said, that it was well known that arms had been introduced in large quantities lately into Syria, that they were both of French and of British manufacture, and that they were sold openly in Beyrout, both to Druses and Maronites.

His Excellency added that he had more than once, while at Constantinople, spoken to Sir Henry Bulwer on this sign of a renewal of the old warfare between these inimical tribes.

Talking of the commencement of the late strife, M. Thouvenel said, that it was very likely that the Maronites had been instigated by certain of their priests to commence the fray, by asserting a sovereignty over the Mixed districts. It might be so, and he had no wish that the truth should be concealed, and that the authors of these terrible scenes should not be punished. But be this as it might, the indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children, went beyond the pale of legitimate defence, while the attack on Zahlé and Damascus, the Christian inhabitants of which were Greeks, and not Maronites, showed that it was not defence but slaughter which was intended. He had received, as far back as the month of March, intelligence that Achmet Pacha, the Governor of Damascus, had planned the entire destruction of the Christians at Zahlé and Deir-el-Kamar, but the plot seemed to him too hideous to be true, and no notice had been taken of the information. His Excellency then sent for and read me a despatch from the French Consul-General at Beyrout, dated the 28th March last, in which Count Bentivoglio mentions having been made acquainted with Achmet Pacha's plans. A copy of this despatch has been sent to M. de Persigny, for your Lordship's information. The contents of it are certainly curious. If the crime can be brought home to Achmet Pacha, there is no punishment of which he is not deserving.

No. 26.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July 24, 1860.*

I INFORMED you by my telegram of the 19th instant, that a proposal had been made by the French Government that European troops should be sent to Syria; that this measure should be carried into effect in concert with the Great Powers and the Porte; and that Her Majesty's Government had assented to it.

I stated at the same time that the object of this expedition should be defined by a Convention, which should also provide for the retirement of the European troops so soon as that object had been attained.

I have now to acquaint you that the orders which had been given for the embarkation of French troops for Syria have been suspended in consequence of the intelligence that hostilities between the Druses and the Maronites had ceased.

The Sultan, however, should lose no time in consulting the Great Powers in regard to the terms of a Convention such as I have alluded to above, as steps must be taken for the complete pacification of Syria, and for effectually guarding against future massacres.

The French Ambassador has communicated to me a project of Convention, as amendments to which Her Majesty's Government have proposed that the period during which European troops should remain in Syria should be limited to six months, and that the expenses of the expedition should not be borne by the Sultan.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 27.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 26.)

(Extract.) *Paris, July 24, 1860.*

ON the receipt this morning of your Lordship's despatch of yesterday's date, stating what had passed between yourself and M. de Persigny, relative to the proposal made by the French Government, that European troops should be sent to Syria, and informing me, that while Her Majesty's Government gave their assent to this proposal with reluctance, they were of opinion that the expedition should not be carried into effect if the news received by your Lordship, that tranquillity had been restored, should prove correct, I waited upon M. Thouvenel, and communicated to him the general views of Her Majesty's Government.

M. Thouvenel was much relieved by this clear statement, for his Excellency had been led to believe that Her Majesty's Government had withdrawn, or were about to withdraw, their consent to the expedition. I showed M. Thouvenel that this was not the case, but that Her Majesty's Government advised great deliberation and caution in proceeding to so exceptional a measure.

Her Majesty's Government, I said, had shown their desire to meet the wishes of France, whenever the necessity of armed intervention in Syria should be clearly shown, and it was not too much to ask, in return, that in presence of the difficulties, and even of the danger of such intervention, it should not be lightly undertaken.

I did not obtain any positive answer from M. Thouvenel.

His Excellency had not then received the official answer of the Russian and Prussian Governments to the proposal of intervention, neither had any reply come from the Porte to the proposal for the signature of a Convention.

His Excellency seemed to wish that there should be a meeting between the Representatives of the Five Powers, and the Representative of the Porte, to discuss the terms of the Convention.

I observed that, although your Lordship had expressed certain opinions with regard to those terms, I had imagined that it was intended by the French Government that the Convention should be concluded at Constantinople.

His Excellency, however, said that he had proposed to the Powers, and to the Porte, that it should be concluded at Paris. I should be glad to be furnished with your Lordship's instructions on this point.

With regard to the Convention, M. Thouvenel is quite ready to abandon the Article imposing the expense of the expedition on the Porte, which his Excellency states was only inserted with the intention of making it appear that the French Government were not conferring an obligation on the Porte, and I do not imagine, if negotiations go further, that M. Thouvenel will refuse to insert a clause in the Convention limiting the number of troops to be employed, and fixing the period of occupation.

No. 28.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received July* 26.)

(Extract.) *Paris, July* 25, 1860.

I RECEIVED late yesterday evening a note from M. Thouvenel, saying that he was in possession of disastrous news, dated the 23rd instant, from Constantinople, of the state of affairs at Damascus as late as the 12th instant.

At that moment 10,000 persons who had taken refuge in the quarter inhabited by Abd-el-Kader expected to be hourly attacked and massacred by the Mussulman population, excited by the Turkish Authorities themselves. M. Thouvenel added that he had sent a copy of M. de Lavalette's despatch to London, and that in presence of the facts which it related, he hoped that Her Majesty's Government would not ask for any further delay in the departure of troops to Syria.

His Excellency went on to say that he intended to convoke a meeting of Representatives of the Five Powers and of the Porte for this day in order to examine the project of Convention; that the Representatives of Austria, Russia, and Prussia were fully authorized to assist at it; that he hoped that I was in the same position; and that M. de Lavalette's despatch gave him the right to suppose that the Turkish Ambassador would receive instructions in the course of the night.

I replied to M. Thouvenel that I had no authority from your Lordship to attend any meeting for the purpose of considering the terms of the Convention; but that I had asked for instructions by telegraph. If I should receive no answer from your Lordship before the hour for which the meeting was convened should arrive, I would take upon myself to attend, but simply for the purpose of listening to what his Excellency had to propose. In a subsequent communication, I qualified my first letter so far as to say that it was to be understood that, pending instructions from your Lordship, I could not attend a conference on Turkish affairs unless the Representative of the Porte should be present. I hope that your Lordship will approve the course I have taken.

M. Thouvenel had fixed to see me this afternoon on other matters, and when I went to his office I found that he had suspended the intention of summoning the meeting which he had announced to me, until I could inform him of the decision of Her Majesty's Government. He said that the object of the meeting would be to sign the Convention respecting the foreign troops, and that it was not intended to touch upon any other question.

His Excellency then proceeded to read to me the telegrams which he had received from M. de Lavalette. The upshot of them is that Achmet Effendi, the Turkish Ambassador, will be authorized to attend a Conference; that he will be instructed to protest in the first instance against the employment of foreign troops in Syria; but to admit of it if he shall find that it is the general wish of the Five Powers that he should do so.

No. 29.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received July* 26.)

(Extract.) *Paris, July* 25, 1860

M. THOUVENEL read me this afternoon the replies which he had received from Vienna and Berlin to his proposal of sending troops to Syria. They are both affirmative of the project.

No. 30.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received July 26.*)

(Extract.) *Paris, July 25, 1860.*

I INQUIRED this afternoon of M. Thouvenel what was the amount of force the Emperor proposed sending to Syria. His Excellency replied, 6,800 men. They were to be commanded, his Excellency said, by General Beaufort, an officer who knew every inch of the country, as he had been attached to the Head-Quarters of Ibrahim Pasha, when the latter occupied Syria.

No. 31.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received July 27.*)

(Extract.) *Paris, July 26, 1860.*

ON the receipt, yesterday, of your Lordship's telegram, I informed M. Thouvenel that I was authorized to attend the meeting of the Representatives of the Five Powers and of the Porte with a view of discussing the conditions of the Convention which the Imperial Government was desirous of concluding between the said Powers and the Sultan, having for its object the occupation of Syria by an European force.

M. Thouvenel in consequence convoked a meeting of the above-mentioned Representatives for 3 o'clock this day.

His Excellency after briefly alluding to late events in Syria said, that he had requested the Representatives of the Great Powers and of the Porte to meet him in Conference, in order that he might communicate to them the project of a Convention which he was desirous should be concluded between the said Powers and the Porte, and which would permit of the employment of European troops to aid in restoring tranquillity in Syria. He believed that all the Representatives present, including the Turkish Ambassador, had been authorized to take part in this Conference. He begged to state further, that the document which he submitted for our consideration was only to be considered in the light of a project, that he had himself introduced modifications into it since it was first drawn up, and that he was quite ready to listen to any amendments or alterations which might be proposed by others.

The Turkish Ambassador said, that although he should make no objection to the Convention being read, yet that it was impossible for him to enter upon any discussion of the question of foreign intervention in Syria—

1st. Because he had no instructions from his Government upon the subject; and,

2ndly. Because, even if he had been in possession of those instructions, he could not discuss a Convention of such importance without previous examination and a full consideration of all its stipulations.

His Excellency further observed, that he did not understand on what ground it was proposed to send foreign troops to Syria, there being already a sufficient force from the Sultan's army to restore and maintain tranquillity in that country.

A desultory conversation ensued which, as might be expected, led to no result, and I then proposed that the French Representative should furnish each of us with a copy of the amended project of Convention, and as we must ourselves have time to consider the amendments, that we should adjourn until the Turkish Ambassador should be in possession of his instructions. This course was assented to, it appearing that my colleagues of Austria, Prussia, and Russia were also without instructions, although they were hourly expecting them.

M. Thouvenel stated that the French Ambassador at Constantinople had informed him that instructions to the Turkish Ambassador were to have been sent by telegraph last night. Under these circumstances the Conference, it is expected, will meet again on Saturday.

No. 32.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received July* 27.)

(Extract.) *Paris, July* 26, 1860.

THE Russian Ambassador has induced M. Thouvenel to put forward a general declaration to be inserted in a Protocol, relative to the protection of Christians in Turkey by the Powers of Europe.

No. 33.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received July* 27.)

(Extract.) *Paris, July* 26, 1860.

I SPOKE yesterday to M. Thouvenel upon the propriety, with reference to the possibility of European interference in Syria, of the signature by the Great Powers of a Protocol analogous in sense to that signed on the 17th September, 1840, to which your Lordship's despatch of the 23rd instant* relates. M. Thouvenel at once adopted the idea.

No. 34.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received July* 28.)

My Lord, *Therapia, July* 17, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of a telegram which His Imperial Majesty the Sultan addressed yesterday to Her Majesty the Queen, expressing his deep sorrow at the deplorable state of affairs in Syria, and announcing the measures His Imperial Majesty had taken to restore order and punish the guilty.

His Majesty's autograph signature is affixed to the inclosed transcript.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure in No. 34.

The Sultan to Her Majesty the Queen.

(Traduction.)

(Télégraphique.) *Palais de Dolma-Badjé, le* 16 *Juillet,* 1860.

JE tiens à ce que votre Majesté sache bien avec quelle douleur j'ai appris les événements de Syrie. Qu'elle soit convaincue que j'emploierai toutes mes forces pour y rétablir l'ordre et la sécurité, punir sévèrement les coupables quels qu'ils soient, et rendre justice à tous. Pour qu'il ne puisse y avoir aucun doute sur les intentions de mon Gouvernement, c'est à mon Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, dont les principes sont connus du Gouvernement de votre Majesté, que j'ai voulu confier cette importante mission.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.) *Palace of Dolma-Badjé, July* 16, 1860.

I AM anxious that your Majesty should know well with what grief I have heard of the events in Syria. Let Your Majesty be convinced that I shall employ all means in my power to re-establish order and security there, to punish severely the guilty, whoever they may be, and render justice to all. In order that there may be no doubt about the intentions of my Government, I have confided this important mission to my Minister for Foreign Affairs, whose principles are known to the Government of your Majesty.

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* No. 23.

No. 35.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 28.)

(Extract.) *Therapia, July 17, 1860.*

BEFORE this reaches you, your Lordship will be aware of the extent of the calamities which have occurred in Syria, and which I will not undertake to say we yet know clearly.

A despatch from Damascus of the 20th from Mr. Brant records his conviction that no Mussulman movement would take place in that city; a further despatch on the 26th stated his belief that the Druses of the Hauran would retire to their houses quietly; but he then spoke of the city as disturbed and agitated, and of the Christians being exposed to indignities not of late years imposed on them. A despatch which I saw to-day, being with Aali Pasha when it arrived, dated from Damascus on the 4th instant, written by the Governor, stated that the town was much quieter than it had been, and that nothing serious seemed likely to be apprehended.

In the meantime, however, a telegraphic despatch dated the 7th instant has reached the Russian Legation stating that the Christian quarter was assailed, and that the Russian and French Consuls had retired to the camp of Abd-el-Kader; whilst a communication dated the 9th, and brought by a French steamer from Beyrout, speaks of massacres, of the destruction of the houses of every Consul except the British, and of the total annihilation of the Turkish authority within the city. A telegram from Her Majesty's Consul at Smyrna repeats the same information.

There can be little doubt that something of the kind reported has taken place, but the details and the extent of the mischief it has caused have, I think, as yet to be ascertained.

The Sultan and the Turkish Government are struck down by this blow, which they did not anticipate, and of which they fully foresee the consequences.

His Imperial Majesty has written a letter to Her Majesty and to the Emperor of the French expressive of his sentiments, and the Seraskier has assured me that more troops shall be immediately dispatched.

In the meantime steam communication has been instituted by the means of small steamers stationed at the principal islands between this and Beyrout. What can be done here in short is done, or will be done; but as usual it comes too late.

Many persons have in my opinion been guilty; first, the Turks, who did not, and would not, pay sufficient attention to the representations made to them as to the position in which Syria was placed; and, secondly, those who have contributed in one way or another to bring things in Syria to their present pass.

The dislike of the Turks to the independent authority of Maronites and Druses has, I doubt not, considerably contributed to their want of timely interference to prevent the state of things which that independent authority engendered, from getting worse.

As to the conduct of higher authorities, such as the Pashas, in not openly resisting the Druses, I am myself disposed to think it proceeded mainly from the feeling that a defeat was likely, and that such defeat would be the signal for a general insurrection. This is no excuse for their conduct, but it is an explanation of it. As to the inferior officers, the conduct of some has been so shamefully the effect of fear or fanaticism, that the severest examples should be made amongst them; with respect to the mob of soldiers or the people, the love of pillage and plunder, want of discipline and authority, and the ancient habits of caste and religion, at once account for the crimes and atrocities they committed. So much for the past. Looking to the future the first necessity is to restore order and punish crime.

The Turkish Commissioner sent is perhaps the best man that could be found for the duty entrusted to him; at all events his reputation justifies this belief. I have been active in urging the sending of more troops, and though I hardly believe what the Seraskier told me the day before yesterday, that there are already 25,000 men, I should trust there is already a considerable force, which, as I have said, will be increased.

The subsequent settlement of the country is the more difficult affair, and I speak of it with less confidence because I have no local experience. It appears to me that the independent Governments of the Mountain are incompatible with order and society; that one Government should be established in Syria, and that Government ameliorated. A Commission (of which Europeans acquainted with administration; and finance should form a part) might be appointed; and, as the result of its inquiries, certain reforms, as to tribunals, police, justice in the distribution of taxes, might and should be carried into effect.

No. 36.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 28.)

(Extract.) *Paris, July 27, 1860.*

M. THOUVENEL has received a telegram from M. de Lavalette, stating that instructions had been transmitted by telegraph yesterday at 2 P.M. to the Turkish Ambassador in Paris, authorizing him to sign the Convention.

No. 37.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, July 28, 1860.*

I AM now enabled to give you the opinion of Her Majesty's Government respecting the Convention relating to the expedition to Syria.

The main points appear to be the necessity of obtaining the assent of the Porte explicitly given to the intervention of foreign troops in one of the provinces of the Sultan, and the equal necessity of fixing a term at the end of which such foreign intervention is to cease.

I understand from your despatch of the 27th instant, that the Sultan agrees to the admission of foreign troops in Syria. The term of six months should be specified either in the Treaty, or in a separate Protocol which should not be kept secret.

The Protocol renouncing all views of separate advantage, territorial or commercial, and all exclusive influence, should be signed on the same day as the Treaty.

The ratifications should be exchanged as soon as possible, and those of the Powers nearest at hand might be exchanged before the ratifications of the more distant Powers are received.

It is to be hoped that the measures now taken may vindicate the rights of humanity, so cruelly outraged in Syria, and at the same time tend to maintain order and obedience in the dominions of the Sultan.

No. 38.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, July 28, 1860.*

WITH respect to the proposal of Russia, referred to in your despatch of the 26th instant, to insert a declaration in favour of Christians generally in the Convention relating to the expedition to Syria, I have to instruct your Excellency to object to it, as altogether going beyond the present occasion; and if the Russian Ambassador presses it, you will refuse to sign a Convention or Protocol in which any Article to that effect is contained.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 39.

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 30.)

My Lord, *Vienna, July 26, 1860.*

I HAD the honour to receive on the 19th instant your Lordship's telegram of the previous day, informing me that Her Majesty's Government would not object to the landing of French or Austrian troops in Syria, if necessary, according to the terms of a Convention to be agreed upon between the Porte and the Allied Powers, and that it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government not to land troops, but to have a strong force of Marines on the coast.

I lost no time in bringing the substance of your Lordship's telegram to the knowledge of Count Rechberg.

His Excellency appeared to concur in the general view taken by Her Majesty's Government, and expressed his opinion of the desirableness that a complete understanding should exist between the Great Powers on all matters relating to the East, as he considered that on this good understanding would depend a satisfactory solution of the present difficulties and the maintenance of peace.

He expressed his wish to act entirely in concert with Her Majesty's Government on this question, and he repeated to me that the Commander of the Austrian squadron would be strictly enjoined to act in unison with the Commander of Her Majesty's naval forces.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 40.

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 30.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, July 26, 1860.*

I COMMUNICATED to Count Rechberg on the 22nd instant the substance of your Lordship's telegram of the previous day, stating that Her Majesty's Government considered a Convention with the Porte as necessary to authorize an expedition of European troops to Syria, and that they likewise agreed in principle to the French propositions.

His Excellency informed me that he had sent instructions to Prince Metternich, authorizing him to attend any Conference at Paris on the affairs of Syria. He read to me the telegram which he had addressed on this subject to Prince Metternich, which was to the following effect, viz., that the Austrian Government adhered to the French proposals for the appointment of a Mixed Commission to inquire into the circumstances of the late excesses in Syria, provided that the Porte should give thereto its sanction, and for an European intervention, if the necessity for it should be proved ("constaté"), and if the Porte should agree to it.

No. 41.

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 30.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, July 28, 1860.*

BARON SCHLEINITZ mentioned to me to-day, that he had just heard from Paris that the Porte had signified their acquiescence in the project of Convention proposed by the French Government on the subject of the intended military intervention in Syria; and he asked me if I knew what were the opinions of Her Majesty's Government respecting this affair. I replied, that your Lordship had sent for my information the copy of a despatch which you had addressed to Earl Cowley on the 23rd instant, and that I would read it to him.

Baron Schleinitz thanked me for this communication, and said that he was very glad to know the opinion of Her Majesty's Government on some of the Articles of the proposed Convention, and that he entirely agreed with the observations which your Lordship had made to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris. I may add, that his Excellency seemed to think it essential to fix a term for the period of the occupation; and he disapproved equally with Her Majesty's Government of the idea of rendering the Porte liable to the expenses of the French expedition.

No. 42.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, July* 30, 1860.

HER Majesty has selected your Lordship to represent the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in the Commission which is about to be appointed to inquire into the late lamentable events in Syria.

Your Lordship will proceed at once to Constantinople, and there obtain your instructions from Sir Henry Bulwer. Her Majesty's Ambassador will furnish you with all the preliminary information necessary to the due discharge of your functions.

The chief object of the Commission will be to obtain security for the future peace of Syria.

But internal peace cannot be obtained without a speedy, pure, and impartial administration of justice. Those who suffer wrong, and see that wrong committed with impunity, take punishment into their own hands, or rather substitute revenge for due and legal retribution.

You will pay respect to the authorities named by the Sultan, and you will always bear in mind that no territorial acquisition, no exclusive influence, no separate commercial advantage is sought by Her Majesty's Government, nor should be acquired by any of the Great Powers.

I will transmit to you a copy of the Convention respecting Syria as soon as it is signed at Paris.

I am, &c.
Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 43.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, July* 31, 1860.

I HAVE informed your Lordship in my despatch of yesterday's date, that you will receive instructions from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople for you guidance in Syria, and I have now to desire that your reports may be addressed to Sir H. Bulwer, who will forward them to me.

If your Lordship, however, should at any time have an opportunity of sending letters to this country, you may send to me, direct, copies of your reports to Sir H. Bulwer.

Mr. Meade, of this office, will be attached to your Lordship's Mission, and you will employ him in such manner as you may think desirable for the benefit of the public service.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 44.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 31, 1860.

I INFORMED your Excellency by my telegram of the 28th instant that a person of rank would be sent from this country to act as British Commissioner to Syria.

I have now to acquaint you that Lord Dufferin has been selected for this service, and that he has been directed to proceed in the first instance to Constantinople, in order that he may learn from your Excellency the manner in which the duties assigned to him can best be performed for the benefit of the public service.

I have accordingly to desire that your Excellency will furnish Lord Dufferin, in communication and concert with the Sultan's Ministers, with instructions for his guidance, and I transmit to you copies of the letters which I have addressed to him regarding his temporary appointment.*

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 45.

M. Musurus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 31.)

Londres, le 30 *Juillet,* 1860.

L'AMBASSADEUR de la Sublime Porte à Londres vient de recevoir de son Gouvernement une dépêche télégraphique qu'il est invité à communiquer à son Excellence Lord John Russell.

D'après cette dépêche, qui porte la date du 27 Juillet, Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan a, sur la demande de l'Angleterre et de la France, autorisé son Ambassadeur à Paris à négocier et à signer une Convention avec les Puissances, relativement à l'envoi d'un corps de troupes en Syrie, si tel est leur commun avis.

A cette occasion, la Sublime Porte déclare que, si elle a adopté cette décision, c'est pour donner à ses Alliées une preuve de sa confiance, et de son loyal désir de réprimer les désordres qu'elle déplore plus que personne.

Toutefois, elle n'a pas laissé ignorer aux Représentants de France et d'Angleterre à Constantinople tous les inconvénients et tous les dangers que pourrait amener une intervention de cette nature. Elle leur a fait observer que l'arrivée de troupes étrangères sur un point du territoire Ottoman pourrait, d'un bout à l'autre de l'Empire, éveiller chez les différentes populations des sentiments différents, dont les résultats pourraient devenir on ne peut plus désastreux. En effet, la partie turbulente des populations Chrétiennes, interprétant la résolution des Puissances comme une assistance en leur faveur contre les Musulmans, pourrait se laisser aller à des excès. D'un autre côté, ceux d'entre les Musulmans qui ne sont pas en état d'apprécier les véritables intentions de l'Europe, désespérés et irrités de se voir traités avec tant de méfiance, par cela seul que les Druses et une poignée de malfaiteurs qui n'ont de Musulman que le nom qu'ils portent, se sont permis des actes qu'ils réprouvent eux-mêmes, pourraient répondre à ces excès par d'autres excès. Il est évident que les malheurs qui seraient capable d'amener un pareil état de choses, rallumeraient des haines que le Gouvernement fait tout son possible pour éteindre.

De plus, une fois l'idée répandue parmi les populations Musulmanes que le Gouvernement appelle des forces étrangères pour punir ses co-religionnaires, l'autorité souveraine perdrait en partie son prestige à leurs yeux.

Enfin, le Gouvernement Impérial, ayant pris les mesures les plus propres à venger les horreurs commises, et ayant envoyé le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères avec des pouvoirs illimités, est convaincu que, par l'aide de Dieu, il est en état de réprimer seul le désordre et de châtier les coupables.

* Nos. 42 and 43.

En conséquence, la Sublime Porte ne voit aucune nécessité de recourir à une mesure qui serait capable de faire naitre de si grands périls, et qui, en tout cas, constituerait une sorte d'atteinte au droit de souveraineté de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

La Sublime Porte espère que ces observations franches et loyales seront prises en sérieuse considération par le Gouvernement de SaMajesté Britannique ; et c'est dans cet espoir qu'elle les a communiquées à MM. les Représentants, qui lui ont promis de les transmettre à leurs Cours respectives.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) MUSURUS.

(Translation.)

London, July 30, 1860.

THE Ambassador of the Sublime Porte at London has received from his Government a telegraphic despatch which he is desired to communicate to his Excellency Lord John Russell.

According to this despatch, which bears date the 27th July, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, at the request of England and France, has authorized his Ambassador at Paris to negotiate and sign a Convention with the Powers, relative to sending a body of troops to Syria, if they should all agree to it.

Accordingly, the Sublime Porte declares that her adoption of this decision is in order to give her Allies a proof of her confidence, and of her sincere desire to repress disorders which she regrets more than any one.

At the same time she has not failed to inform the Representatives of France and England at Constantinople of all the inconveniences and dangers which an intervention of this kind might produce. She has represented to them that the arrival of foreign troops at any point of the Ottoman Empire might awaken, from one end of the Empire to another, different sentiments amongst the different populations, the results of which might become most disastrous. In fact, the disaffected portion of the Christian population, considering the resolution of the Powers as a point in their favour against the Mussulmans, might deliver themselves over to excesses. On the other hand, such of the Mussulmans as are unable to appreciate the true intentions of Europe, in desperation, and annoyed at seeing themselves treated with so much mistrust, simply because the Druses and a few bad characters, who are only Mussulmans by name, have committed acts which they themselves deprecate, might respond to these excesses by committing excesses themselves. It is plain that the evils which might cause such a state of things would arouse those animosities which the Government is doing its utmost to extinguish.

Moreover, if the notion is once spread among the Mussulman populations that the Government is inviting a foreign force in order to punish their co-religionists, the sovereign authority would partly lose its prestige in their eyes.

In fine, the Imperial Government, having taken the fittest measures to avenge the crimes committed, and having deputed the Minister for Foreign Affairs (to act) with unlimited powers, is convinced that, through God's help, it is in a condition of itself to repress disorder and to punish the guilty persons.

Consequently, the Sublime Porte sees no necessity for recourse to a measure which might produce such heavy risks, and which, in any case, would in some way injure the right of sovereignty of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

The Sublime Porte hopes that these frank and honourable observations will be taken into serious consideration by the Government of Her Britannic Majesty ; and it is in this hope that it has communicated them to the Representatives, who have promised to transmit them to their respective Courts.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) C. MUSURUS.

No. 46.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 1.)

(Extract.) *Paris, July* 30, 1860.

I HAD the honour to receive yesterday morning your Lordship's despatch of the preceding day, containing instructions for my guidance with respect to the Convention relating to the expedition to Syria.

Vefyk Effendi having also received his instructions, and the remaining Representatives of the Five Powers being in possession of the sentiments of their respective Governments, M. Thouvenel requested us to meet again in Conference. The meeting took place this afternoon.

I find that my colleagues are none of them in possession of the full powers necessary to sign a Convention, and as some little time must elapse before they can receive them, M. Thouvenel asked whether the Convention might not be acted upon as soon as the initials of the Plenipotentiaries, who concluded it, should be affixed to it.

My colleagues expressed their assent. I requested permission to await your Lordship's directions.

No. 47.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 1.)

(Extract.) *Paris, July* 31, 1860.

AS at the Conference held on the 26th instant the Turkish Ambassador had declared himself to be without the necessary instructions to enable him to assent to the occupation of Syria by foreign troops, I thought it advisable, after receiving your Lordship's despatch of the 28th instant, and before making any further communications to M. Thouvenel of the opinions of Her Majesty's Government contained in it, to see the Turkish Ambassador, to ascertain from him the nature of the instructions which I had been informed he had since received, and to learn how far and under what conditions the Porte was disposed to ask for or to admit of the occupation by foreign troops of a part of the Sultan's dominions. Accordingly I saw Vefyk Effendi early yesterday morning.

His Excellency said that he was empowered to sign a Convention with the Representatives of the Five Powers at Paris which should sanction the employment of European troops in Syria under certain conditions. He did not wish, he continued, to throw unnecessary obstacles in the way of an immediate conclusion of the Convention, but he must ask for certain explanations, in order that he might understand fully the nature of the obligations which he was called upon to contract in the name of his Government. He desired, therefore, that the number of men to be sent should be specified, and that the period for their return should be fixed. He understood that it was only intended in the first instance to send 6,000 French soldiers, but if this number was to be added to by troops furnished by other Powers, he wished the Porte should be consulted equally with the other Powers in the designation of those troops.

The Conference met at 3 o'clock, when the Convention was agreed to by the Plenipotentiaries.

With respect to Article II, M. Thouvenel observed, that if it should be found necessary to augment the army of occupation he hoped that the other Powers would be found ready to furnish their contingents, for that he was most anxious that this should not be considered in the light of a French expedition, but that the French Government was, as it were, delegated by Europe to undertake it in the first instance.

The Plenipotentiaries, one and all, declared that, in their opinion, no foreign troops could enter the Sultan's dominions without the express consent of the Sovereign, but M. Thouvenel said that he made an exception in cases where immediate danger threatened. Supposing, said his Excellency, a massacre were to take place at Smyrna, foreign ships of war would be justified

in landing troops or seamen for the protection of their Consuls and country men. Vefyk Effendi did not dissent from this doctrine.

M. Thouvenel took occasion to say, that although, in the opinion of the Imperial Government, six months would more than suffice for the restoration of tranquillity in Syria, and that the troops of occupation might well be brought away within that time, yet that circumstances might arise over which the French Government could have no control, such as illness among the troops, or continual bad weather on a very exposed coast, which could physically prevent the fulfilment of Article V. Unforeseen events even might occur to render a prolongation of the occupation necessary. I observed that, with regard to the two first contingencies, nobody could be expected to do that which was impossible, and that with respect to the third, there was always the possibility of summoning a fresh Conference.

No. 48.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 1.)

My Lord, *Paris, July* 31, 1860.

AFTER the project of Convention to which I have alluded in my previous despatch of this day's date, had been discussed and adopted by the Conference yesterday, M. Thouvenel informed the Representatives assembled, that the Russian Ambassador had a proposal to make to them. General Kisseleff then stated that he had received orders from his Government to ask that an Article should be added to the Convention, applying its stipulations to other parts of the Sultan's dominions where the Christians might want similar protection; but that if this proposal should meet with insuperable objections, he was charged to invite the Plenipotentiaries to consign to a Protocol a declaration which he read, and which is referred to in my despatch of the 26th instant. General Kisseleff added, that unless one or other of these propositions were adopted, he would be precluded by his instructions from signing the Convention.

The Turkish Ambassador declared that he must protest at once, and in the most formal manner, against the proposal; nay more, if it was persisted in, he must refuse to sign the Convention. He characterised the proposal as a direct attack upon the independence of his Sovereign, and as fraught with danger not only to the Turkish Empire, but, from the consequences which its adoption might entail, to Europe in general.

M. Thouvenel disputed with some warmth the right of the Turkish Plenipotentiary to protest in the name of his Government without a previous reference to Constantinople; and he exclaimed against the declaration of that functionary, that if the Russian proposal was persisted in he would not sign the Convention.

I said that the Turkish Plenipotentiary must be better acquainted than we could be with his duties towards his own Government, and that I could well understand his hesitating to sign a Convention which permitted a foreign occupation of a part of his Sovereign's dominions, but the stipulations of which it was further sought to apply to other parts of the Empire. For my part, I added I could agree to neither of the Russian propositions. My instructions did not contemplate them in any way; they had been drawn up with reference to a specific and not to a general question.

After some further conversation, General Kisseleff modified his proposal in the following manner: that a Protocol should be drawn up and signed, *séance tenante*, to which his propositions should be consigned, with a request that the Plenipotentiaries would submit them for the consideration of their respective Governments; that the expedition to Syria should be proceeded with in the meantime, and the general question be left open for discussion.

I said that I regretted that I could not acquiesce in this proposal; I could not sign any Protocol which contained matter foreign to the special case for which we had been convened, nor could I be the channel of conveying to your Lordship the proposals of the Russian Cabinet, which ought to be made from Government to Government. I could not understand why the Russian Pleni-

potentiary should consent to the departure of the expedition, and yet refuse to sign the Convention which would alone sanction the expedition itself. But the most extraordinary notion I had ever heard of, was that of applying the stipulations of a Convention framed for a special purpose in an extensive sense, and that too while the Convention was still a project only, it not having yet been signed; for, in fact, the Russian Plenipotentiary, if I understood his proposal rightly, would bind the Powers to apply to Turkey in general the stipulations which he refused to sign when applicable to Syria only.

M. Thouvenel said, that he thought that I could not refuse to sign a Protocol rehearsing what had passed in a Conference; I might of course make what observations I pleased upon any proposal made, they would be equally consigned to the Protocol. I replied, that by consenting to sign such a Protocol I should be aiding in giving publicity to a proposal which Her Majesty's Government considered objectionable; that, in fact, as soon as the discussion of the Convention had been finished, I should have been justified in taking my departure, and that if, from a feeling of courtesy, I had remained, I did not consider myself in the least bound to put my name to a document recounting what had passed after the Conference, as far as I was concerned, was over. In truth, we were all placed in a most awkward position by the proceedings of the Russian Plenipotentiary, for we could not finish a work which the French Government thought of the greatest importance, unless we consented to take into our consideration questions irrelevant to the case before us.

M. Thouvenel admitted that the Russian Government, no doubt without intending it, was the cause of the stand-still to which we were reduced, and he requested General Kisseleff to represent to his Government what had occurred, and to ask them to desist from their proposal.

The Austrian and Prussian Plenipotentiaries took but little part in the discussion. They merely announced their readiness to accede to the Russian proposal.

I should add, that the whole discussion passed in perfect good temper, though it may perhaps appear otherwise to your Lordship, when reading this summary account of it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 49.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 1, 1860.

THE paper of which the inclosed is a copy, was brought to me by M. Musurus.*

Her Majesty's Government are well aware of the evils attendant upon a foreign occupation. Nothing but the extreme misconduct of the Turkish Pashas and the Turkish troops in Syria could have induced Her Majesty's Government to consent to the proposal of France; and even the massacres of the Lebanon might have been left to the vigilant justice of Fuad Pasha, had not the disastrous news from Damascus shown that even in one of the principal cities of the Empire the Turkish Authorities were incapable of protecting the lives of Christians. Whether the failure arose from want of power or want of will, the want of security to life and property was equally evident.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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* No. 45.

No. 50.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 2.)

(Extract.) *Paris, August* 1, 1860.

I SAW M. Thouvenel for a few moments this afternoon, and found him in possession of news from Beyrout to the 24th, and from Damascus to the 17th ultimo. According to the accounts which he had received 8,000 victims had fallen in the latter town. It appears further that Fuad Pasha had asked for reinforcements and for money. Under these circumstances M. Thouvenel is urgent for the departure of the expedition.

It is clear, however, that if that departure is to depend on the signature of the Convention, some time must still elapse before it can move, for, as I had the honour to inform your Lordship in my despatch of the 30th, none of the Plenipotentiaries who have taken part in the Conferences on the subject are in possession of the full powers which would, according to custom, alone authorize them to sign their names to such an act, although some of them have been empowered by telegraph to do so. The only way of remedying this state of things would be the signature of a Protocol, which I believe will be urged on Her Majesty's Government by M. Thouvenel. It appears to me that there will be less inconvenience in adopting this course than in establishing the precedent of permitting the signature of a Convention without the previous customary exhibition by the Plenipotentiaries of their respective full powers, or of allowing the stipulations of such an instrument to take effect upon the simple recognition of its Articles by the initials of the Plenipotentiaries.

No. 51.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 3.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, July* 25, 1860.

I BEG to inclose translation of the firman issued to Fuad Pasha, conferring on him full powers for punishing all persons who have had a hand in the effusion of human blood in Syria.

The Turkish Government has also issued a circular instruction to all Provincial Governors, of which a translation will follow.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure in No. 51.

Firman.

(Translation.)

TO my Vizier, Mehemed Fuad, one of the most illustrious Ministers and Chief Councillors of my Empire, and Minister for Foreign Affairs, now appointed on an extraordinary and special mission to Syria, with full powers on my part, decorated with the first classes of the Orders of Medjidie and of distinction, and bearer of the Nishan Iftihar of military service.

You who are my zealous Vizier as above.

I have learnt with the greatest concern the outbreak of war between the Maronites and Druses who inhabit Mount Lebanon in Syria, owing to a quarrel which has, as you know, arisen between them.

I need not tell you that the favourite object of my wishes is, that every class of my subjects, who are all equal in my eyes, should enjoy perfect security, ease, and contentment, and it is most especially and particularly my desire, that one people should not in any mode whatsoever commit an aggressive act on another. Therefore, the cruel and tyrannical acts which have been perpetrated in Mount Lebanon are altogether contrary to my wish, and it has become necessary to charge specially, and with full powers, some able, zealous,

and intelligent person, for the purpose of putting an end to those excesses, and remove (or destroy) the persons who have provoked these internal troubles, and caused the effusion of human blood.

You are my intelligent Mushir above-mentioned, and one of my most illustrious Ministers, endowed with the above qualities, and in whom I have the most perfect confidence, I have ordered that you be appointed to this important charge with full powers on my part, and a sufficient number of troops has also been sent. So that acting with that perfect knowledge of state affairs, as well as with that zeal and intelligence which distinguishes you, and in accordance with your duty you will, God helping, immediately start from here for that place, where you will be the referee of all civil and military functionaries. You will, by adopting the necessary measures, cause to cease the confusion and civil war which has ensued between the above Maronites and Druses, and procure the return of peace and security to those parts. You will ascertain who have been instrumental in the odious act of shedding human blood, and immediately punish them according to the prescriptions of my Imperial Code. In a word, you are freely intrusted with the adoption of all the military and civil measures, for the extinction of this evil. You will, therefore, act accordingly. Such is my order, &c.

(No date.)

No. 52.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 3.)

(Extract.) *Therapia, July* 25, 1860.

ON receiving your Lordship's telegram stating that a corps of European troops was to be sent to Syria in concert with the Sublime Porte and the Great Powers, I immediately communicated the same to Aali Pasha, and went to him that evening and had a long conversation with him.

His fears as to the consequences are not yet dissipated. Still he said that the Government had determined to consent to the Commission and Convention, and the sending of European troops to Syria.

I should be doing injustice, however, to His Imperial Majesty and to Aali Pasha, and indeed I may say to every Turk I have seen, if I did not say that the horror they have expressed and felt at the accounts that have reached us has been most profound; and if any hesitation is felt as to the employment of European troops, I believe it is solely guided by apprehensions as to the effect which the occupation of certain cities, especially Damascus, might have on the Mussulman mind.

No. 53.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 3.)

(Extract.) *Therapia, July* 25, 1860.

THE latest news from Syria is in an account of Mr. Brant, who had escaped wholly uninjured up to the 10th. He described the riot to have originated with some boys who had been assaulting Christians, and who had then been arrested and ordered to sweep the streets by the Pasha.

He says the Christian quarter had been attacked, and that the town was in flames, but that many murders had not been committed. The Druses were, however, entering the town, and we hear from Beyrout that letters dated from Damascus to the 13th speak of insurrection and murder still continuing. The Marquis de Lavalette says that M. de Lanusse expected on the 12th Abd-el-Kader's residence to be attacked and every one in it murdered, but it does not appear that this has yet taken place.

Many Christians have been sheltered in Mussulman houses, and there are a very large number with the Seraskier; but this officer has evidently behaved

without either courage or judgment, and it is the general belief that any decision on his part might in the first instance have prevented matters getting worse.

Fears appears to be entertained at Beyrout for Aleppo, but nothing decisive is here known as to the fate of this place.

I cannot but think, after turning over the matter considerately and looking at it in every point of view, that the decision of sending the Commission and the European force to Syria are both right measures, even if some bad consequences should be provoked by them.

The thing will be to limit as much as possible the chances of such consequences. This can be done in the best way by the choice of suitable Commanders with suitable instructions.

No. 54.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 3.)

(Extract.) *Paris, August* 2, 1860.

LORD DUFFERIN arrived in Paris the night before last, and M. Thouvenel having been too much occupied to enable him to receive his Lordship yesterday, I took him to the Foreign Department this morning. M. Thouvenel, on learning that Lord Dufferin was to receive his instructions from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, said that he feared that great confusion might arise if Her Majesty's Government followed this course. The proposal which his Excellency had made, and which he had understood Her Majesty's Government to have accepted, was, that a Mixed Commission should be sent to Syria, and that the Commissioners in concert with the Commissioner of the Porte should examine into the causes of the late outbreak, should see that the authors and abettors in the massacres were properly punished, and should inquire what alterations and modifications of the arrangement of 1845 could be introduced, so as to prevent a recurrence of the late horrible drama, and ensure a better administration of government in Syria. But to attain these objects his Excellency considered that the Five Powers must agree on the general nature of the instructions to be furnished to their Commissioners, or there would be no unity in the action of the latter, and without unity of action no good results could be obtained. He had himself intended that the French Commissioner should go direct from hence to Syria, and that his instructions should have emanated from himself, but if Her Majesty's Government preferred that the instructions should proceed from Constantinople, then he thought that it would be desirable that they should be drawn up in a Conference of the Representatives of the Five Powers, so that each Commissioner should receive identic directions, for, he repeated, there would otherwise be nothing but discordant opinions. But in order that the Representatives at Constantinople might clearly understand the objects proposed to be attained by the Commission, so that they might agree upon general instructions, it would be necessary that each Government should furnish its Representative with instructions previously concerted between them all, and until this had been done, no progress could be made at Constantinople. Identic instructions to the Commissioners was his object, whether they were drawn up at Constantinople or elsewhere.

No. 55.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, August* 3, 1860.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 2nd instant, I have to state to your Excellency that Lord Dufferin was sent to Paris

with a view to learn the basis on which the Commission of Inquiry in Syria is to proceed.

Her Majesty's Government always intended that the instructions given by the Five Powers should be identical.

It seems to Her Majesty's Government that the Representatives of the Five Powers at Constantinople should be desired to draw up in concert the instructions to be given to the Commissioners.

No. 56.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 4.)

(Extract.) *Paris, August* 3, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to state that I have had a further conversation with M. Thouvenel. His Excellency continues very unwilling to consent that the instructions for the Commissioners who are to proceed to Syria, should emanate from the Representatives of the Great Powers at Constantinople. He maintains that the character of the Commission which is intended to institute an inquiry on the part of Europe into the late massacres in Syria, would be altered, if the instructions to the members of it were not to be furnished directly by their different Governments. He considers that their duty should be, as I had the honour to inform your Lordship yesterday, to inquire into the cause of the late disturbances, to see that the guilty are punished, and to suggest modifications in the arrangement for the Lebanon of 1845, and measures for the future government of Syria. Simple instructions of this nature should, his Excellency contends, proceed from the Governments themselves. The report of the Commissioners should be made to their Governments, and this, in his Excellency's opinion, will be the proper moment for the interference of the Representatives at Constantinople, to obtain the ameliorations that may be considered necessary.

No. 57.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, August* 4, 1860.

I HAVE to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve your conduct during the Conference on the affairs of Syria.

No. 58.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, August* 4, 1860.

SINCE writing my despatch of yesterday's date, I have received your Excellency's despatch of the same date, from which it appears that M. Thouvenel is still unwilling that the instructions to be given to the Commissioners about to proceed to Syria should emanate from the Representatives of the Five Powers at Constantinople. And I have to state to you, in reply, that Her Majesty's Government think it will be very difficult to frame instructions at Paris for the Commissioners to which all the Governments will agree; but they are of opinion that if it is to be done, it should be done immediately.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 59.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 4.)

My Lord, *Paris, August 3, 1860.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, copies of two Protocols which were signed this afternoon at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, by the Representatives of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia and Turkey, the one sanctioning the French expedition to Syria, the other disclaiming all interested motives on the part of the Allies of the Porte in undertaking this expedition. But the latter recalls to the recollection of the Porte the promise made by the Sultan in 1856 to ameliorate the condition of his Christian subjects.

In consequence of the importance of the matters contained in them, I requested that these Protocols might be signed in sextuple. This will be done, when the originals destined for Her Majesty's Government shall be transmitted to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 59.

Protocol of a Conference held at Paris, August 3, 1860.

Présents : Les Représentants, &c.

SA Majesté Impériale le Sultan voulant arrêter, par des mesures promptes et efficaces, l'effusion du sang en Syrie, et témoigner de sa ferme résolution d'assurer l'ordre et la paix parmi les populations placées sous sa souveraineté, et leurs Majestés l'Empereur d'Autriche, l'Empereur des Français, la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Son Altesse Royale le Prince Régent de Prusse, et Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, ayant offert leur co-opération active, que Sa Majesté le Sultan a acceptée, les Représentants de leurs dites Majestés et de Son Altesse Royale sont tombés d'accord sur les Articles suivants :—

ARTICLE I.

Un corps de troupes Européennes qui pourra être porté à 12,000 hommes, sera dirigé en Syrie pour contribuer au rétablissement de la tranquillité.

ARTICLE II.

Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français consent à fournir immédiatement la moitié de ce corps de troupes. S'il devenait nécessaire d'élever son effectif au chiffre stipulé dans l'Article précédent, les Hautes Puissances s'entendraient sans retard avec la Porte, par la voie diplomatique ordinaire, sur la désignation de celles d'entre elles qui auraient à y pourvoir.

ARTICLE III.

Le Commandant-en-chef de l'expédition entrera, à son arrivée, en communication avec le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Porte, afin de combiner toutes les mesures exigées par les circonstances et de prendre les positions qu'il y aura lieu d'occuper pour remplir l'objet du présent Acte.

ARTICLE IV.

Leurs Majestés, &c., &c., promettent d'entretenir sur les côtes de Syrie des forces navales suffisantes pour concourir au succès des efforts communs pour le maintien ou le rétablissement de la tranquillité sur le littoral de la Syrie.

ARTICLE V.

Les Hautes Parties, convaincues que ce délai sera suffisant pour atetindre le but de pacification qu'elles ont en vue, fixent à six mois la durée de l'occupation des troupes Européennes en Syrie.

ARTICLE VI.

La Sublime Porte s'engage à faciliter, autant qu'il dépendra d'elle, la subsistance et l'approvisionnement du corps expéditionnaire.

Il est entendu que les six Articles précédents seront textuellement convertis en une Convention qui recevra les signatures des Représentants soussignés, aussitôt qu'ils seront munis des pleins pouvoirs de leurs Souverains, mais que les stipulations de ce Protocole entreront immédiatement en vigueur.

M. le Chargé d'Affaires de Prusse toutefois fait observer que la distribution actuelle des bâtiments de guerre Prussiens peut ne pas permettre à son Gouvernement de co-opérer dès à présent à l'exécution de l'Article IV.

(Suivent les signatures.)

(Translation.)

Present: The Representatives, &c.

HIS Imperial Majesty the Sultan, wishing to stop, by prompt and efficacious measures, the effusion of blood in Syria, and to show his firm resolution to establish order and peace amongst the populations placed under his sovereignty, and their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Prussia, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, having offered their active co-operation, which His Majesty the Sultan has accepted, the Representatives of their said Majesties and His Royal Highness have agreed upon the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

A body of European troops, which may be increased to 12,000 men, shall be sent to Syria to contribute towards the re-establishment of tranquillity.

ARTICLE II.

His Majesty's the Emperor of the French agrees to furnish immediately the half of this body of troops. If it should become necessary to raise its effective force to the number stipulated in the preceding Article, the High Powers would come to an understanding with the Porte without delay by the ordinary course of diplomacy, upon the designation of those among them who would have to provide it.

ARTICLE III.

The Commander-in-chief of the expedition will, on his arrival, enter into communication with the Commissioner Extraordinary of the Porte, in order to concert all the measures required by circumstances, and to take up the positions which there may be occasion to occupy in order to fulfil the object of the present Act.

ARTICLE IV.

Their Majesties, &c., &c., promise to maintain, on the coast of Syria, sufficient naval forces to contribute towards the success of the common efforts for the maintenance or the re-establishment of tranquillity on the coast of Syria.

ARTICLE V.

The High Parties, convinced that such a period will be sufficient to attain the object of pacification which they have in view, fix at six months the duration of the occupation of the European troops in Syria.

ARTICLE VI.

The Sublime Porte undertakes to facilitate, as far as lies in her power, the furnishing supplies and provisions for the expeditionary corps.

It is understood that the six preceding Articles will be embodied verbatim into a Convention, which will receive the signatures of the undersigned Representatives as soon as they are furnished with full powers from their Sovereigns, but that the stipulations of this Protocol will immediately come into force.

The Chargé d'Affaires of Prussia, however, points out that the present distribution of the Prussian ships of war will not permit his Government to co-operate at present in the execution of Article IV.

(Here follow the signatures.)

Inclosure 2 in No. 59.

Protocol of a Conference held at Paris, August 3, 1860.

LES Plénipotentiaires de désirant établir, conformément aux intentions de leurs Cours respectives, le véritable caractère du concours prêté à la Sublime Porte aux termes du Protocole signé aujourd'hui, les sentiments qui leur ont dicté les clauses de cet Acte, et leur entier désintéressement, déclarent de la manière la plus formelle que les Puissances Contractantes n'entendent poursuivre ni ne poursuivront dans l'exécution de leurs engagements, aucun avantage territorial, aucune influence exclusive, ni aucune concession touchant le commerce de leurs sujets, et qui ne pourrait être accordée aux sujets de toutes les autres nations.

Néanmoins ils ne peuvent s'empêcher, en rappelant ici les Actes émanés du Sultan dont l'Article IX du Traité du 30 Mai, 1856, a constaté la haute valeur, d'exprimer le prix que leurs Cours respectives attachent à ce que, conformément aux promesses solennelles de la Sublime Porte, il soit pris des mesures administratives sérieuses pour l'amélioration du sort des populations Chrétiennes de tout rite de l'Empire Ottoman.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Sublime Porte prend acte de cette déclaration des Représentants des Hautes Puissances Contractantes, et se charge de la transmettre à sa Cour, en faisant observer que la Sublime Porte a employé et continue d'employer ses efforts dans le sens du vœu exprimé ci-dessus.

(Suivent les signatures.)

(Translation.)

THE Plenipotentiaries of, &c., desirous of establishing, in conformity with the intentions of their respective Courts, the true character of the assistance afforded to the Sublime Porte by the provisions of the Protocol signed this day, the feelings which have dictated the clauses of this Act and their perfect disinterestedness, declare in the most formal manner that the Contracting Powers do not intend to seek for and will not seek for, in the execution of their engagements, any territorial advantages, any exclusive influence, or any concession with regard to the commerce of their subjects, such as could not be granted to the subjects of all other nations.

Nevertheless they cannot refrain in recalling here the acts issued by the Sultan, the great importance of which was established by Article XI of the Treaty of March 30, 1856, from expressing the value which their respective Courts attach to the fulfilment of the solemn promises of the Porte that serious administrative measures should be taken to ameliorate the condition of the Christian population of every sect in the Ottoman Empire.

The Plenipotentiary of the Sublime Porte takes note of this declaration of the Representatives of the High Contracting Powers, and undertakes to transmit it to his Court, pointing out that the Sublime Porte has employed and continues to employ her efforts in the sense of the wish expressed above.

(The signatures follow.)

No. 60.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 9.)

(Extract.) *Paris, August* 7, 1860.

I HAVE told M. Thouvenel that, as General Beaufort will be acting in virtue of a Protocol signed by the Great Powers with the Porte, those Powers should be furnished with copies of the instructions given to the General. M. Thouvenel informed me this afternoon that he had applied to the Ministry of War for this document, and that as soon as he should be in possession of it, copies should be furnished to the different Governments interested. In the meantime he could tell me that the Emperor's last words to General Beaufort were, that His Majesty would be much disappointed if the expedition were not back in France within three months.

M. Thouvenel, however, having expressed himself in the course of this conversation to the effect that indemnities had been demanded at Jeddah for the massacres committed there, and that he considered that the same course should be pursued at Damascus, I observed that, according to his own proposal, the whole question was to be inquired into by a Mixed Commission, and to them, therefore, should be left the duty of making proposals of this or any other nature. For instance, I said, the Commission could alone determine on which side the fray had originally commenced. If, as many suppose, the Maronites had been the original aggressors, it might not excuse the atrocities committed by the Druses, but it would materially alter the question of indemnity, nor could it be intended that the town of Damascus should pay for excesses committed in the Lebanon. The Porte should be left in the first instance as Sovereign to do what was right, and the Commissioners should not interfere unless the Authorities sent by the Porte did not do their duty.

I made a further observation to M. Thouvenel, namely, that the institution of the Commission would facilitate the return of the expedition, for that as soon as tranquillity should be restored, and the moral effect which the French Government hoped from the presence of European troops in Syria should be obtained, there would be a fair and valid reason for withdrawing the troops and leaving further proceedings in the hands of the Commissioners. M. Thouvenel said that such was also his opinion. He considered that the Commission would be a great assistance to the French Government to cover the withdrawal of their troops, for he looked to no other than a moral effect, as a safeguard for the future, from the presence of the expedition which had been sent.

No. 61.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 9.)

(Extract.) *Paris, August* 7, 1860.

M. THOUVENEL having been out of town, I could not see his Excellency until this afternoon on the subject of your Lordship's despatches of the 3rd and 4th instants, relative to the instructions to be given to the Commissioners about to proceed to Syria. I read the substance of those

despatches to him. A lengthened conversation ensued, during which M. Thouvenel repeated the observations which he had before made to me on this subject; that if the Commission was to act upon instructions emanating from Constantinople it would not carry with it the same weight as a Commission acting upon identic instructions coming direct from the several Governments furnishing Commissioners; and that he could see no difficulty in framing simple instructions on which the Commissioners could act. He recapitulated the three points to which the instructions should refer: namely, to investigate the origin and cause of the late outbreak and massacres; to see that the guilty were punished; to inquire into and advise on the best means of preventing a renewal of the late bloody scenes, and of ameliorating the Government of Syria. Having done this the Commissioners should address a collective report to their respective Governments. It would be impossible for the Representatives at Constantinople to give other than general instructions of this nature, and by a reference there much time would be lost. However, those Governments who liked to send their Commissioners by way of Constantinople could do so, but a day should be fixed on which all the Commissioners should meet in Syria, and put themselves in communication with the Porte's Commissioner Extraordinary.

No. 62.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 9.)

My Lord, *Paris, August* 8, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, extracted from the "Moniteur," the copy of an allocution addressed by the Emperor at Chalons to such of the troops as are about to depart from thence to form part of the expedition to Syria.

I have, &c.

(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure in No. 62.

Extract from the "Moniteur" of August 8, 1860.

Camp de Chalons, le 7 Août, 1 h. 25 m. soir.

CE matin, à dix heures, l'Empereur a passé la revue de départ du 5ème Régiment de Ligne, Colonel Caubert; du 13ème Régiment, Colonel Darricau, et du 1er Escadron du 1er des Hussards, Captaine Stockly.

Les troupes étaient en tenue de campagne et présentaient l'aspect le plus martial.

Avant le défilé, Sa Majesté a distribué quelques croix et médailles; les troupes étant formées on carré, les drapeaux au centre, l'Empereur a prononcé l'allocution suivante:—

"Soldats,

"Vous partez pour la Syrie et la France salue avec bonheur une expédition qui n'a qu'un but, celui de faire triompher les droits de la justice et de l'humanité.

"Vous n'allez pas, en effet, faire la guerre à une Puissance quelconque, mais vous allez aider le Sultan à faire rentrer dans l'obéissance des sujets aveuglés par un fanatisme d'un autre siècle.

"Sur cette terre lointaine, riche en grands souvenirs, vous ferez votre devoir et vous vous montrerez les dignes enfans de ces héros qui ont porté glorieusement dans ce pays la bannière du Christ.

"Vous ne partez pas en grand nombre, mais votre courage et votre prestige y suppléeront, car partout aujourd'hui où l'on voit passer le drapeau de la

France les nations savent qu'il y a une grande cause qui le précède, un grand le qui le suit."

Après ces paroles a eu lieu le défilé aux cris enthousiastes de "Vive l'Empereur!"

(Translation.)

Camp of Chalons, August 7, 1·25 P.M.

THIS morning at 10 o'clock, the Emperor reviewed, previous to their departure, the 5th regiment of the Line, Colonel Caubert, the 13th regiment, Colonel Darrican, and the 1st squadron of the 1st Hussars, Captain Stockly.

The troops were in marching order, and presented the most martial aspect.

Before the marching past, His Majesty distributed some crosses and medals: the troops being formed in square, the colours in the centre, the Emperor made the following speech:—

"Soldiers,

"You are starting for Syria, and France cordially greets an expedition that has but one object, that of effecting the triumph of the rights of justice and humanity.

"You are not, indeed, going to make war on any particular Power, but you are going to aid the Sultan to recall to their allegiance subjects blinded by an antiquated fanaticism.

"In that distant country, rich in grand traditions, you will do your duty, and will show yourselves to be the worthy children of those heroes who bore gloriously in that country the banner of Christ.

"You are not going in great force, but your courage and your prestige will supply the want, for now everywhere when the flag of France is seen to pass, nations know that a great cause precedes it, a great future follows it."

After these words, the marching past took place amidst enthusiastic cries of "Vive l'Empereur!"

No. 63.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, August* 9, 1860.

I HAVE seen M. Jaucourt, and he has read to me the despatch of M. Thouvenel respecting the instructions to the Commissioners on the affairs of Syria.*

Her Majesty's Government entirely agree with that of France respecting the objects of the Commission which are thus defined by M. Thouvenel:—

"Elle doit consister à rechercher les circonstances qui ont amené les derniers conflits, à déterminer la part de résponsabilité des chefs de l'insurrection et des agents de l'administration locale, ainsi que les réparations dues aux victimes, et enfin à étudier, pour les soumettre à l'approbation des Gouvernements et de la Porte, les dispositions qui pourraient être adoptées pour conjurer de nouveaux malheurs."†

As the instructions will contain little more than a direction to attend to these objects, it appears to Her Majesty's Government to be of little importance whether they should emanate from the Five Powers themselves or their Representatives at Constantinople.

I therefore readily accede to the wish of M. Thouvenel. What appears to Her Majesty's Government of the greatest importance is, that as the Com-

* No. 66.

† Translation.—"It should consist in investigating the circumstances which have led to the late conflicts, in determining the share of responsibility of the chiefs of the insurrection, and of the agents of the local administration, as well as the compensation due to the victims, and finally to consider, in order to submit them to the approval of the Governments and of the Porte, the measures which might be adopted to avert fresh evils."

missioners will represent the Porte, together with the Five Powers, they should be named, and begin their operations as soon as possible.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 64.

Lord J. Russell to Consul Brant.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 10, 1860.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 16th ultimo,* detailing the plunder, massacres, and conflagrations which took place in the Christian quarter of Damascus, between the 9th and the 15th of July, and the exertions of the Algerines under Abd-el-Kader, in saving several hundreds from the ruins, I have to instruct you to convey to his Highness the Emir Abd-el-Kader, in suitable terms, the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for his noble exertions on that occasion in defence of the lives of the Christians.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 65.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 10.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, July* 21, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of my despatch of this date to his Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer relative to the mission of Fuad Pasha to Syria, and the state of the country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 65.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, July* 21, 1860.

THE Imperial Firman appointing Fuad Pasha the Porte's Commissioner, and conferring on him extraordinary powers, has been publicly read with the usual ceremonies, and his Excellency has issued a Proclamation to the people of Syria. The Pasha has just sent me several printed copies of both documents. I inclose translations.

I paid a second visit to Fuad Pasha yesterday, who received me with the same cordiality as before. I gave his Excellency such information as I deemed it desirable he should possess. In reference to what I said respecting the conduct of the Turkish officers and troops, who, according to my information, had encouraged the Druses to commit atrocities, and even menaced them should they not act in the manner prescribed, he said that he was open to receive any disclosures that might be made by Druses, in that or any other sense, under any proper conditions they chose, and, if necessary, through my medium. His Excellency informed me that he had taken measures for the subsistence and relief of the sufferers of Deir-el-Kamar; and that he had ordered the arrest, with a view to trial and condign punishment, of certain military officers, whom I have ascertained to be the Lieutenant-Colonel and two Majors who commanded at Deir-el-Kamar; that he would send at once Ahmet Pasha to Constantinople to answer for his conduct there; and that he would himself

* See "Further Papers relating to Disturbances in Syria," presented to Parliament in answer to Address of the House of Commons, dated July 30, 1860, No. 23.

leave for Damascus in three or four days, make a short stay there, and then take up his quarters at some spot between that city and Beyrout.

I regret to state that the neighbourhood of Sidon still continues to be the scene of Druse acts of violence and aggression, notwithstanding the conclusion of peace. I purpose to-day to bring this circumstance to the knowledge of the Porte's Commissioner, as well as the fact that the inhabitants of Christian villages close to Beyrout do not venture to return to their places to attend to their olive plantations, their sole remaining property, as the few who had done so have met with molestation and insult at the hands of the Druses.

I have accounts from Mr. Brant up to the 9th instant; comparative quiet continued to prevail; but no Christian could show himself out of doors without being assailed with opprobrious language and personal insult.

From Aleppo we have no intelligence as yet.

Captain Paynter, at my recommendation, despatched the "Mohawk" to Jaffa on the 18th, in consequence of the urgent request of Mr. Consul Kayat for a ship of war, on account of the demeanour and language of the Mahometans. The "Mohawk" was to call at the intermediate ports on her way back. Captain Howard's orders were to return forthwith, unless circumstances prevented his doing so. As up to this date he has not returned, I feel some anxiety in regard to the delay.

Inclosure 2 in No. 65.

Imperial Firman.

(Translation.)

TO the Honourable Magnate and Excellent Counsellor, the regulator of the world and director of public affairs with sagacity, and the accomplisher of the affairs of the people with a correct and right understanding, the establisher of authority and prosperity, the supporter of the foundations of happiness and dignity, who art surrounded by the various favours of the most High King, the greatest agent of our Sublime Government, and the greatest Counsellor of our high Royalty, intrusted with the Foreign Affairs of our august Government; chosen by our Majesty to be independent in the Extraordinary Commission for the Affairs of Syria, the bearer of our mark of the Mejidieh, the obtainer worthily of the honour of the decoration of your Imperial distinction, and of the military service of the first class; the wise Vizir, Mohammed Fuad Pasha, may God the most high preserve his dignity. As soon as thou receivest this our Imperial order, let it be known by thee.

Thou who art an energetic and distinguished Vizir, art aware fully of the civil war which has broken out between the Maronites and the Druses inhabiting Mount Lebanon in Syria. As soon as the news of the hostilities and civil war raging between them reached us, we were very much displeased out of compassion for the people; we, in our august power, look only with compassion upon our subjects notwithstanding their differences of religion, so that they all may enjoy security, comfort, happiness, and tranquillity, and that no party should molest another or trespass upon its rights in any way. This is our greatest aim and earnest desire.

As to the tyrannical and treacherous proceedings which have disturbed Mount Lebanon, it is in every respect contrary to our wishes and in contravention to the requirements of our justice. We, therefore, entrust thee, having full confidence in thy sagacity and wisdom, to take charge of this matter, and authorize thee, being fully satisfied of the prudence for which thou hast been distinguished in the world, to act independently in this matter, in order that thou mayest hasten to extinguish the fire of this excitement, and utterly to destroy those persons who gave birth to this disturbance, not sparing any of them, nor allowing to escape the perpetrators of these wicked acts, who have shed maliciously the blood of mankind. Now, O excellent Vizir, the unique amongst thy compeers, who art adorned with the above-mentioned honourable qualities, dignified and venerated among the men of our victorious kingdom,

thou, even thou art the person in whom our Majesty has put its confidence and trust, that thou mayest be on our part independent in this important matter free to order and to act. And we have sent to those parts a numerous army which will be subject to thy orders, to be despatched wherever thy prudence, judgment, and energy should deem necessary. Thou wilt, please God, immediately leave this place for that country, and as soon as thou reachest that land, all civil and military Vizirs will be subordinate to thee. They will abide by thy advice and submit to thy instructions in whatever thou deemest necessary for exterminating as soon as possible the traces of this civil war between the Maronites and the Druses. Exhaust every effort for restoring security and tranquillity, which are essential to the happiness of all men. Punish those who have ventured to shed the blood of human beings, in conformity to the just rules of our criminal code, for rebuke and chastisement. Hasten, O hasten to exterminate the traces of this dreadful disaster, acting with the wisdom and energy in which thou hast been signalised. Owing to thy wisdom and faithfulness in the discharge of the duties of thy office, and to the hope of thy doing thy utmost in carrying out thy mission, We have entrusted thee with the civil and military power in managing this affair. In view of which, these orders have been issued to thee from our Imperial Court, entrusting thee with the execution of this work, and permitting thee to depart, in order that thou mayest be directed and guided by them.

Depend on Our Royal Signet.

Dated the last of Zé-el-Hagi 1276 (*July* 1860).

Inclosure 3 in No. 65.

Proclamation.

(Translation.)

People of Syria!

THE civil war which has just broken out in Mount Lebanon between the Maronites and Druses, and the wicked shedding of blood resulting from it, have excited the indignation and the regrets of His Majesty our Sultan, his mercy and justice extending to all his subjects equally and without distinction.

It is quite opposed to His Majesty's pleasure that any person or party should, for any reason, or in any way, molest or transgress the rights of another. Whoever, therefore, ventures to molest a subject of the Porte is to be considered as a rebel against the Government. Hence, after investigating the outrages committed by the inhabitants of the Lebanon, every trace of hostility and dissension shall be removed.

I have come with an Imperial, independent, and extraordinary Commission to punish the perpetrators of these crimes, having with me Royal troops. The nature of my Commission will be known from the provisions of the High Firman addressed to me, and from which all the world will know the justice of our Sultan, who gives refuge to the oppressed, and inflicts punishment on the oppressors.

I will carry out this my Commission with perfect uprightness. Let all here be at peace.

As to those families who were driven out of their houses and homes, I will charge myself with their relief, and will see that they are provided with the means of living, thus manifesting to them the Imperial justice and compassion in every way.

Let hostilities cease altogether. From this and henceforth, the Imperial troops under our command will attack any transgressing party that begins hostilities, and we punish at once those persons who molest others. This Commission, while contemplating a cessation of all dissensions, is intended also to be an extraordinary means for hearing all cases of a criminal character affecting individuals. Let every one, therefore, great or small, boldly bring before us his grievances, and we shall not fail to hear them.

Be it known to all!

No. 66.

M. Thouvenel to Count Persigny.—(*Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Jaucourt, August* 10.)

M. le Comte, *Paris, le* 8 *Août*, 1860.

M. L'AMBASSADEUR d'Angleterre m'a annoncé la nomination de Lord Dufferin en qualité de Commissaire du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique en Syrie. M. le Comte Cowley m'a également fait savoir, en me le présentant, que Lord Dufferin part après demain pour Constantinople et qu'il doit recevoir ses instructions de Sir H. Bulwer. Je n'ai point appris jusqu'à présent que les autres Puissances aient désigné de leur côté des Commissaires, et j'attends qu'un accord se soit établi entre elles à cet égard pour soumettre le choix que j'aurai à faire à l'approbation de l'Empereur.

Vous vous rappelez, M. le Comte, l'idée que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté se forme de la tâche de la Commission, et comment je la définissais dans ma dépêche du 16 Juillet. Elle doit consister, vous disais-je, à rechercher les circonstances qui ont amené les derniers conflits, à déterminer la part de responsabilité des chefs de l'insurrection et des agents de l'administration locale, ainsi que les réparations dues aux victimes, et enfin à étudier, pour les soumettre à l'approbation des Gouvernements et de la Porte, les dispositions qui pourraient être adoptées pour conjurer de nouveaux malheurs. Il me semble que, pour se trouver investis de toute l'autorité nécessaire à l'accomplissement de cette mission, les Commissaires devraient tenir leurs instructions comme leur mandat des Gouvernements eux-mêmes, et continuer de recevoir leurs instructions des Cabinets tout en correspondant avec les Ambassadeurs à Constantinople dont ils auraient à prendre les avis. Je ne vois pas, d'ailleurs, qu'en traçant ces instructions il y eût lieu d'entrer dans les détails ; il suffirait de poser quelques principes sur lesquels les Gouvernements se concerteraient et dont l'application serait remise aux Commissaires. Pénétrer l'origine et les causes des derniers événements, se livrer, d'accord avec le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Porte, à une enquête ayant pour objet de punir les coupables, et, autant que possible, d'accorder aux familles qui ont particulièrement souffert les réparations matérielles des pertes qu'elles ont subies, examiner et suggérer dans un rapport collectif les modifications que comporterait l'organisation administrative de la Montagne telle qu'elle découle des arrangements de 1842 et de 1845, telles sont, à mon avis, comme je le disais dans notre première communication aux Cabinets, les données essentielles du programme que la Commission serait chargée de réaliser. J'aurais besoin, M. le Comte, de savoir si le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat partage cette manière de voir et s'il s'est placé dans cet ordre d'idées en envoyant Lord Dufferin en Syrie. Il est d'ailleurs indispensable que les Puissances s'entendent préalablement sur ce point, et Lord John Russell jugera sans doute opportun de faire connaître aux autres Cours l'opinion du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique à ce sujet, ainsi que sur la date à laquelle les Commissaires devraient être réunis à Beyrout.

Afin de mettre M. le Ministre de la Guerre en mesure de préciser, dans les instructions qu'il avait à donner à M. le Général de Beaufort, l'objet de la mission du Commandant-en-chef de nos troupes, j'ai adressé à M. l'Amiral Hamelin, chargé de l'interim de ce Département, la lettre dont vous trouverez la copie ci-jointe.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) THOUVENEL.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte, *Paris, August* 8, 1860.

THE English Ambassador has informed me of the appointment of Lord Dufferin as Commissioner of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty in Syria. Lord Cowley has also acquainted me, in presenting him to me, that Lord Dufferin starts the day after to-morrow for Constantinople, and that he

is to receive his instructions from Sir H. Bulwer. I have not learnt as yet that the other Powers have on their part named Commissioners, and I am waiting until an agreement may be established among them on this subject in order to submit to the approbation of the Emperor the choice which I shall have to make.

You remember, M. le Comte, the idea which His Majesty's Government entertains of the task of the Commission, and how I defined it in my despatch of the 16th July. It should consist, I told you, in investigating the circumstances which have led to the late conflicts, in determining the share of responsibility of the chiefs of the insurrection, and of the agents of the local administration, as well as the compensation due to the victims, and finally to consider, in order to submit them to the approval of the Governments and of the Porte, the measures which might be adopted to avert fresh evils. It appears to me that, in order that they may find themselves invested with all the authority necessary to the accomplishment of their mission, the Commissioners should hold their instructions like their authority from the Governments themselves, and continue to receive their instructions from the Cabinets, corresponding at the same time with the Ambassadors at Constantinople whose advice they will have to take. Further, I do not see that in laying down these instructions there would be occasion to enter into details; it would suffice to lay down certain principles upon which the Governments will come to an understanding and the application of which will be entrusted to the Commissioners. To penetrate the origin and the causes of the late events, to devote themselves, in concert with the Extraordinary Commissioner of the Porte, to an inquiry having for its object to punish the guilty, and, as far as possible, to grant to the families which have especially suffered, material compensation for the losses which they have experienced, to examine and suggest in a collective report the modifications which would be admissible in the administrative organisation of the Mountain as it results from the arrangements of 1842 and of 1845;—such are, in my opinion, as I said in our first communication to the Cabinets, the essential conditions of the programme which the Commission will be charged to carry out.

I should wish to know, M. le Comte, if the Principal Secretary of State shares these views, and if it was with these intentions that he sent Lord Dufferin to Syria. It is moreover indispensable that the Powers should come to a previous arrangement upon this point, and Lord John Russell will no doubt consider it opportune to make known to the other Courts the opinion of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty upon this subject, as well as upon the date when the Commissioners should be assembled at Beyrout.

With a view to place the Minister of War in a position to set forth in the instructions he had to give to General de Beaufort the object of the mission of the Commander-in-chief of our troops, I have addressed to Admiral Hamelin, temporarily in charge of that Department, the letter of which you will find a copy annexed.

Receive, &c.
(Signed) THOUVENEL.

Inclosure in No. 66.

M. Thouvenel to Admiral Hamelin, Minister of War ad interim.

M. l'Amiral et cher Collègue, *Paris, le 4 Août*, 1860.

CONFORMEMENT aux ordres de l'Empereur j'ai signé hier avec les Représentants des Grandes Puissances et M. l'Ambassadeur de Turquie le Protocole dont j'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer ci-joint la copie. Cet acte détermine le caractère et l'étendue du concours effectif prêté à la Turquie, en vue de mettre rapidement un terme aux désordres dont la Syrie est le théâtre. En indiquant le but que les Cabinets se proposent d'atteindre, il consacre leur accord et établit qu'ils interviennent à titre collectif et au nom de l'Europe après s'en être entendus avec la Porte, à laquelle appartient en premier lieu le

devoir d'aviser. La nature de cet arrangement doit servir de règle au Commandant-en-chef de nos troupes, et votre Excellence jugera sans doute nécessaire d'en tenir compte dans les instructions qu'elle aura à remettre à M. le Général de Beaufort d'Hautpoul.

L'objet de la mission de cet Officier Général et des Commandants des forces navales des Puissances réunies sur les côtes de Syrie, est de concourir à arrêter, par des mesures promptes et énergiques, l'effusion du sang, et à seconder la répression des attentats commis sur les Chrétiens, et qui ne sauraient rester impunis. L'Article III du Protocole stipule qu'à cet effet il devra, à son arrivée en Syrie, entrer en communication avec le Commissaire de la Porte. Cette clause était commandée par la situation même des choses ; l'accord des Puissances devait se retrouver dans la participation de leurs Agents appelés à contribuer au résultat qu'elles ont résolu de poursuivre. L'Envoyé du Sultan et M. le Général de Beaufort auront donc à réunir leurs efforts communs en combinant l'action de nos troupes avec les pleins pouvoirs dont le Commissaire Ottoman a été muni, et qui lui donnent le droit de rendre et de faire exécuter les décisions exigées par les circonstances. M. le Général de Beaufort toutefois conserve une entière liberté d'appréciation pour tout ce qui concerne l'honneur de notre drapeau et la sureté de notre corps expéditionnaire. A cet égard il demeure libre, en s'en expliquant cependant avec le Représentant du Gouvernement Turc, d'adopter les mesures et d'occuper les positions qu'il jugera utile de prendre.

J'invite l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Constantinople et nos Consuls à Beyrout et à Damas à seconder de tous les moyens en leur pouvoir l'accomplissement de la mission confiée à cet Officier Général.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) THOUVENEL.

(Translation.)

M. l'Amiral et cher Collègue, *Paris, August* 4, 1860.

IN conformity with the orders of the Emperor I signed yesterday with the Representatives of the Great Powers and the Ambassador of Turkey the Protocol of which I have the honour to send you the accompanying copy. This act determines the character and extent of the effective assistance afforded to Turkey, with a view quickly to put an end to the disorders of which Syria is the theatre.

Whilst pointing out the object which the Cabinets propose to attain, it sanctions their agreement, and establishes the fact that they interpose collectively, and in the name of Europe, after having come to an understanding to such effect with the Porte, to whom belongs in the first place the duty of originating the measures to be taken.

The nature of this arrangement will serve as a rule to the Commander-in-chief of our troops ; and your Excellency will no doubt deem it necessary to consider this in the instructions which you will have to address to General Beaufort d'Hautpoul.

The object of the mission of this General and of the Commanders of the naval forces of the Powers assembled on the coasts of Syria, is to assist in stopping, by prompt and energetic measures, the effusion of blood, and in putting an end to the outrages committed against the Christians, which cannot remain unpunished.

Article III of the Protocol stipulates that, to this end, he shall, upon his arrival in Syria, enter into communication with the Commissioner of the Porte. This clause was rendered necessary by the very situation of things ; the harmony between the Powers was to reappear in the participation of their Agents called upon to contribute to the attainment of the object which they have resolved to pursue. The Sultan's Envoy and General de Beaufort will have then to unite their common efforts by combining the action of our forces with the full powers with which the Turkish Commissioner has been vested, and which gave him the right to make, and to cause to be executed, the decisions called for by circumstances.

General de Beaufort retains, however, entire liberty of judgment in every matter which concerns the honour of our flag and the safety of our expeditionary force.

In this respect, he remains free to adopt such measures and to occupy such positions as he may judge to be useful; being answerable for them, however, to the Representative of the Turkish Government.

I invite the Ambassador of His Majesty at Constantinople, and our Consuls at Beyrout and Damascus, to further, by every means in their power, the accomplishment of the undertaking entrusted to this general officer.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) THOUVENEL.

No. 67.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, August* 11, 1860.

HER Majesty's Government approve the language which you held to M. Thouvenel as reportedin your despatch of the 7th instant, upon the subject of the Commission about to procced to Syria.

Since the receipt of your despatch Count Jaucourt has communicated to me a copy of a despatch from M. Thouvenel to Count de Persigny upon the same subject, a copy of which is inclosed herewith for your Excellency's information.*

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 68.

Marquis d'Azeglio to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 11.)

23, *Park Lane, le* 10 *Août,* 1860.

LE Marquis d'Azeglio présente ses compliments à son Excellence Lord John Russell et s'empresse de lui transmettre ci-joint copie de la dépêche de son Excellence le Comte de Cavour relative aux affaires de la Syrie dont il a eu l'honneur de lui donner lecture hier.

Le Marquis d'Azeglio prie son Excellence Lord John Russell d'agréer, &c.

(Translation.)

23, *Park Lane, August* 10, 1860.

THE Marquis d'Azeglio presents his compliments to his Excellency Lord John Russell and hastens to transmit herewith a copy of a despatch from his Excellency Count Cavour, relative to the affairs of Syria, which he had the honour of reading to him yesterday.

The Marquis d'Azeglio begs Lord John Russell to accept, &c.

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* No. 66.

Inclosure 1 in No. 68.

Count Cavour to the Marquis d'Azeglio.

M. le Marquis, *Turin, le 3 Août,* 1860.

DES les premières complications soulevées par la situation des Chrétiens en Orient, le Gouvernement du Roi, invoquant les droits que lui confère le Traité de Paris de 1856, demanda à concourir aux négociations qui s'ouvriraient entre les Puissances qui avaient signé avec lui les stipulations réglant la position de la Turquie dans ses rapports avec l'Europe.

Lorsque, plus tard, les désordres et les massacres de Syrie vinrent jeter une profonde émotion en Europe, et faire sentir l'urgente nécessité de mesures propres à protéger efficacement la vie et le repos des malheureuses populations Chrétiennes de ces contrées, le Gouvernement du Roi, partageant les sympathies et les sollicitudes de tous les pays civilisés, réclama de nouveau la part qui lui revenait dans le concert qui s'établirait entre les signataires du Traité de Paris pour aviser aux moyens d'aider la Turquie à mettre un terme à ces excès et à ces désastres.

Fondée sur les dispositions d'un acte solennel, non moins que sur la protection que la Sardaigne doit à ses nombreux nationaux résidants en Syrie, et sur les graves intérêts de sa marine et de son commerce, la demande du Cabinet de Turin se recommandait naturellement à la considération des Puissances.

En effet, à Paris, comme à Londres et à St. Pétersbourg, nous avons rencontré dans la justice et dans la loyauté de ces Cours les meilleures dispositions à seconder nos désirs.

Nous avons appris toutefois que, pour faciliter une entente qui n'aurait su admettre de délai sans laisser les habitants Chrétiens de la Syrie en proie aux dévices de leurs adversaires, les Puissances auraient adopté la résolution de procéder uniquement en vertu de l'arrangement conclu en 1845, auquel la Sardaigne n'a pas été partie.

Cette manière d'envisager la question en dehors des clauses du Traité signé à Paris le 30 Mars, 1856, doit, on le concevra, nous suggérer de graves objections.

Je sais qu'en 1845 les Cinq Grandes Puissances, voulant empêcher le retour des désordres qui avaient ensanglanté la Syrie, étaient convenues avec la Porte d'assurer, par certaines mesures d'administration intérieure, le repos et la tranquillité de ces malheureuses contrées.

Les terribles péripéties dont l'annonce est venue surprendre si douloureusement l'Europe Chrétienne, proviennent sans contredit de la même source, et il est naturel que les Puissances qui avaient cru les éloigner à jamais par les arrangements de 1845, reconnaissant ou leur insuffisance ou leur inexécution, soient amenées à prendre, de concert avec la Porte, des mesures plus énergiques et plus efficaces.

Mais on ne saurait méconnaître, en même temps, que si la question est locale quant à l'étendue du territoire qui est le théâtre des événements, elle a toujours pris des proportions Européennes par l'influence qu'en ressentent nécessairement la situation de la Turquie et les relations entre les divers Etats de l'Europe. En effet, nous n'avons pas besoin de rappeler combien de fois, avant d'aboutir aux règlements de 1845, les affaires de Syrie faillirent exposer l'Europe à des complications sérieuses.

D'autre part, on ne saurait oublier non plus que le but principal que les Puissances se sont proposé en admettant, en 1855, la Turquie aux avantages du concert Européen a été précisément d'éviter que des questions locales ou des Conventions particulières assez importantes pour donner lieu à une intervention armée pussent se soustraire au contrôle et à l'action collective de toutes indistinctement les Puissances signataires du Traité qui créait un nouveau droit publique relativement à la Turquie.

Si, par conséquent, la situation actuelle se rattache, quant aux faits, aux arrangements de 1845, quant au mode de procéder, il nous semble de toute évidence qu'il doit être cherché dans les stipulations de 1856, auxquelles la Sardaigne a été partie.

Mais si les considérations qui précèdent confirment la certitude où nous avons toujours été de ne réclamer qu'un droit consacré par un Traité solennel, nous nous félicitons trop de l'accord qui s'est heureusement établie pour que

nous voulions courir la moindre risque de soulever des dissentiments propres à le troubler, ou d'entraver l'action bienfaisante que l'Europe s'est décidée à exercer en faveur des populations ignominées par de si cruels désastres.

Nous n'ignorons pas, en effet, les obstacles qu'auraient opposé à l'accueil de notre demande les efforts constants de l'Autriche pour nous exclure d'accords qui devraient être à l'abri de toute jalousie politique, et auxquels effectivement l'esprit conciliant des autres Puissances a voulu imprimer le caractère d'une généreuse manifestation de la Chrétienté.

Aussi, tout en réservant formellement les droits que lui confère le Traité de Paris, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté s'abstiendra-t-il en ce moment d'insister davantage dans ses réclamations.

Mais en donnant ce gage de l'esprit de conciliation dont il est animé en présence d'une cause où la Chrétienté toute entière doit témoigner de la solidarité de ses sentiments, la Cour de Turin est persuadée que si la question qui actuellement est considérée comme locale, et limitée en quelque sorte par les règlements de 1845, venait à se généraliser et à toucher aux rapports établis par le nouveau droit public entre la Turquie et les autres Puissances de l'Europe, la Sardaigne sera appelée à prendre part aux délibérations communes.

Je vous autorise, M. le Marquis, à donner copie de la présente dépêche à Lord John Russell.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) C. CAVOUR.

(Translation.)

M. le Marquis, *Turin, August* 3, 1860.

SINCE the first embarrassments occasioned by the position of the Christians in the East, the King's Government, citing the rights granted to it by the Treaty of Paris of 1856, requested to take part in the negotiations which were taking place between the Powers who had signed with it the stipulations determining the position of Turkey in its relations to Europe.

When, afterwards, the disturbances and the massacres in Syria caused a deep feeling in Europe, and made apparent the urgent necessity for measures calculated to protect effectually the life and tranquillity of the unfortunate Christian inhabitants of these countries, the King's Government, sharing the sympathy and anxiety of all civilized countries, again claimed the share belonging to them, in the understanding which might be established between those Powers who had signed the Treaty of Paris, for considering the means of aiding Turkey to put an end to these excesses and disasters.

Founded on the provisions of a solemn act, not less than on the protection which is due from Sardinia to the many Sardinians resident in Syria, and on the serious interests of her navy and commerce, the request of the Cabinet of Turin naturally recommended itself to the consideration of the Powers.

In fact, at Paris, as at London and St. Petersburg, we have found in the justice and loyalty of those Courts the greatest disposition to second our wishes.

We learnt, nevertheless, that, in order to facilitate an understanding which could not be delayed without leaving the Christian inhabitants of Syria exposed to the designs of their enemies, the Powers had resolved to act solely in virtue of the arrangement concluded in 1845, to which Sardinia was not a party.

This method of viewing the question without reference to the clauses of the Treaty signed at Paris on the 20th of March, 1856, must, as might be supposed, suggest to us serious objections.

I am aware that in 1845 the Five Great Powers, wishing to prevent the recurrence of the disturbances which had filled Syria with bloodshed, agreed with the Porte to insure, by certain measures of internal administration, the quiet and tranquillity of that unhappy land.

The terrible commotions, the report of which has recently so painfully disturbed Christian Europe, originate without doubt in the same source, and naturally the Powers who had thought to put an end to them for ever by the arrangements of 1845, seeing either that they are ineffectual or not properly carried out, are led to take, in concert with the Porte, more energetic and effectual measures.

But it cannot be denied at the same time that, if the question is only local as far as regards the tract of country which is the theatre of these events, it has all the importance of a European one, from the influence which it exercises on the position of Turkey, and the relations between the different States of Europe. In fact, we need not call to mind how often the affairs of Syria, before the conclusion of the arrangements of 1845, were likely to expose Europe to serious embarrassments.

But, on the other hand, it is impossible to forget that the principal object which the Powers had in view in admitting, in 1855, Turkey to the advantage of relations with Europe, was precisely to prevent local questions or incidental Conventions of sufficient importance to occasion military intervention, from being subjected to the control and collective action of all the Powers, without distinction, who signed the Treaty which created a new public right with regard to Turkey.

If, consequently, the present situation is connected, as to its facts, with the arrangements of 1845, as to the mode of procedure, it appears to us clearly proved that it should be sought in the stipulations of 1856, to which Sardinia was a party.

But if the above considerations confirm the conviction we have always felt, that we were only claiming a right consecrated by a solemn treaty, we are too happy to see the understanding which is thus happily established, to wish to run the least risk of arousing a diversity of opinion which might disturb it, or of fettering the beneficial influence which Europe has resolved to exercise in favour of the people oppressed by such terrible disasters.

We are not, however, ignorant of the obstacles which would have been opposed to the reception of our request by the constant efforts of Austria to exclude us from arrangements which ought to be free from all political jealousy, and on which, in fact, the conciliating spirit of the other Powers has wished to stamp the character of a generous manifestation of Christianity.

Moreover, whilst formally reserving all rights granted by the Treaty of Paris, His Majesty's Government will abstain henceforth from insisting further on its claims.

But whilst giving this pledge of the conciliatory spirit by which it is animated in face of a cause in which the whole of Christendom ought to testify to the unity of its feelings, the Court of Turin is persuaded that if the question which is now considered as local, and in some sort limited by the arrangements of 1845, should become general, and should touch the relations established by the new public right between Turkey and the other Powers of Europe, that Sardinia would be invited to take part in the common deliberations.

I authorize you, M. le Marquis, to give a copy of this despatch to Lord John Russell.

Accept, &c.
(Signed) C. CAVOUR.

No. 69.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 11.)

(Extract.) *Paris, August* 10, 1860.

I HAVE informed M. Thouvenel in the words of your Lordship's despatch of yesterday's date, that Her Majesty's Government agree with that of France respecting the instructions to be issued to the Commissioners who are to proceed to Syria; that, to meet the wishes of the French Government, they are satisfied that those instructions should issue from the Five Powers, but that they consider it of the utmost importance that the Commissioners should be named, and begin their operations as soon as possible.

No. 70.

Proposed Instructions to the French Commissioner in Syria.—(Communicated by the Count de Jaucourt, August 11.)

VOUS connaissez l'objet de la mission dont vous êtes chargé, comme Commissaire de l'Empereur en Syrie, et vous comprendrez que je ne saurais ni prévoir toutes les difficultés que vous aurez à surmonter, ni vous indiquer en détail les divers points que vous aurez à résoudre. Je me bornerai donc à vous donner ici les directions générales qui devront vous servir de règle de conduite.

Votre premier soin, après vous être mis en rapport avec les Commissaires d'Autriche, de Grande Bretagne, de Prusse, et de Russie, et avec celui du Sultan, sera de rechercher, de concert avec eux, l'origine et les causes des événements, de déterminer la part de responsabilité des chefs de l'insurrection et des agents de l'administration, et de provoquer la punition des coupables. Les assurances qui nous ont été données à Constantinople et les pouvoirs que le Commissaire Ottoman a reçu du Sultan ne permettent pas de douter que vous ne trouviez, de sa part, tout le concours que vous avez droit d'en attendre pour que l'enquête à laquelle vous vous livrerez avec lui réponde aux conditions d'une sévère et impartiale justice.

Il conviendra, d'autre part, d'apprécier l'étendue des désastres qui ont frappé les populations Chrétiennes, et de combiner les moyens propres à soulager et même à indemniser, autant que possible, les pertes constatées. C'est là une œuvre de réparation à laquelle tous les Commissaires voudront consacrer leurs efforts. Mais il est un autre point qui mérite également de fixer votre attention; je veux parler des arrangements qu'il pourrait être utile de prendre pour assurer, à l'avenir, l'ordre et la sécurité de Syrie et conjurer le retour des mêmes calamités. Vous puiserez, dans une appréciation équitable des faits et des circonstances qui les ont motivés, les lumières nécessaires pour suggérer les modifications qu'il y aurait lieu d'apporter à l'état de choses actuel et particulièrement dans l'organisation de la Montagne, telle que l'ont établie les arrangements de 1842 et 1845. L'exposé de ces modifications devrait faire l'objet d'un rapport commun qui serait arrêté par tous les Commissaires collectivement.

Telles sont, Monsieur, les seules instructions qu'il me paraisse pour le moment utile de vous donner. Les Commissaires d'Autriche, de Grande Bretagne, de Prusse, et de Russie, en reçoivent d'identiques; vous vous appliquerez à entretenir avec eux un parfait accord, et vous les trouverez, je n'en doute pas, animés de leur côté des mêmes dispositions à votre égard.

J'invite les Consuls de Sa Majesté en Syrie à répondre à toutes les demandes que vous auriez à leur adresser et à vous prêter un entier concours pour l'accomplissement de votre mission.

Je communique les présentes instructions à M. l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Constantinople. Vous aurez soin de lui transmettre toutes les informations qui pourront l'intéresser, et vous vous conformerez aux directions spéciales qu'il serait dans le cas de vous adresser.

(Translation.)

YOU are acquainted with the object of the Mission with which you are charged as Commissioner of the Emperor in Syria, and you will understand that it is not in my power either to foresee those difficulties which you will have to surmount, or to set before you, in detail, the different points which you will have to settle. I will confine myself, therefore, to giving you here the general directions which are to serve as the rule for your conduct.

Your first care, after having placed yourself in communication with the Commissioners of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, and with the Commissioner of the Sultan, will be to examine, in concert with them, into the origin and the causes of events, to determine the amount of responsibility of the leaders of the insurrection and of the agents of the Government, and to call for the punishment of the guilty. The assurances which have been given us at Constantinople, and the powers which the Ottoman Commissioner has

received from the Sultan, leave no room to doubt that you will meet with from him every assistance which you have a right to expect, in order that the inquiry to which you will devote yourself with him may fulfil the conditions of strict and impartial justice.

It will be necessary, on the other hand, to estimate the extent of the disasters which have afflicted the Christian populations, and to correct the measures adapted to alleviate, and also to obtain an indemnity, as far as possible, for well authenticated losses. This is a work of reparation to which all the Commissioners will devote their efforts. But there is another point which equally deserves to engage your attention; I speak of the arrangements which it might be useful to make in order to secure for the future the order and security of Syria, and to avert the recurrence of similar calamities.

From a just estimate of events, and of the circumstances which have led to them, you will derive the requisite knowledge for suggesting the modifications which it may be necessary to apply to the present state of affairs, and especially to the organization of the Mountain, as established by the arrangements of 1842 and 1845. The statement of those modifications should form the subject of a joint report, which should be drawn up by all the Cemmissioners collectively.

Such, Sir, are the only instructions which for the moment it appears to us useful to give you. The Commissioners of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, are in receipt of identical ones. You will study to maintain a perfect understanding with them, and you will, I have no doubt, find them, on their part, animated by the same disposition towards you.

I directed His Majesty's Consuls in Syria to respond to all applications which you may have occasion to make to them, and to afford you a thorough co-operation for the accomplishment of your mission.

I communicate the present instructions to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople. You will take care to transmit to him any information which interest him, and you will obey the special instructions which he may be in a position to address to you.

No. 71.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 12.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, July* 28, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of my despatch of this date to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, reporting the departure of Fuad Pasha for Damascus, and latest intelligence received from that city.

Subsequent to the outbreak at Damascus, the Turkish Irregular Cavalry (chiefly Kurds) in garrison at Baalbeck, under the command of Hassan Agha Yaziji, fell upon the Christian population both of the town and adjacent country, and committed dreadful excesses against them. Aided by Metualis and Mussulmans of the district, they plundered the houses of the Christians, violated the women, sacked and burnt about twenty churches and two convents, and generally laid waste that part of the district inhabited by Christians, of whom several were killed.

The Greek Catholic Bishop of Baalbeck has to-day sent me, in common with the other Consuls of the Great Powers, a statement of these frightful disasters; want of time compels me to defer transmitting a translation of the Prelate's letter to a future occasion. He estimates the losses of the Christians at 20,000 purses (80,000*l.*); he himself had sought refuge in flight. Of the Christians some fled, and others embraced Mahometanism to save their lives.

I have, &c.

(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure in No. 71.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract) *Beyrout, July* 28, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to state that Fuad Pasha left for Damascus yesterday afternoon. His Excellency took with him two battalions of troops and six pieces of artillery. He expressed to me his determination to act with the utmost rigour at Damascus. Late in the evening a Turkish gun-boat arrived direct from Constantinople, whence she had been dispatched with letters for Fuad Pasha in consequence of the receipt at the Porte of the news of the outbreak at Damascus. A courier was immediately despatched with the letters and came up with Fuad Pasha a few hours from Beyrout. This gun-boat returns to Constantinople this evening, and I avail myself of the opportunity, through the kindness of Admiral Moustapha Pasha, to transmit this despatch to your Excellency.

Previously to his departure, Fuad Pasha deputed Frango Effendi, one of his Attachés, and Bishop Tobia, to proceed to the Kesrouan, in order to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between the peasantry and the Hazin Sheiks who, as your Excellency is aware, were expelled by the peasantry from that district about two years ago. The Commissioners left yesterday for Djouni Bay in a small Turkish man-of-war. The Pasha's first intention was to have also sent the Christian Kaimakam, but on the Bishop's pointing out to him the extreme danger of such a step, the Kesrouan being strongly disaffected towards the Kaimakam, his Excellency renounced the idea. This functionary is universally detested in the Lebanon, and much of what has occurred is laid at his door.

Her Majesty's ship "Neptune" is in sight.

No. 72

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 12.)

My Lord, *Therapia, August* 1, 1860.

ALL that I can say with respect to Syria by this post is, that order has been restored at Damascus, and that Fuad Pasha was, according to the last accounts, proceeding there.

The Commander, Achmet Pasha, had been sent here for trial; but Aali finding he accused others, and that his conduct could only be adequately inquired into or dealt with at Damascus, has sent him back thither.

There is a strong feeling against him at the Porte, and there seems every reason to believe that the man was always known to be a coward, which is not the usual defect of a Turk.

The Druses and Maronites have quietly returned to their respective homes, having signed a peace, and no accounts of further disturbances have reached us, though M. de Lanusse, the French Agent at Damascus, seems to expect some. This gentleman gives the killed at Damascus at 8,000; Colonel O'Reilly writes 500; Mr. Brant, I believe, 5,000. But the fact is, no one yet can pretend to give a correct figure of this kind.

That there are many exaggerations is certain, since, putting together the number of persons said by some parties to be killed, to be saved by Abd-el-Kader, and to be in the citadel, the amount would be more, perhaps, than double the number of Christians that ever were in Damascus.

But sufficient is known to bear witness to a horrible catastrophe comprising murder, robbery, and pillage.

The priests and higher orders of Mussulmans seem to have behaved

well, and to have done their utmost to save the lives of the Christians and tranquillize the disorder, in which but a small mob seem at first to have been concerned.

The conflagration in the city, however, attracted the Arabs on its outskirts. Their entry into the town gave a new character to affairs, and from that moment a great portion of the place seems to have been delivered up mercilessly to plunder and the sword.

It will be very important as to the future to ascertain, as accurately as possible, the primary causes of these disturbances, and how far the Seraskier's conduct was the effect of fear or of treachery.

To imagine that the Government here was a party to such treachery, is, in my opinion, out of the question; but as the Pasha himself was dissatisfied with the Porte, and wished to prove he had been left with an inefficient force, it is possible that this feeling may have influenced his conduct, if any other motive than fear is necessary to account for it.

The officers concerned at Hasbeya and Zahlé will be tried by court-martial. Mr. Moore seems to say that the idea of the arrival of French troops in Syria appears rather to cause excitement and alarm as to future troubles; but at present, at all events, things are settling down, and it will be desirable, if a French force is sent, that it should be rather kept in the sea-towns than employed in the interior, where the Turkish forces might be used, and European Commissioners sent, if any question in which the European Governments are interested has to be investigated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

No. 73.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 12.)

My Lord, *Therapia, August* 1, 1860.

THE accompanying letter from Colonel O'Reilly, who is attached to Fuad Pasha's mission in Syria, reached me yesterday, and I think it of sufficient interest to transmit it to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure in No. 73.

Colonel O'Reilly to Sir H. Bulwer.

My dear Sir, *Beyrout, July* 18, 1860.

FUAD PASHA has requested me to write to you and to give you an account of what he has found to be the state of the country, and of the subjects contained in his official despatches, which he thinks you would desire to have information of. He desires me at the same time to present his compliments, and to say that were it not owing to the great press of affairs, he would write to your Excellency himself. He finds, and I myself believe, the state of the country round Beyrout to be perfectly tranquil, as a kind of truce between the Druses and Maronites has been made, and the former have returned to their villages. He is endeavouring to restore the public confidence in the authorities, which has been shaken by the conduct of the Turkish Commanders in some places: for this purpose he has ordered Khoorshid Pasha to visit in a corvette

the towns on the coast as far as Latakia, and the Vice-Admiral Mustapha Pasha to proceed for the same purpose as far as Acre, sending along with him one of the Catholic members of the Commission to distribute money to be used for the relief of the wounded Maronites along the coast; he has already given money to the Sisters of Charity (French) here, for the additional expenses of their hospital incurred by the reception of the wounded.

At Damascus there has been a succession of outrages for several days, all directed against the Christians of the town. The whole of the settled Mussulman population of Damascus, the members of the Ulemah, and other chiefs of that religion, endeavoured to stop the proceedings of the rioters, who were men from a suburb of the city called the Meidan, inhabited by an unsettled population of Hauranees and Arabs and by the Kurdish population in the neighbourhood of the city. The actors of the scenes were all Mussulmans or Druses, but all respectable Mussulmans endeavoured to arrest the movement. Their efforts do not seem to have been supported by the action of the military authorities. Fuad Pasha has in consequence ordered Ahmet Pasha, late Commander-in-chief, to come to Beyrout to surrender himself. Osman Bey and Abd-ul-Selam Bey, the officers who remained passive at Hasbeya and Deir-el-Kamar during the massacres, are also to be tried by court-martial this week. The number of killed at Damascus is about 500, the remainder of the inhabitants of the Christian quarters having found a refuge in the Castle.

Fuad Pasha has received reports since his arrival which assure him of the perfect restoration of tranquillity.

He has dispatched a letter to Aleppo directing the Commandant to resort to force at once if anything occurs, and to devote himself and his troops to the last man for the protection of order.

In a few days more we will advance into the interior, when his Excellency intends to inflict a most severe punishment on the guilty parties at Damascus.

I have, &c.

(Signed) E. O'REILLY.

No. 74.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 12.)

My Lord, *Therapia, August* 1, 1860.

I INCLOSE your Lordship the copy of a telegram written to the Turkish Ambassador at Paris, in consequence of the French Ambassador's communication here, relative to the sending of foreign troops to Syria.

Aali Pasha read me another communication which he also addressed to his Ambassador at Paris, but of which I have not a copy, stating the many objections the Porte had to this expedition, on account of the excitement it might produce, and the evils that excitement might bring about.

His Highness believes also that such assistance is not necessary.

At the same time, understanding the feelings that may exist in Europe on this subject, he does not counsel the Sultan to oppose the wishes of the Great Powers, but rather urges those Powers to take into consideration the arguments he lays before them. As everything I could here say on this subject has either been said by me already, or will be urged by the Turkish Ambassadors in London and Paris, I do not on this occasion trouble your Lordship with any additional remarks; but to sum up my opinions in a few words, I should say that Aali Pasha probably takes an exaggerated view of the consequences which an European intervention may produce, but that, at the same time, such an intervention is not without considerable danger, and may, from a variety of causes, including the excitement between rival populations, to which Aali Pasha alludes, cause further complications.

It is, therefore, better avoided, unless there is some strong necessity for it, or some clear object to be arrived at by it; but if either such strong necessity exists, or such a definite object is to be arrived at, the considerations to which

the Acting Grand Vizier calls attention, can only be regarded so far as relates to the taking of every possible precaution against the causes for apprehension which he suggests.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure in No. 74.

Aali Pasha to Ahmed Vefyk Efendi.

(Translation.) *July* 27, 1860.

HIS MAJESTY has been more deeply impressed than any one else by the afflicting events of Syria. The severe punishment of the malefactors who have been the cause of, or instrumental in them, as well as of those functionaries who have not performed their duty in preventing them, has been determined upon. Full authority and ample forces have been given to Fuad Pasha for that purpose. If it please God, the matter will be soon settled in accordance with the wishes of the sympathising heart of His Majesty, those of all right thinking Mussulmans, and of Europe itself.

The telegram sent to the French Government respecting the sending of a European Commission for the purpose of inquiring into the circumstances attending the above events and for acting in conjunction with the Imperial (Turkish) functionaries in the reform of the Regulations of 1845, as well as respecting the sending of a military force to assist His Majesty's Government in virtue of a Convention to be concluded between His Majesty's and the European Governments, and finally respecting the granting by telegraph to His Majesty's Representative in Paris of full powers for discussing such a Convention with the Plenipotentiaries of those Governments, has been communicated by M. de Lavalette to the Sublime Porte.

The necessities of the case on these communications, have been repeatedly weighed and discussed in the Council of Ministers. The question of the Commission has been considered as one in the natural order of things.

Respecting the sending of troops at this juncture to Syria, certain considerations of the most important nature have been communicated to the French and British Ambassadors at Constantinople. Moreover according to the recent advices of the Porte, it is demonstrated and proved that the military forces of His Majesty at present in Syria are sufficient for satisfying the present necessities, and for obtaining the conclusion desired by His Majesty and His Allies. Nevertheless should it appear to the illustrious Governments, who are the friends and Allies of the Sultan's Government, during the discussion of the matter by their respective Plenipotentiaries assembled at Paris, that in order to ensure the speedy and complete return as well as the consolidation of order, of peace, and the authority of His Majesty's Government in Syria, it is necessary to send thither a European military force to act in concert with the Porte's Commissioner. His Majesty has been pleased to order that you be appointed and invested with full powers for discussing and signing a Convention with the Representatives of the above Governments on the following bases:—

1. The movements and action of the troops to be sent are to take place in concert with the authorities of the Porte.
2. Their number is to be apportioned according to the present situation.
3. The time of their return and withdrawal is to be specified.

You will immediately communicate with M. Thouvenel in this sense, and give him a copy of this telegram.

No. 75.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, August* 13, 1860.

AS there may arise, in the opinion of the French Government, a necessity for dispatching to Syria the remaining 6,000 men stipulated for in the Protocol

of the 3rd instant, your Excellency is instructed in such case to report such opinion of the French Government.

Her Majesty's Government will then consider whether there is a cause for such reinforcement, and whether the half or even the whole of the additional 6,000 men shall be furnished by Her Majesty.

At present it seems desirable that the French Division should not proceed to Damascus, as the reports from thence show that they might cause a fresh outbreak of Mahometan fanaticism.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 76.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, August* 14, 1860.

I HAVE now the honour to forward to your Lordship the instructions of Her Majesty's Government for your guidance as Her Majesty's Commissioner to Syria.

They have been framed in complete accordance with the French Government, and will be found identical, I trust, with those of the Governments of Austria, Prussia, and Russia. You will arrange with Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte the time of your leaving Constantinople for the coast of Syria.

In my opinion it is desirable you should enter upon your duties as soon as possible, in order that justice, by being speedy, may produce the more effect.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 77.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, August* 14, 1860.

YOU are already informed of the object of the mission with which you are charged, as a member of the Commission about to proceed to Syria, and you will easily understand that it is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to foresee all the difficulties you will have to encounter, or to point out to you in detail the different matters on which you may have to treat. I will therefore confine myself at present to those general directions which may serve to guide your conduct, without giving any specific instructions.

Your first care, after putting yourself in relation with the Commissioner of the Porte, and with those of Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia, will be to inquire, in concert with them, into the origin and causes of the late deplorable events, to determine the share of responsibility incurred by the chiefs of the insurrection and the agents of the administration, and to call for the punishment of the guilty. The assurances which have been given at Constantinople, and the powers which the Turkish Commissioner has received from the Sultan, exclude all doubt that you will find on his part all the assistance which you have a right to expect in order that the inquiry which you will conduct in concert with him may have for its result the execution of severe and impartial justice with regard to the chiefs, as well as the subordinate instruments of crime.

It will be your duty, on the other hand, to appreciate the extent of the disasters which have been suffered by the Christians, and to consider of the means best fitted to alleviate, and even to indemnify, as far as possible, the losses which have been sustained. There is another point which equally deserves attention; I mean the arrangements which it may be useful to make in order to establish for the future order and security in Syria, and prevent the return of similar calamities. You will find in an equitable examination of facts, and of the circumstances which have given rise to them, the data necessary to enable

you to suggest the modifications which it may be necessary to make in the present arrangements, and in the organization of the Lebanon, as settled in 1842 and 1845. A report on these modifications should be made by all the Commissioners collectively.

Such are the only instructions which I have to give you. The Commissioners of Austria, of France, of Prussia, and of Russia, will, I have reason to hope, receive instructions identical in substance; you will apply yourself to act with your colleagues in the spirit of harmony, and you will, I doubt not, find them animated by the same spirit.

I shall communicate the present instructions to Her Majesty's Ambassador, to whom as well as to me you will transmit your reports.

I shall also desire Her Majesty's Consuls in Syria to lend you every aid which may contribute to the success of your mission.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 78.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, August* 14, 1860.

AMONG the subjects which will require your immediate attention, the condition of the Christian women who have been carried away to Turkish harems is one of the most urgent.

You will press upon Fuad Pasha and your European colleagues the necessity of taking immediate measures for rescuing those unfortunate women from their lamentable situation. Many of them, no doubt, have lost their husbands, fathers, and brothers; so that it will be a matter of some difficulty to find places of refuge where their lives will be safe, and means of sustenance can be ensured to them.

But upon these and other details Her Majesty's Government must leave you to exercise your own judgment.

Much will, of course, depend on the selection and guidance of the Authorities to whom this rich and fertile country is in future to be confided. Pashas like Khoorshid of Beyrout, and Achmet of Damascus, would pervert the best regulations that can be framed. Your Lordship will, therefore, sedulously inquire into the character and disposition of any new Governors who may be likely to receive appointments from the Government of Constantinople.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 79.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 15.)

My Lord, *Paris, August* 14, 1860.

M. BECLARD, who was for some time Consul-General in Wallachia, will be the French Commissioner in Syria.

M. Thouvenel has been informed that the Russian Government have appointed M. Novikow, Secretary to the Russian Legation at Constantinople, to be the Russian Commissioner.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 80.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 15.)

My Lord, *Paris, August* 14, 1860.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of yesterday's date, I have the honour to state that there does not appear to be any desire to

reinforce the French force sent to Syria. M. Thouvenel certainly does not contemplate any necessity of the kind.

On my remarking to his Excellency that the state of public feeling at Damascus seemed to render it desirable that the French troops should not proceed thither, his Excellency observed that he believed that there was no intention of their going there, certainly not without the request of Fuad Pasha.

He said farther, that he thought that Her Majesty's Government might rely on General Beaufort's doing nothing to provoke public feeling. That officer had been strictly cautioned by the Emperor on this very point.

I have, &c.

(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 81.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 16, 1860.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 31st ultimo, I transmit for your Excellency's information copies of the instructions which I have given to Lord Dufferin for his guidance as Her Majesty's Commissioner to Syria.*

They have been drawn up in accordance with the instructions furnished by the French Government to their Commissioner, and will, I trust, be found identical with those furnished to the Commissioners of Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

You will have learnt from my telegram of the 13th instant that Her Majesty's Government considers it desirable that the Commission should enter upon their duties as soon as possible, and Lord Dufferin may, therefore, have probably proceeded to Syria before your Excellency receives this despatch; in which case I have to instruct you to forward to his Lordship the instructions which are herewith inclosed, together with any further information which your Excellency may consider will assist him in the object of his mission.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 82.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 17.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, July* 26, 1860.

I HAVE the honor to report that Her Majesty's ship "Marlborough," bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Martin, arrived here on the 24th instant, at sunset. On the following day Her Majesty's ship "Victor Emmanuel" joined the flag-ship.

I lost no time in waiting on the Admiral. Next day Admiral Martin, attended by his Staff and myself, called upon Fuad Pasha, who received the Admiral with the honors due to his rank.

After the interchange of the usual civilities, Admiral Martin, seconded by myself, made a strong representation to the Imperial Commissioner against the contemplated continuance of Khoorshid Pasha in his post of Governor-General on his return from Latakia. The Admiral very ably and impressively argued the point, and left with the Pasha a memorandum on the subject, a copy of which I beg leave to inclose for your Lordship's perusal.

Admiral Martin had previously been pleased to show me the memorandum, in which I had expressed my entire concurrence.

In reply, Fuad Pasha said that he would consider the matter before giving an answer, and that, as he purposed returning the visit the next day, he would do so in person. His Excellency accordingly came on board the flag-ship this morning, where I had preceded him, at the request of the Admiral, who wished

* Nos. 76 and 77.

me to be present at the interview. Fuad Pasha told us that he had decided upon adopting Admiral Martin's recommendation, as a proof, he said, of his desire to do what was right, of deference to the judgment of the Commander-in-chief, and of his readiness to do what was agreeable to the English, allies of his Government.

Subsequently Fuad Pasha wrote me and the other Foreign Authorities the usual circular announcing the suspension from his functions of Khoorshid Pasha, and the appointment of Admiral Mustapha Pasha to be Governor in his stead, *ad interim*. Inclosed is a copy of Fuad Pasha's letter to me.

It would be superfluous for me to dwell upon the propriety and wisdom of Admiral Martin's demand. No measure could have been more called for, whether viewed in its retributive aspect or in its reassuring effects upon the Christian population of Beyrout and elsewhere.

I beg here to rectify an inexactitude occurring in my despatch of June 23rd,* relating to the conduct of Khoorshid Pasha. I had there said that this functionary arrived at Deir-el-Kamar too late to prevent the massacre. It has subsequently transpired that on the evening of his arrival there, and on the following day, the slaughter, burning of houses, and pillage went on. It is an ascertained fact that on the day after his arrival, twenty-two Christians who had taken refuge in the house of the Druse Kaimakam's Secretary were butchered in a body; and it is stated that many more who had concealed themselves in sewers and caverns in the town, and whose situation was brought in time to the knowledge of the Pasha, were left to their fate.

Khoorshid Pasha returned this morning from Latakia, but has not been permitted to land; he is to proceed to Constantinople.

Fuad Pasha to-day arrested Khoorshid Pasha's Kahia, Wasfi Effendi, and the Mutsellim of Deir-el-Kamar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 82.

Memorandum.

A MOST grievous wrong has been inflicted upon the civilized world by the barbarities which have been committed upon the Christian population in Syria.

The Turkish local authorities have been direct parties to the barbarities by permitting the soldiers and Moslem population to aid the Druses, and after the defeat of the Christians to join in murdering the males, and in committing the foulest crimes upon the women and female children.

The Christian world cannot and ought not to leave these enormities unredressed, and it must be evident that it will not rest satisfied with any measure short of that which shall make a recurrence of the enormities impossible.

The Turkish Government will have no claim to consideration if it should not do voluntary and ample justice. The matter would probably be taken out of their hands if they exhibited any indication of shortcoming.

They would be deemed by enemies as participators, and by friends as too feeble to govern.

If they would avoid foreign interference, the limit or consequences of which it may not be difficult to imagine, they must be prompt in declaring that they have, with every other civilized Government, an abhorrence of the infamous deeds that have been perpetrated in Syria. Their declarations must be accompanied by acts of full justice to sufferers and conspicuous retribution to infamous functionaries.

The mere punishment of humble officials would be deemed an offensive trifling that would have no beneficial influence to restrain for the future.

* See "Papers relating to the Disturbances in Syria," presented to Parliament, July 1860, No. 19.

The highest who have abused their power by participation or connivance in the grievous misery that has been heaped upon the Christian population of Syria should themselves suffer.

Anything less than this will only swell the account which the Turkish Government have to answer for their subordinates, and increase the evidence of complicity so strongly insisted upon by many, probably misinformed on the subject.

I have been told that his Excellency Khoorshid Pasha is to continue in authority in this Pashalic. I must express a hope that there is no intention of allowing him to hold the power he has so abused. But looking to the horrible cruelties to which, it is believed, he has been a willing party, and to the responsibilities in which I share with regard to the safety of the Christian population here, I must protest against his being allowed to retain a command, upon which the safety of multitudes depends, for whom he has manifested such indifference and contempt.

(Signed) W. F. MARTIN.

"Marlborough," at Beyrout, July 25, 1860.

Inclosure 2 in No. 82.

Fuad Pasha to Consul-General Moore.

Beyrouth, le 26 *Juillet*, 1860.

FUAD PACHA a l'honneur d'informer MM. les Consuls des Puissances amies résidants à Beyrouth que, ayant jugé nécessaire de suspendre de ses fonctions le Gouverneur-Général de Sayda, Khourshid Pasha, il vient de confier l'administration intérimaire de cette province à l'Amiral Moustapha Pasha, Commandant-en-chef des forces navales de Sa Majesté le Sultan dans la Méditerranée.

En portant cette décision à la connaissance de M. le Consul-Général de Sa Majesté Britannique, le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères en mission extraordinaire en Syrie a le ferme espoir que le Gouverneur *ad interim*, par les qualités qui le distinguent, imprimera aux relations des autorités locales avec le Consulat d'Angleterre la meilleure harmonie, et saura répondre à la confiance dont il vient d'être l'objet.

Fuad Pacha saisit, &c.

(Signé) FUAD PACHA.

(Translation.)

Beyrout, July 26, 1860.

FUAD PASHA has the honour to inform the Consuls of the friendly Powers residing at Beyrout that, having judged it necessary to suspend the Governor-General of Sayda, Kourchid Pasha, from his functions, he has conferred the Government, *ad interim*, of that province upon Admiral Moustapha Pasha, Commander-in-chief of the naval forces of His Majesty the Sultan in the Mediterranean.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, on an Extraordinary Mission to Syria, in bringing this decision to the knowledge of the Consul-General of Her Britannic Majesty, has a lively hope that the Governor, *ad interim*, will impress, by the qualities which distinguish him, the greatest harmony upon the relations of the local authorities with the EnglishConsulate, and will know how to return the confidence of which he has been the object.

Fuad Pasha avails, &c.

(Signed) FUAD PASHA.

No. 83.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 17.)

(Extract.) *Therapia, August 8, 1860.*

I FORWARD to your Lordship the different despatches and instructions I have sent to Her Majesty's Agents in Syria.

It seems to me that, to restore peace with as little loss of life as possible, it is essential not to look at things merely from one point of view, but to place ourselves in the position of the different classes of the population amongst which excitement now prevails. The Christians are at this time alarmed at the Mussulmans, and not without reason, but there can be no doubt that it is the alarm which has lately been spread among the Mahometans as to the intentions of the Christians, I do not say of the native Christians especially, but of the Christians generally, which has been the principal cause of the fanatical zeal lately displayed, and the atrocious horrors lately committed by Mussulmans. It is no use disguising the fact that the Mussulmans throughout Syria, and (I speak with some apprehension as to the consequences) throughout Turkey generally, have lately considered that there is a plan to subdue them and place a class they have been accustomed to consider as their inferiors over them.

I think Aali Pasha's apprehensions on this subject are in some degree exaggerated; but at the same time I fear in some degree as he does, that the arrival of French troops in Syria may increase a belief, which, however erroneous it may be, is nevertheless very widely spread. At all events, the only way to produce general tranquillity will be to allay as far as possible general suspicion; and what I say to Her Majesty's Agents is intended to enforce upon those Agents, amidst the difficult circumstances in which they are placed, this view, which I believe to be a correct one.

Inclosure 1 in No. 83.

Sir H. Bulwer to Consul-General Moore.

Sir, *Therapia, August 6, 1860.*

I INCLOSE to you the instructions which I have given generally to Her Majesty's Consuls in the European portion of the Ottoman Empire.

It is to be expected that Syria will be more agitated than other portions of the Turkish dominions, and peculiar circumstances may render some modification of the inclosed instructions expedient in the particular locality; for extraordinary emergencies, no ordinary instructions can be sufficient. Nevertheless, you will perceive the general spirit which is indicated by my observations to Her Majesty's Consuls in European Turkey, and let that spirit be as far as possible your guide.

The Ottoman Government has sent a large body of troops and an able man to Syria, and it is to be hoped that his exertions, aided by your endeavours, will replace things in at least a tranquil condition. The Great Powers, in conjunction with their ally the Sultan, will adopt any other measures that may be deemed necessary to attain this end; but you will be careful to observe that the immediate object of Her Majesty's Government, and of all the other Governments acting with it, is to restore order and maintain the Sultan's Government.

It will hereafter be necessary to consider what further measures are necessary to place the Government on a more satisfactory and solid basis, and to guard against a recurrence of those scenes which have struck so fearful a blow at it.

With respect to measures of this description, your counsels and suggestions may be important, and, at all events, I should be glad that you specified to me, at your earliest convenience, what you would recommend as practically calculated to advance the development of the country's resources, to provide for the better

security of its inhabitants, and regularize, and render more efficient, its financial administration, as well as to give generally greater force and tone to the executive authority.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 83.

Circular addressed by Sir H. Bulwer to Her Majesty's Consuls in the Ottoman Empire.

Sir, *Therapia, August* 6, 1860.

IT is natural that when any occurrences take place in the Turkish Empire, calculated to produce an ill-feeling between the Mussulman and Christian populations, mutual alarm should be engendered. It may often happen that a conflict, arising from local circumstances alone, may have taken place in a particular spot, and that, nevertheless, a feeling, which that conflict has excited, may produce general consequences. Without being able to say that there may not be particular places to which my general observations may not perfectly apply, I am on the whole of opinion that, as a general rule, there is at present no deliberate intention or desire on the part of the Mussulman population in European Turkey to attack the lives or property of the Christian population, and that, as to the Government and the Sultan, nothing could be so contrary to their views or their policy as any outbreak of a religious nature. The danger, in all these cases to apprehend, then, will much depend upon the accidental state of the public mind; if that is agitated or excited, the smallest accident connected with it will take the most extensive proportions, and be productive of the most serious results.

The first duty, consequently, as it seems to me, of a foreign agent, who ought not to be exposed to the passions or prejudices natural to native residents, will be to calm as much as possible mutual and exaggerated suspicions, and to combat as much as possible exaggerated reports.

The ordinary disposition of the idle and the fearful on these occasions is to recount to each other every little tale that may be abroad, and thus by private confidences of individual apprehensions to engender a sort of public and collective sensation of insecurity, which soon pervades all parties.

Thus one set of men arm to protect themselves from fancied danger from another, and every one dreading that an attack is being meditated by his adversary, some trifling occurrence becomes the commencement of a general outbreak, making the village, town, or district where it occurs the scene of conflict, plunder, and conflagration.

The first and most important duty you can perform, I repeat, then, is to keep your mind unbiased by vague rumours, and be thus able to tranquillize the excited disposition of those who listen to them.

Endeavour quietly to get at the bottom of any story that is circulated; ascertain, if you can, its truth and its author, but do this in a manner as little likely as possible to attract attention, or to make it believed that you give more than due importance to the report, the accuracy of which you are inquiring into.

Encourage your countrymen and those committed to your charge.

Combat any undue tendency on the part of your colleagues to excite alarm.

Try to obtain the confidence of the authorities by placing yourself on the best terms with them, and, whilst you make them clearly understand that you and your Government will hold them responsible for whatever may happen, strengthen by your countenance, as far as possible, their hands for the preservation of order and peace.

Finally, communicate to the Embassy, in the shortest possible space of time, the condition of the district you inhabit, and the conduct and character of the functionaries who are placed there; and the opinions expressed, and the line of conduct pursued by the Consuls of other Powers; and do not

fail to point out any cases where you think there is an evident attempt to promote apprehension, and thereby favour disorder. In doing this I need hardly add, that you should be careful in not allowing any personal predeliction to influence your representations.

In conclusion, I may assure you that your conduct at this crisis will be duly watched by me, and my opinion respecting it, whether favourable or the reverse, communicated to Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure 3 in No. 83.

Sir H. Bulwer to Consul-General Moore.

(Extract.) *Therapia, August* 8, 1860.

ALTHOUGH I have nothing very particular to say that circumstances will not suggest to yourself, I deem it right to address you a few observations by this opportunity.

The course we wish to see taken in Syria is one of energy and justice. The doubts which lie at the origin of the recent conflicts between the rival tribes and of the Mussulman riots which have succeeded or accompanied them, should be as much as possible cleared up; the principal leaders in, or promoters of them, punished, and there should be no appearance of any one being screened. As to the different Turkish functionaries, there are various degrees of criminality. Those who plundered, murdered, or delivered up persons confided to their charge to plunder, murder, or pillage, are evidently in the most guilty category. Any who connived at, or participated directly or indirectly in the late disturbances have been guilty of a most serious offence, and have equally exposed themselves to the most serious chastisement.

They who failed in energy or activity, and did not do the duty that might have been expected from them form a third class, and should lose their rank and employment, and under certain circumstances be subject even to severer treatment; but care should be taken in following up justice with due severity not to run hastily into the opposite extreme of persecution which would excite and exasperate one party, if it soothed or satisfied the other.

Public tale-bearers and private slanderers are amongst the worst characteristics of the East.

I am also of opinion that whatever is done should be done quickly; both because it will produce a greater effect on the one hand, and be less liable to be too far extended on the other.

As to the question of the Druses and Maronites, it will have to be examined into by the Commissioners of the Five Powers.

It has always, I confess, appeared to me that the commencement of the recent struggle arose from the Maronites. They seemed excited and filled with ideas of conquest and French protection; thus provoking a contest destined to be so fatal to them. I am also rather of opinion that the attitude taken by some foreign agents, and the overbearing spirit too much manifested by them, had no small share in producing the state of feeling that recently manifested itself in so horrible a manner in one portion of Syria, and exists throughout it.

It would also appear from intelligence given to me here, and from letters and pamphlets that have been intercepted, that there has been a system for some time at work of exciting Christians against Mussulmans, and Mussulmans against Christians, by arousing their mutual apprehensions.

Whatever you can say upon this point, I should wish you to communicate to me unreservedly.

I observe in some of your despatches and in those of others, that there is a suspicion expressed of the Porte having encouraged the late proceedings. Some of its agents may possibly have done this, though the fact seems at first sight improbable; but you may rest assured that neither Aali nor Fuad Pasha are either so wicked or so stupid as to have dabbled in such designs, and a contrary belief should, if it exists, be discouraged.

I quite understand that in the neighbourhood of scenes such as those which have recently caused so much distress, the mind must be prone to strong impressions. But I would wish you not to give too easy credence to exaggerated stories of plots and massacres; fear on one side engenders it on another; and when two opposite parties exist, each fearing the designs of the other—even without cause—the smallest incident produces strife. Prophets not unfrequently by the zeal with which they preach their predictions provide for their fulfilment. But I speak here evidently on imperfect information.

Inclosure 4 in No. 83.

Sir H. Bulwer to Consul Brant.

(Extract.) *Therapia, August* 8, 1860.

I HAVE read your various despatches up to that of the 23rd ultimo, and beg to express my deep sympathy, both on account of the position in which you are now placed and the sufferings and dangers you have already undergone, and it would be a gratification to me if my cordial approval of your conduct should afford you any satisfaction.

During the trying scenes in which you were placed, it seems to me indeed that you acted both with calm and courage, and though it is true that you did not apprehend the likelihood of those calamities which occurred as strongly as some of your colleagues, I am by no means convinced that if all those colleagues had shown an equally tranquil demeanour with yourself, that general excitement which made a trifling disturbance swell into a riot of so fearful a description, would have been produced.

Such excitement at all events usually ends by arousing the passions of the most violent party, and paralyzing, when peril really arrives, the energies of the weaker or more moderate one. Hence one of the causes which, in crises like the recent one, makes Governments hesitate and mobs triumph.

The conduct of Achmet Pasha, nevertheless, seems to have been wholly indefensible; for he does not appear to have made any personal effort of any kind to quell the disorder which an idle bravado of his own—the setting some Mussulman boys to sweep the streets of the Christian quarter—actually called forth. He will, however, be sent back to Damascus for trial; and it is to be hoped that we shall then be able to ascertain fully the extent of his criminality.

It is to be remembered that he was dissatisfied with the Porte, and may, in a certain degree, have been actuated by a desire to show the truth of the apprehensions he expressed, when the force at his command was seriously diminished.

Such feelings may have consequently led him into a more culpable indifference to the insurrection that took place, or even into a more culpable understanding with its promoters, than would otherwise be likely. At all events, justice should be exercised with stern severity; but, at the same time, justice should not run hastily into persecution, nor a whole class be made accountable for the acts of a particular set of ruffians.

I lay some stress upon this, because, if a religious conflict between Mussulmans and Christians were once excited in Syria, it might extend far beyond the precincts of that province, and give rise to calamities which it would be impossible to control, and even difficult to avenge.

For my own part, it seems to me that the war between the Maronites and Druses is to be looked upon as an affair apart. Examples might be found even of the horrors which characterized it whenever similar conflicts have taken place between hostile and warlike tribes placed in the same position of hereditary antagonism.

The Mahometan feeling which manifested itself against the Christians is, however, another question. Its depth, extent, and the causes which produced it, or at least produced the manifestation of it in the town of Damascus, form a subject on which I should be glad to have your well-considered opinion. The great point in all these cases is to determine what was the result of unpremeditated accident—what of premeditated design.

It is to be hoped that the measures pursued by Fuad Pasha will produce the effect which I desire to see brought about by them.

His general wish to conciliate may at a proper moment have a most beneficial tendency; but order must be restored, and authority established, before a system of conciliation can, I fear, be effectually adopted. Thus everything will depend upon doing the right thing at the right time.

You are aware that foreign intervention is decided upon. The manner in which it will be exercised must depend upon circumstances; but as it cannot be permanent, and as, moreover, it aims at the restoration of the Sultan's authority, it is to be desired that that end should be borne in view; and that, as the great evil which has lately attended the Ottoman rule in Syria, and, indeed, the Ottoman rule throughout Turkey, is its weakness; whatever is done now, whether by foreign intervention, or otherwise, should be done with the object of permanently and ultimately removing that weakness, and placing the future Government of the country on a more solid and satisfactory basis than that on which it has lately, or perhaps I should rather say, than that on which it has ever as yet rested.

No. 84.

*Lord J. Russell to Consul-General Moore.**

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 17, 1860.

IN consequence of the late deplorable events in Syria, Her Majesty's Government have, in conjunction with those of the other Great Powers, decided on sending Commissioners to that country to investigate their origin and causes, to determine the share of responsibility incurred by the chiefs of the insurrection and the agents of the administration, and to call for the punishment of the guilty.

Lord Dufferin has been appointed to act as Her Majesty's Commissioner on the present occasion, and I have accordingly to instruct you to furnish his Lordship with every information and assistance which may contribute to the success of his Mission.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 85.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 22.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, August* 1, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's perusal, the copy of a letter which I have received from Mr. Cyril Graham, containing the last news from Damascus. Your Lordship will perceive that Mr. Graham estimates the number of Christians massacred at 4,000 to 5,000. The French and Prussian Consuls, however, raise the figure to 6,000. Although Fuad Pasha's arrival at Damascus is not mentioned in this letter, it is known from other sources that his Excellency entered the city early on Sunday morning the 29th ultimo. It is further stated that the European Consuls at Damascus had begged the Pasha not to proceed to the infliction of punishment on the Mahometan populace before taking measures to ensure the protection and safety of the remaining Christians against a second attempt at insurrection, and that Fuad Pasha had visited the Castle, and showed the strongest emotion at the sight of the 12,000 Christian refugees congregated in it. In reply to those who expressed themselves desirous of leaving Damascus for the sea coast he offered a Government escort, of which about 1,000 individuals were about to avail themselves.

* Similar despatches were also addressed to Her Majesty's Consuls at Aleppo, Damascus, and Jerusalem.

In the Lebanon, notwithstanding the conclusion of peace, the Druses persevere in isolated acts of murder and pillage. I am informed, on credible authority, that they have sent all their plunder, valuables, and effects to the Hauran and Ledja, and are ready to make a move *en masse* to those fastnesses on the first indication of approaching danger to their nation, whether from foreign or Turkish attack. The Christians are still massed in the Kesrouan.

Admiral Martin has despatched men-of-war north and south, along the coast, for the protection of British interests and Christians. The Commander-in-chief has placed forty sacks of biscuit (of 112 lbs. each) at the disposal of the Committee for the relief of distressed Christian fugitives, as a contribution on the part of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Inclosure in No. 85.

Mr. Graham to Consul-General Moore.

(Extract.) *Damascus, July* 30, 1860.

I TOLD you in my last letter of Thursday that the city was not so quiet as we could wish. On Friday the excitement was even greater, and on Saturday a plot had been made to attack the Consulates. Early on that morning, Migwel of Anazi received information from his private friends that he had better pack up and hide his valuables, as it was likely a general outbreak would take place in the course of the day.

I went about; all the shops were closed, and at 11 at night there were several shots fired. The military Pasha, however, ordered the guards to be doubled, and himself rode all night about the town. He sent us that night thirty of the new Turkish troops, instead of the rascals who had before been keeping guard, and who had been among the herds of Hasbeya. The heat is very great now, and I fear unless the Christians soon be removed, they will have to leave their bones here, for some frightful pestilence cannot but break out soon. There are 12,000 in the Castle, exposed to heat, and scarcely fed. I went to see them, and passed through them, but with tremendous difficulty. I was nearly torn to pieces. The Moslems all say that should any European force attempt to land every Christian here shall be slain. Their great cry is against the Consuls.

I shall go about every day, and give you as much information as I can.

No. 86.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 22.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, August* 4, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report that instructions from the Porte have been received by the Turkish Authorities relative to the approaching arrival of French troops in Syria. A proclamation to that effect, qualifying this measure of the French Government as one undertaken with the knowledge and sanction of the Porte, and calling upon the people to receive the French as Allies and guests, has been published here by the Acting Governor. I beg to inclose a translation of the document. This announcement relieves to a great extent the anxieties which had been felt, in the hitherto prevailing uncertainty with regard to the character of the expedition, as to the possible consequences of the arrival of foreign troops.

I have accounts from Damascus to the 2nd instant. Fuad Pasha had not yet done anything remarkable. I have been put in possession of the translation of a letter written by a Mahometan at Damascus to a friend of his here; I beg to inclose a copy of the translation. The letter is interesting on account of its authorship, besides the melancholy interest it possesses as a narrative of what took place. I also transmit a translation of the statement from the Greek Catholic Bishop of Baalbec, referred to in my despatch of the 28th ultimo.

I am happy to be able to report to your Lordship that I have been instrumental in rescuing over 100 Christians, mostly women and children, and considerable property belonging to plundered Christians. On learning on two separate occasions that there was such a number of unfortunate creatures still hiding or detained by the Druses in the neighbourhood of the spot where Deir-el-Kamar once stood, I sent my cavasses, whom I induced the Turkish Authorities to accompany with some horsemen on their part, to the spot, with letters to the Druse Chiefs. The cavasses both times succeeded in bringing the poor creatures safely down to Beyrout, to the number above stated.

Inclosure 1 in No. 86.

Proclamation.

(Translation.)

REPORTS have been prevalent of the coming to Beyrout of French troops. This matter had been submitted to us by the French Consul and the Colonel d'Osmond, who is charged to look for accommodations for the troops in question, through the medium of the Local Government. The said Colonel had verbally reported his mission. We, not knowing whether the Sublime Porte had assented to the coming of the said troops or not, hastened to submit a detailed report on the subject to his Excellency the Foreign Minister, Fuad Pasha, who is an independent and supreme authority in all matters relating to the affairs of this country, begging to be furnished with instructions on the subject. It has been plainly understood, from the contents of the high reply of his Excellency, that the said matter has been made known to him by letters which his Excellency has received from the Porte by Kasim Bey, Aide-de-camp to the Admiralty, as the sending of French troops has been offered by the French Government to the Sublime Porte, an offer occasioned by the illegal and inhuman proceedings which have occurred, namely, the treacherous assassination and plundering, by certain low people of Damascus, of the Christian subjects of the Porte. It is hoped, that before the arrival of these troops, the disorders will have been entirely suppressed, and dealt with according to the requirements of law and justice, under the auspices of His Majesty our Sultan, supported by the aid of God and of his Prophet, and through the unanimous co-operation of the faithful and respectable subjects of the Porte, and that no occasion will remain for employing the said troops. It is not ignored that the coming of the troops on the part of the French Government results from true and close friendship existing between the two Governments, and these troops will not make the slightest movement within the Turkish Empire without the concurrence of the functionaries of the Sublime Porte. There is, therefore, no occasion to fear on account of the arrival of these troops, but, as ordained in the reply of his Excellency the Foreign Minister, the functionaries of the Imperial Government are to exert themselves to facilitate their requirements, and give them the necessary assistance agreeably to the laws of hospitality.

In order that all classes should know the above, and be free from all anxieties, we hasten to make it public, that every one may be occupied in his own affairs and concerns.

Muharrem 16, 1277.

Inclosure 2 in No. 86.

Letter from a Turkish Moslem in Damascus.

(Translated from the Turkish.)

May the most merciful God take vengeance!

THE sole cause which stirred up the people of Damascus and of the villages to bring about the insurrection described below is this:—That before the breaking out of this wickedness, by twenty days, some of the worthless fellows and baser people had been appointed, by the order of Government and

the decision of the Chief Consul of Damascus, to be Police Captains and Officers and Policemen, and, thereupon, these persons, being themselves the chiefs of the sedition, collected a number of the lowest and basest fellows, and commenced supplying them with arms, and as they were appointed to guard the Christian quarter, this circumstance incited the thoughts of the Damascenes to preparation for this work (the rising), whereas, otherwise, no one would have thought of the occurrence of such a sad event as this.

On Monday, the 27th of June, O.S., 1860 (July 9th, N.S.), at abont 2 o'clock P.M., some boys made crosses in every section of the city, and began to cause the passers-by to tread upon them, and otherwise to insult the Christians, and the making of these crosses and these insults were not of such a nature as would naturally occur to these boys, but they must have been instructed by some of the leaders of the sedition. After half-an-hour the report of the affair of the crosses, and of the audacity manifested in insulting and humiliating the Christians had, by some means or other, reached the Government, and immediately the Chief of the Police, with some of his men, went forth and seized a part of the boys and other persons and sent them to the Government, when they were put in chains, and sent forth to the market to sweep the streets, and they actually began sweeping. Then there gathered around them the Msolems of the neighbourhood, and rescued these boys from the police, and broke off the chains from their feet and cast them away; and, as soon as the boys were let free, all the shops of the whole market (bazaars) were closed within the space of five or ten minutes, and in a quarter of an hour two cannons were fired, and from that time arms began to be fired. The traitor, Selim Agha, of the Midan, an officer (Boulik Basha), of the irregular troops, took with him an immense number of the worst people of the Midan, armed, and led them at once to the Christian quarter, and, as soon as he entered that quarter, immediately fell upon the houses of such Christians as he previously had his eye upon, and, breaking open the doors, he and his companions set about plundering, and burning, and killing; and, inasmuch as the wretch alluded to had under his command a larger number of armed villians, no one was able to get the start of them in carrying off the most choice and valuable of the plunder.

True, the people of the villages surrounding Damascus, and the Arabs and Druses, came in crowds to the city after some hours, and filled it; and they also plundered much, and were fierce in shedding blood and burning. But the assembling and agreement, and union and concert, and purpose of all the people of Damascus, with the villagers and Arabs, in the space of an hour, for the accomplishment of this sedition in Damascus, could not have occurred without some previous determination on the part of their leading men. And that this was the case is made clear as day by the circumstance, that, within the space of five or ten minutes, white and green banners were displayed, from prominent positions, on all the Moslem houses, no one forbidding; and is it possible that, at such an evil time, such a procedure should occur to any one without his having been previously prepared for it? The city guards and irregular troops that had been enrolled and officered by the order of the Great Council of the city, professedly for the protection of the Christian quarter, they were the ones who first began plundering, and burning, and killing. Had these city police, and people of the Midan who were enrolled as guards, kept the heads of the streets leading to the Christian quarter, and bolted the gates of the quarter, and fired upon the invaders, and endeavoured to turn them back and prevent them from entering the Christian quarter, like the regular troops, the affair would not have arrived at such a pass, but would probably have been soon stopped. Had the members of the Great Council, and the leading men and principal persons of the town, proceeded at that time to the Christian quarter, nothing whatever would have occurred: whereas, in these circumstances, no one of the aforementioned members and leading men said to any one, "desist;" and from this it is evident that this calamity which has fallen upon the heads of the poor Christians, upon their property, their houses, their children, and their wives, was by previous intent of the leading men, as was, moreover, apparent from all the indications manifest in their conduct. Many of the Christians concealed themselves in their houses, and were consumed in the flames; and many of them, after having been subjected to severe tortures, in order that they might

disclose the places where their property was concealed, were butchered within their houses after making such disclosures, lest they should afterwards enter complaint. And many of the women from whom they could not draw their bracelets quickly had their hands cut off, as were likewise the fingers of many who had rings which could not easily be removed; and they were not satisfied with this, but killed and destroyed many of them. And there were many women also not able to remove their ear-rings from their ears, who had their ears torn open or cut off in consequence. Some of the Christians were taken out by the followers of Abd-el-Kader, the Algerine, from the wells and other places where they had concealed themselves, and while they were being conveyed to the Castle, they were fired upon and wounded by bullets. His Excellency Abd-el-Kader, abovementioned, took a large number of the Christians to his own house, and saved them, and his men also saved a great number, and took them to the Castle; and in that distress there was no one but he and his followers who made any effort to save the Christians. It is true that some persons among the Moslems took from the Christian quarter a few men, women, and children, and conveyed them to their houses; and they also took some persons to their houses from the castle, asking the privilege of taking them as though they had merciful intentions towards them: but, alas for these poor people! what harm and torture they inflicted upon them in their houses, in order to make them disclose the places where they had concealed their property, and how many acts of wicked violence were inflicted upon them! and, on the morrow, they would return a part of them to the Castle, and kill a part, while others were compelled to become Moslems. And many vile persons took from the Castle a number of women and children without giving surety for them, and, as soon as they got them outside the Castle gates, they chose out the youngest of them, and left the older in the street. I was present in the Castle on that day, and saw persons of the lowest class picking out children, whom they took away, without any one saying to them, what are you doing? They opened the Armenian, Greek, and Catholic churches, carried off the vessels, and killed the priests, and then burned the churches. They plundered the Russian Consulate, and burned it. The Consul is at present in the Government Palace, but the Consulates of England and France were not touched, as they were in the Moslem quarter. There were in the Custom-house about 200 Christians at that time, and I immediately went in haste to the Palace, and brought some of the regular soldiers and took them away, and thus I secured the salvation of these poor people. Those Christian houses which were in Moslem quarters were also burned, after they had been plundered of everything in them. The number of such houses was about 300.

On the 9th of July, o.s. (21st, n.s.), Khaled Pasha, the Military Governor, in accordance with the decision of the Great Council, commenced sending to the Christian quarter, and taking out the property concealed there, forbidding any to enter excepting those thus employed; and some of the Christians who were in the Castle also obtained permits to go to the Christian quarter and search for whatever might be found in their burned houses. Three days' since, a few of the Christians began to issue out into the streets nearest the Castle, but it was reported that a Christian was killed yesterday near the Kaimarée. On the day of the outbreak they took the bell of one of the churches and placed it in an inverted position on the middle of the cross, which has been, from ancient times, lying under foot in the street of the Emwéh Mosque. On the day of this affair, and the following night, the gates of the city remained unclosed, that there might be no obstacle to the removal of the plunder to the houses of the plunderers. And after the dwelling-houses of the Christians were finished, their shops also were broken open, and the goods carried off in the night. Many of the Sheiks and Ulemas, and principal men, disguised themselves and plundered in the Christian quarter, and, in short, no one in Damascus refrained from plundering the property of the Christians, not even the old women.

This record, having been written in haste, some circumstances have been omitted, and the names of some well known persons, whose deeds might have been recorded. If you wish, I can inform you of these hereafter.

Inclosure 3 in No. 86.

The Bishop of Baalbeck to Consul-General Moore.

(Translation.) *Gebbet-Bshané, July* 19, 1860.

I MUST acquaint you, Sir, with the disasters that have befallen me personally and the Christian population of my diocese, including the churches and convents in the district of Baalbeck. After the barbarous hordes had vanquished, pillaged, and burnt the town of Zahlé, the Metualis and Moslems of the district of Baalbeck arose in arms, and in their ferocious hatred against the Christians killed them, pillaging their property and burning their houses and churches, and carrying away the cattle and crops. After prosecuting this work of destruction in the villages, they came to the town of Baalbeck, the seat of the Governor, who, notwithstanding the presence of Hussin Bey, the Colonel commanding a regiment of regular Imperial troops, a battalion of cavalry, and two guns, did not evince any disposition to defend the rayahs from the attacks of the enemy. Secondly, in the interval, the Emirs of Harfoosh, outlaws by order of the Ottoman Government, placed themselves at the head of a body of brigands, and attacked by surprise the Civil Governor, Farès Agha Kadro, with the intention of killing him: they did not succeed except in killing some of his retainers. The Turkish troops in garrison did not oppose these lawless bands, nor take any step to protect the helpless Christian community amidst these great perils, but remained passive spectators.

3rdly. When I found myself surrounded by danger, both from without and from within, I took to flight with some of my flock, leaving behind all our property, household furniture, and wearing apparel, not having had even time to take the necessary food for the day.

4thly. On arriving, by the help of God, safely to the town of Bsharré, in the Lebanon, the news reached me that Hassan Agha Yazigee had arrived at Baalbeck at the head of 400 irregular troops, styled "Albanians," whom he had enrolled among the lawless class of Damascenes, chiefly Kurds, notorious for their licentiousness, with the ostensible object of protecting the population of Baalbeck, but it soon turned out that this Agha and his wicked troops were the greatest scourge to the Christians who had remained at their homes. On learning the barbarities committed by the Mussulmans of Damascus against the Christians, he, the chief, let loose his troops, who attacked our church and residence of our Bishopric, and the houses of the Christians in general, pillaged the property, and destroyed the rest, and defiled the house of God in a horrible manner, killed some men, and violated the women and children that fell in their way, subsequently killing them. Up to this time a great number of them are dispersed in the wilderness, others kept by the enemies, and the rest have abjured Christianity and embraced Islamism to save their lives.

5thly. The calamity that befell the Christians in the town of Baalbeck soon extended to those of the surrounding villages in the district. The Mussulmans and Metualis, with Harfoosh Emirs at their head, attacked the Christians, killed and pillaged, sacked and burnt the churches and the houses to the last of them. We see daily arriving our dispersed flock and their pastors, needy, naked, afflicted, and destitute not only of their wearing apparel, household furniture, their cattle and harvest, but some without their wives and children. Many are still hidden in the wilderness and in caves, and their place of refuge not yet ascertained.

6thly. The above brief narrative will show how much Christian blood has been shed in these attacks; how many women and children carried away, what amount of property pillaged, churches sacked and burned in the district of Baalbeck, amounting to upwards of twenty churches, of which twelve churches and two convents, namely, Deir Gazal and Seydet-er-Ras, belonging to our own community, where three priests were killed.

7thly. The amount of property pillaged and destroyed is 500 purses, the same amount arising from the destruction of the twelve churches already mentioned, and the two convents, the property of which alone amounted to 200 purses, making a total of 1,700 purses. The amount of the property of our lay community pillaged is estimated at about 5,000 purses, and that of the other Christian communities in the whole of the district, consisting of household

property, crops, cattle, camels, horses, donkeys, and houses destroyed by fire, &c., exceeds 20,000 purses. This is the pecuniary loss, exclusive of that of men, women, honour, desecration, &c.

I feel it my duty to submit this protest to you, Sir, beseeching and entreating the benevolence and compassion of the exalted Government of England, distinguished for their high zeal and great power, for there remains to us no other refuge after God but them, to bestow a compassionate look upon the deplorable state to which the Christian community is reduced; men, women, and children are now brought to utter destruction, naked and hungry, not possessing the means of daily food. May they take up their cause and obtain for them reparation and indemnity; and gain their prayers and most fervent supplications to the Almighty to afford them victory, and consolidate the foundations of their power, so as to tread under their feet every enemy, and render them gloriously victorious for ever.

I have, &c.
(Signed) MATATHIOS.

No. 87.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 22.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, August* 6, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a letter which I received yesterday from Fuad Pasha, in which his Excellency is pleased to acquaint me with the measures he had taken at Damascus up to the day of its date. I beg to inclose a copy of my written reply to the Pasha.

Inclosure 1 in No. 87.

Fuad Pasha to Consul-General Moore.

M. le Consul-Général, *Damas, le* 4 *Aout*, 1860.

J'AI commencé à agir ici hier, et mon plan a été couronné de succès. Après avoir pris toutes les dispositions pour imposer d'un côté à la ville et pour la frapper de l'autre en cas de résistance, je suis parvenu à faire saisir, jusqu'au soir, 330 individus; qui m'ont été dénoncés en partie par les agents étrangers et par les Chrétiens, et en partie livrés par les indigènes eux-mêmes. Les arrestations continuent encore aujourd'hui, et arriveront jusqu'au soir au nombre de 500. Tout le monde livre le butin criminel, et quoiqu'il soit difficile de faire restituer une grande partie des objets de valeur, la plupart des objets enlevés se trouvent aujourd'hui entre nos mains. Tout cela s'est fait sans coup férir, et la population honnête de la ville a donné une assistance morale, par son calme, à la troupe Impériale, qui du reste a imposé, par son attitude, aux mutins qui se trouvent aujourd'hui sous le coup de la terreur. Il me reste à présent à agir contre les personnes appartenant à la classe supérieure qui ont été compromises dans l'affaire de Damas, que j'ai employées, jusqu'à présent, au succès de mon plan, et qui bientôt seront entre les mains de la justice. Un Conseil Extraordinaire que j'ai déjà nommé vient de commencer à interroger les individus qui sont arrêtés. Ceux qui seront condamnés par ce Tribunal Extraordinaire seront exécutés par la sentence que je donnerai, conformément aux pleins pouvoirs que le Sultan m'a conférés. Cette mesure ainsi que toutes les autres que je prendrai pour infliger un châtiment exemplaire à la ville de Damas ne rencontreront aucune résistance de la part de la population, dont une partie, ainsi que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous le dire plus haut, qui est honnête reste calme, et l'autre est devenue très docile par les arrestations de ses chefs qui ont été effectuées jusqu'à present. Sachant d'avance que tout ce que je vous communiquerai vous fera un plaisir particulier, et que la relation exacte des faits peut prévenir des complications qui peuvent résulter d'un mouvement de troupes qu'on m'a signalé comme combiné, j'ai cru de mon devoir de porter à votre connaissance tout ce qui s'est passé ici, et j'envois à

Beyrout mon Aide-de-camp, le Colonel Hassan Bey, pour qu'il vous donne, ainsi qu'à M. l'Amiral Commandant des forces navales de Sa Majesté Britannique devant Beyrout, des détails sur nos opérations ici, et pour qu'il vous fasse de vive voix certaines observations que j'ai cru nécessaires de vous faire parvenir.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) FUAD.

(Translation.)

M. le Consul General, *Damascus, August* 4, 1860.

I COMMENCED acting here yesterday, and my plan has been crowned with success. After having made all necessary dispositions on one side to impose on the town, and, in case of resistance, to use force on the other side, I have succeeded in having seized, before evening, 330 individuals, who were denounced to me partly by the foreign Agents and the Christians, and partly were given up by the natives themselves. The arrests continue to-day, and will reach the number of 500 by the evening. Everybody is giving up the criminally acquired booty, and, although it may be difficult to cause a great part of the valuables to be given up, the greater part of the articles plundered are now in our hands. All this has been done without striking a blow, and the respectable part of the population of the town has, by their calm attitude, given a moral assistance to the Imperial troops, who on their part, by their bearing, have imposed on the mutineers, who are now struck by terror. It now remains for me to act against those persons belonging to the higher classes who were compromised in the affair of Damascus, whom I have hitherto employed for the success of my plan, and who will soon be in the hands of justice. An Extraordinary Council, which I have already appointed, has just commenced interrogating the individuals who are arrested. Those who may be condemned by this Extraordinary Tribunal will be executed according to the sentence which I shall pronounce, in conformity with the full powers granted me by the Sultan. This measure, as well as all the others which I may take for inflicting exemplary punishment on the city of Damascus, will meet with no resistance from the population, part of which, as I have had the honour to tell you higher up, which is respectable, remains calm, and the other part is become very tractable, owing to the arrests hitherto made of its Chiefs. Knowing beforehand that all that I may communicate to you will cause you an especial pleasure, and that an exact relation of facts may prevent those complications which may arise from a movement of troops which I have been informed has been combined, I have thought it my duty to bring to your knowledge all that has passed here, and I send to Beyrout my Aide-de-Camp, Colonel Hassan Bey, in order that he may give you, as well as the Admiral Commanding the Naval Forces of Her Britannic Majesty before Beyrout, details concerning our operations here, and in order that he may make to you, *vivâ voce*, certain observations which I have thought fitting to cause to be addressed to you.

Accept, &c.
(Signed) FUAD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 87.

Consul General Moore to Fuad Pasha.

Excellency, *Beyrout, August* 7, 1860.

I HAVE had the honour to receive the letter which your Excellency has had the goodness to address to me under date of the 4th instant.

In thanking your Excellency for the information which you are pleased to give me relative to the energetic measures you have taken at Damascus, I beg to assure you that you do me but justice in believing that your Excellency's communications will afford me a peculiar pleasure.

With respect to the verbal observations which Colonel Hassan Bey was charged by your Excellency to make to Admiral Martin and myself, I beg to state that I sought a special interview with the Admiral in order to confer with him thereon. The result of our deliberations I have verbally confided to Hassan Bey, to be by him communicated to your Excellency.

I beg, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

No. 88.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 22.)

My Lord. *Beyrout, August 6, 1860.*

WITH reference to a statement that has appeared in the public papers to the effect that there were but 400 regular troops in Syria at the time of the outbreak, I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship with the truth with regard to that point. Perfect accuracy is not attainable, but your Lordship may rely that the following estimate is rather understated than the contrary.

In the two Pashalics of Beyrout and Damascus there could not have been less than 4,000 Turkish regulars at the commencement of the disturbances and before the arrival of any reinforcements whatsoever. At each place in the Mountain where massacres were perpetrated there were garrisons, composed of regulars, ranging from 200 to 600 strong, with field pieces. In Damascus it is computed that there were 1,500 regular troops, cavalry and infantry, and as many irregulars, when the insurrection broke out.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

No. 89.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 22.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, August 8, 1860.*

I HAVE the honour to report the arrival within the last few days of a Dutch, a Sardinian, an Austrian, and a Russian frigate; a Greek corvette and two gun-boats had come in about ten days.

In addition to Her Majesty's ships already reported, the "Racoon" frigate entered the port on the 5th instant. There are now before Beyrout twenty-two vessels of war of the different nations represented, besides the British, French, and Turkish ships detached on service along the coast.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

No. 90.

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 22.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, August 2, 1860.*

I HAVE the honour to report my arrival at Beyrout, on the night of the 31st ultimo.

Beyrout is quiet, and the presence of the English and French squadrons, added to a garrison of 2,000 Turkish regulars, under Ismail Pasha (General Kmety), seems quite sufficient to ensure its continuance. Yet there is a steady emigration of the Christian population going on, who leave eastwards for Alexandria, Smyrna, Greece, or any distant port to which they can get conveyance, stating that they have lost all feeling of security under the present Government of Syria.

Fuad Pasha, as will have been reported to your Lordship from various sources, arrived at Damascus on the 29th ultimo, after a good deal of delay at Beyrout. His Excellency, during his stay here, sent Achmet Pasha, late Governor of Damascus, a prisoner to Constantinople. It would have given much more confidence to the people of the country had he been detained and tried here, where evidence against him was obtainable. His Excellency also sent to Constantinople Khoorshid Pasha of Beyrout, though not as prisoner; but this was only done, as I am informed by the Admiral, under very strong pressure exerted by himself and Mr. Moore.

I have seen several letters from Damascus which arrived here yesterday and last night. They speak despondingly, in consequence of the uncertainty of ultimate safety, the sad privations of the Christians cooped up in the Castle, and the appearance of disease amongst them. Fuad Pasha's presence had caused a lull for the present, though little had yet been done; indeed it appears as if the Sultan's officers had cautiously to feel their way, as to how far the population would permit them to go. Private communications mention that it had been discovered that another rising had been intended on Saturday, the 28th ultimo, when the Consuls were to have been special objects of attack; but the influence of some of the higher class Moslems, and probably the approach of troops with Fuad Pasha, had prevented its being carried out.

The English Missionary, Mr. Graham, cut down near the English Consulate, was killed in mistake for a Consul, as boasted by his murderer. The Damascus massacre appears to have been solely influenced by the old fanatical feeling prevalent there against Christians; and the Consuls are looked upon as the cause of Christians being raised to an equal footing with Moslems, in the present day. Your Lordship will be pleased to learn that though the writers of the above-named letters often disagree with Mr. Brant as to the existence or extent of danger, they invariably speak in the highest terms of his untiring energy and courage, and attribute the safety of a great portion of the Christians now in the Castle to his vigorous remonstrances and demands addressed to the late Pasha.

In justice to Mr. Moore, I ought also to state, that since my arrival, I have heard foreign Consuls speak with admiration of the determination and energy exhibited by him also, in dealing with the late Pasha of Beyrout, previous to the Deir-el-Kamar massacre.

A letter from the Druse district of Lebanon has just been brought me, which states that the Druses, in fear of a foreign intervention, are sending away their valuables, and propose to retreat to the inaccessible fastnesses of the Ledjah and Haurân, south-east of Damascus. That they have no objection to an inquiry being made by England as to their culpability, and are even prepared to give up some of the ringleaders; but though they would accept the word of the English Admiral that they should have a fair trial, they would that of no one else.

No. 91.

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 22.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, August* 8, 1860.

ON the 2nd instant, I had the honour to report my arrival in Syria, as well as to make some remarks on the position of affairs at that time. I had proposed to proceed at once to Damascus; but finding his Excellency Fuad Pasha had requested that more troops might be sent, to enable him to proceed with arrests, I considered that the arrival of Europeans in the city might, under the circumstances, excite the populace, and therefore deferred my journey till to-morrow. As regards the general state of the country, it can only be said that the lull which commenced on the arrival of Fuad Pasha still continues. In Damascus, with a garrison of 7,000 men, and in Beyrout, in presence of twenty ships of war and a garrison of about 1,500 men, the Sultan's authority can be and is asserted, while Christians may be considered safe. But in too many other quarters they are yet subjected to threats, insult, and plunder. How deeply rooted is the rancour which has now burst forth among the Moslem

population, was painfully shown at Damascus last week, in the attempt to poison the wretched pittance of bread issued to the refugees in the Castle, and to which seven or eight fell victims before the diabolical plot was discovered. The baker and others implicated, I am happy to say, were quickly arrested. Five thousand additional Turkish troops are said to be expected from Constantinople. Their arrival will enable an expedition to be made to the vicinity of Hasbeya, and Rasheya-el-Tukkâr, at the western base of Mount Hermon, where many Christians, chiefly women and children, are yet reported to be detained, ill-treated by the Druses in the meantime, and in fear of being put to death or carried away, should there be a general Druse retreat to the Haurân. There are persons who escaped from the villages near Hasbeya at the time of the massacre, and who have hitherto been protected by the sister of Saïd Bey Jumblât, who now either cannot or will not any longer protect them.

On the 4th instant, there arrived here 3,000 of the Christians, who have been cooped up in the Castle of Damascus since the massacre,—the greater part were women and children, and in very sad plight; 12,000 yet remain in the Castle, for whom conveyance has not yet been obtained. They are homeless and beggars, while many have lost all their male relatives, for 3,000 of the male Christian population of Damascus perished in the massacre, besides about 2,000 villagers, who had escaped to the city in search of safety.

It is hoped conveyance will be found for another party of refugees in a day or two.

On the 2nd instant, Fuad Pasha commenced making arrests, first doubling the guards over the Europeans and occupying the city with troops. Up to the present moment the arrested amount to nearly 1,000, chiefly from among the rabble, though, within the last day or two, he has imprisoned some of the higher people. There were great threats of resistance if any attempt was made to punish a Moslem for what has occurred; but not a shot has yet been fired. It apears they did not think the Pasha would do more than fine, imprison, enroll in the army, or perhaps send a few of the principal to Constantinople, but they are now alarmed, and fear they are to be treated much more severely. For the past sixteen years a Moslem has never been put to death for killing a Christian, and they can hardly conceive it will be otherwise now. Hitherto his Excellency's movements have been cautious, yet decided.

A good deal of the more bulky and worthless plunder has been collected; the richer portion has not yet been discovered.

An Aide-de-camp from Fuad Pasha arrived here on the 5th instant, announcing that some 400 arrests had been made.

I have letters from Damascus this morning, but no executions were yet known to have taken place; and all proceedings connected with the prisoners were conducted with great secrecy.

A proclamation was issued, a few days ago, announcing that, by the Sultan's wish, a foreign military expedition would shortly arrive in Syria, and that it was to be received with friendship. This will, I trust, remove all misconception on the part of the Moslems of the interior.

The Chiefs of the Druses are holding meetings in various parts of the mountains. One was held yesterday, within ten miles of Beyrout, and Said Bey has summoned one near Rasheya, probably to decide on some proposal to be made, or other general plan of action. They feel they are now likely to be made "scape-goats," and make assertions that they were encouraged, or at least countenanced by the Government authorities, though no documentary evidence has yet been shown. It is, however, a remarkable fact, that the only points at which serious massacres occurred were precisely and exclusively the points at which there were Turkish garrisons. Witness the tragedies of Hasbeya, Rasheya, Deir-el-Kamar, Sidon, Zahlé, Damascus,—the principal garrisons of this part of Syria. Near Beyrout itself, the villages of Babdâb and Hadad were burned within 300 yards of the Pasha's camp, and before his eyes, without an attempt made to save them, the only movement made being on the part of the Bashi-Bozouks, who rushed forth to plunder the Christians.

I find, on inquiry, that at the date of the outbreak, there were from 4,000 to 5,000 men in this part of Syria alone, and I hope shortly to be able to give their exact numbers and distribution.

No. 92.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received August* 27.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, August* 10, 1860.

I HAVE the honor to report that Ahmed Pasha, the ex-Seraskier and Governor-General of Damascus, returned to Beyrout on the 8th instant, having been sent back by the Porte to take his trial on the spot, the scene of his misdeeds. He is to be followed, it is understood, by Khoorshid Pasha, the late Governor-General of Beyrout, for the same purpose. This measure cannot be too highly commended, and nothing short of it would have satisfied the exigencies of the case, or even secured a proper trial by affording the necessary evidence direct and circumstantial, which a local inquiry can alone render available.

Although happily no fresh outbreak or disturbance on a large scale has occurred anywhere, yet I have to report the country as in a very disorganised and anarchical state; the Druses continue their depredations and molestations against the Christians, notwithstanding the peace patched up. The inclosed memorial I have received from some survivors of the massacre at Hasbeya will give your Lordship an idea of what is going on there and elsewhere. I am unremitting in my endeavours to procure protection for those unfortunate people from the Turkish authorities, with whom I am in constant communication, by interviews or representation, with that object, but I regret that the necessity they plead of a reference to Fuad Pasha at Damascus prevents that promptitude of action which I should wish to see under circumstances of such urgency. In this particular case, the result of my efforts has been the despatch of an express to Fuad Pasha to bring the position of the Christian fugitives of Hasbeya to his Excellency's knowledge with a view to his taking the necessary measures for their relief. From the inclosed copy of a letter of thanks I have received from the Rev. Mr. Ford, inclosing one from the Protestants of Cana, your Lordship will perceive that I have been able to secure protection to others as well.

From the Christians of the coast towns I receive frequent urgent applications for British men-of-war to be sent for their protection, on account of the alarm they feel in consequence of the demeanour of the Mahometans. Yesterday, for instance, a deputation of Christians from Acre called upon me with the same request. I brought their prayer to the knowledge of Admiral Martin, who at once ordered the "Firefly" to proceed thither, and to convey the members of the deputation to their town at their solicitation. Admiral Martin has with equal readiness attended to all my suggestions in respect to the despatch of vessels to different points on the coast, besides affording me the weight of his support and influence in my communications with the authorities.

Ever since the news of the projected French occupation, the Druses have been in a state of the greatest uneasiness and perplexity. They recently held a general meeting of chiefs in the Arkoob, the district of the Amad clan, to consider their position and decide upon a line of action in certain eventualities. I am informed by one of themselves, through an agent, that the decision come to is to retire further into the interior on the arrival of foreign troops to attack them, and to address memorials to the British and Turkish Governments, appealing to them against unjust treatment.

At Damascus, Fuad Pasha's arrests had reached between 700 and 800; one execution had taken place—that of the Mahometan who attempted to poison the Christians in the Castle; but on the same day of the execution, and almost simultaneously, a Christian was murdered in the streets by Mahometans, who, it is said, had sworn to kill a Christian for every Mahometan put to death. Mr. Consul Brant reports that it is now certain that upwards of 5,000 Christians were slaughtered in Damascus; but the French Consul raises the number of victims to 8,000.

August 12.

P.S.—In consequence of my representations, Fuad Pasha has sent an order to the Commanding Officer at Beyrout, Ismail Pasha, to send a battalion of troops for the protection of the Christians at Hasbeya and Rasheya. The troops have orders to attack the Druses if they continue to molest the Christians.

Inclosure 1 in No. 92.

The Christians of Hasbeya to Consul-General Moore.

August 8, 1860.

YOUR servants, the inhabitants of Hasbeya and the neighbouring villages beg to state that your Seigneury is aware of the misfortunes which have befallen us—namely, our men massacred, our houses burnt, our property plundered. The surviving widows and orphans are in a deplorable state, remaining in the power of the Druses, in danger and insecurity on account of the threats held out by the Druses to them, besides other horrors they are exposed to, which we cannot from delicacy explain to you. The Druses still continue to demolish and destroy our houses, cut down our trees, and kill any of the few survivors they at any time meet with alone outside the houses in which they have found an asylum.

Oh, Sir, how many children have perished from starvation, how many women are still dispersed in the wilderness without shelter, clothes to cover their bodies, or food to sustain life; they are naked and bare-footed, the sky their covering, and the earth their bed.

We, your servants, throw ourselves at your feet, imploring you in the name of God to look with compassion and mercy into the state of these widows and orphans, dispersed in the wilderness, mountains, and caves, &c., and to take measures to deliver them out of their distress by procuring their withdrawal from amongst the Druses, those ravening wolves who seek to fall upon them from all sides. We, your servants, have no asylum or help but God and the mercy of your Government. God forbid that you should allow these widows and orphans in this state to perish from hunger and fear; your compassion and benevolence towards us have always been great.

Inclosure 2 in No. 92.

The Rev. J. E. Ford to Consul-General Moore.

Sir, *Beyrout, August* 11, 1860.

SOME weeks since, you were so kind as to furnish the Protestant community of Cana with a letter to Hassan Bey El Faris, the Governor of their district, commending them to his special care and protection. As the beneficial effects of your efforts on their behalf have been so manifest as to lead them to indite a letter of acknowledgment, describing the conduct of Hassan Bey toward them, and toward all the Christians in his vicinity, I hasten to lay before you the said letter, begging leave at the same time to add my own thanks as pastor of the little flock who have thus been preserved from sharing in the general destruction.

Permit me to subscribe myself with sentiments of the highest respect,

(Signed) J. E. FORD.

No. 93.

Mr. Fane to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 27.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, August* 23, 1860.

ON the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the 19th instant, I informed Count Rechberg that Her Majesty's Government approved the instructions which the French Government proposed to address to its Commissioner for the Affairs of Syria, and that the British Commissioner would receive instructions nearly identical with those furnished to his French colleague.

Count Rechberg said that he also approved the French instructions, and he was glad to have his opinion of them confirmed by that of Her Majesty's Government. He should issue similar instructions to the Austrian Commissioner who, he informed me, had been appointed in the person of M. Weckbecker, now Imperial Consul-General at Beyrout.

His Excellency added that, in case the Commissioners should be authorized to apply for any supplementary instructions which they might require to the Ambassadors at Constantinople, he hoped that care would be taken that the instructions issuing from those sources should be identical. With this view he should instruct the Austrian Representative at Constantinople to furnish no instruction to the Imperial Commissioner except in concert with his colleagues, and he hoped Her Majesty's Government would recommend their Representative to follow the same course.

No. 94.

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 27.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, August 25*, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Prussian Government have decided to draw up instructions to their Commissioner in Syria, in the sense of those which have been addressed to Lord Dufferin, the substance of which has been made known to this Government by Count Bernstorff.

I have heard that M. de Rehfues, Secretary to the Prussian Legation at Constantinople, is appointed Commissioner in Syria.

No. 95.

Lord J. Russell to Consul-General Moore.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 30, 1860.

I HAVE to acquaint you that I approve of the steps taken by you, as reported in your despatch of the 4th instant, to effect the release of several Christian women and children from the hands of the Druses, in the neighbourhood of Deir-el-Kamar, and also to recover a considerable amount of property plundered from Christians.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 96.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 30, 1860.

YOUR Excellency was made aware by my despatch to Lord Dufferin inclosed in my despatch of the 16th instant, that Her Majesty's Government considered the condition of the Christian women who had been carried off by the Druses was the question which demanded the earliest attention of the Commissioners sent to Syria, and that Lord Dufferin was instructed to press upon Fuad Pasha and his European colleagues the necessity of taking immediate measures for rescuing those unfortunate women from their lamentable situation.

Your Excellency will press this matter most urgently on the Porte, and you will say that it admits of no delay. The sufferings of these women must call forth the strongest feelings of sympathy on the part of all Christian nations.

You will also take such measures as may appear to you most advisable to provide for the maintenance of these poor women till they can find permanent homes and means of subsistence.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 97.

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 1.)

My Lord, *Damascus, August* 20, 1860.

I HASTEN to report that the execution of the criminals condemned for their share in the massacre at Damascus, commenced, somewhat unexpectedly, at 10 o'clock last night (Sunday). At that hour, fifty-seven culprits, four or five being of superior position, were hanged in the bazaars and public squares of different quarters of the city, where their bodies yet remain. Two hours ago, 110 others, connected with the irregular troops in the employment of the Government, were shot outside the city, on the plain called the "Merj," or meadow.

The trials of the arrested still continue. That of Achmet, late Pacha of Damascus, is closed; but the sentence is not yet promulgated. Omar Bey, the Colonel commanding the troops at Hasbeya during the massacre there, is before the Court to-day. Sentence is also being recorded against many who have fled, but have not yet surrendered or been captured. Arrests and disarmaments still continue. There has not been hitherto the slightest attempt at resistance. I confine myself to these bare details on the present occasion, as I desire to take advantage of a Turkish post about to leave, affording a speedier conveyance than usual.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER.

No. 98.

Fuad Pasha to Aali Pasha.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Musurus, September 1.)

Damas, le 20 *Aout,* 1860, *le soir.*

CE matin, 167 des coupables dont le jugement est clos, ont été exécutés publiquement. Cinquante-sept de ces condamnés ont été pendus aux endroits les plus populeux de la ville, et 110 individus appartenant à la police locale ont été fusillés sur la place dite Djenk-Méidan. La ville est frappée de terreur, aucun mouvement n'a été observé dans la ville durant les exécutions.

Demain, les coupables condamnés aux travaux forcés et à la détention seront, sous bonne escorte, dirigés sur Beyrouth pour être immédiatement embarqués pour Constantinople.

Parmi les coupables pendus il y a des frères, des fils et parents, des plus grandes notabilités du pays. Aucun compte n'est tenu de leur rang ou dignité. Demain seront également arrêtés, jugés et punis tous les notables compromis.

Le procès de l'ex-Gouverneur Ahmed Agha et d'autres officiers se poursuit par devant le Conseil de Guerre, dont les sentences recevront leur exécution dès qu'elles auront été prononcées.

Les coupables qui ont pu s'évader après les massacres sont aussi jugés par contumace. Ils subiront leur peine dès qu'ils seront saisis.

L'armée du Sultan agit avec la discipline la plus rigoureuse et la plus parfaite loyauté. La main de la justice est maîtresse absolue de la situation.

La tranquillité est parfaite sur tout le littoral de la Syrie. La sécurité est rétablie à Saïda et les environs.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) FUAD PASHA.

(Translation.)

Damascus, August 20, 1860.

THIS morning, 167 of the guilty on whom judgment had been pronounced were publicly executed. Fifty-seven of these condemned persons were hung in the most populous parts of the town, and 110 individuals belonging to the local police were shot, on the place called Djenk-Méidan. The town is struck with terror, and no movement has been observed in the town during the executions.

To-morrow, the criminals condemned to hard labour and to imprisonment

will be conducted, under a strong escort, to Beyrout, to be embarked immediately for Constantinople.

Among the guilty who have been hung there are brothers, sons and relations of the chief families of the country. No account is taken of their rank or dignity. To-morrow all the leading men who are compromised will be equally arrested, tried and punished.

The trial of the ex-Governor, Ahmed-Agha, and other officers, is conducted before the Council of War, by whom the sentences will be executed, as soon as they are pronounced.

The guilty who managed to escape after the massacre are also tried by default. They will undergo their sentence as soon as they are captured.

The army of the Sultan acts with the most rigorous discipline, and the most perfect loyalty. The hand of justice is complete mistress of the situation.

The tranquillity on all the Coast of Syria is complete. Security is re-established at Saïda and its environs.

Accept, &c.
(Signed) FUAD PASHA.

No. 99.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 1.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, August 22, 1860.*

I HAVE the honour to report, that troops belonging to the French expeditionary force continue to arrive at Beyrout; about 5,000 men, including 200 Cavalry, have landed up to this date, with an immense quantity of stores, ammunition, and mules for the carriage of field-pieces. The camping ground chosen is the pine wood, about two miles distant from the city, skirting the new carriageable road to Damascus. The disembarkation is effected at a creek a few minutes' walk from the town; the troops then march up to the town, and pass it, without entering, on to the camp, preceded by their bands playing the national air.

I need hardly say that the occupation is viewed with the utmost aversion by the Mahometans; a scowl is visible on their faces as the troops march past; and their general manner is irritable and sullen, breaking out occasionally in sneers and insult to the Christians, and in some cases in personal violence upon the slightest occasion or fancied provocation. Thanks, however, to the energetic measures of repression taken by Ahmed Kaiserli Pasha, the new Governor-General, added to a proclamation issued by his Excellency, forbidding the carriage of arms of any kind by the townspeople, Christian and Mahometan, no disturbances of the sort are likely to occur again.

On the other hand the Christians are overjoyed. On the landing of the troops, Christian refugees relieve the men of their muskets, knapsacks, &c., which they carry for them all the way to the camp; others offer the soldiers water, tobacco, lemonade, &c., gratis.

I cannot but state to your Lordship that a great and general feeling of relief and sense of security amongst the Christians, European and native, has followed the arrival of the French. Previous to this event, no one knew what, or when, fresh disasters might not take place, and nothing short of a European occupation really guaranteeing as it does the public safety, could have removed their apprehensions. At the same time much disappointment is expressed at the non-arrival of English troops, one of the first good effects of whose presence would have been to calm and re-assure the Mahometans.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

No. 100.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 2.)

My Lord, *Paris, September 1, 1860.*

I INQUIRED to-day of M. Thouvenel whether he was in possession of any fresh intelligence from Syria. His Excellency replied, that the reports which

he had received were far from being satisfactory. Although massacres on a wholesale scale had ceased, assassinations were constant, and the state of the country very bad. If the French troops had not been sent, Fuad Pasha would have been powerless, and it was only on their arrival that he had dared order the executions which had taken place. With respect to these executions M. Thouvenel expressed himself very disapprovingly. It was the history of Jeddah over again. Such wholesale fusillades had more the appearance of vengeance than of punishment, and while the instruments in the massacres were put to death, the organizers and promoters of them escaped. He feared that Fuad Pasha would not have the resolution to do that which alone would inspire wholesome awe—cause one or two of the most guilty of the high officers to be decapitated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 101.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 4.)

My Lord, *Damascus, August* 11, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copies of three despatches addressed to his Excellency Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer.

I have had an interview to-day with Fuad Pasha, in order to give your Lordship some precise details regarding his Excellency's intentions. He had received from the principal persons in each quarter of the city, lists stating who were known to be murderers, who plunderers, and who exciters of the mob to acts of bloodshed, robbery and arson. His Excellency said that the information now obtained would enable him in a few days to close the inquiries and pass sentence, which would be followed by the immediate execution of all those who had committed crimes worthy of death, irrespective of numbers; some would be condemned to imprisonment for life, some to the Bagnio, and a large number would be enrolled in the troops serving in any part of the Empire but Syria. Nothing could be stronger than the expressions of horror made use of by his Excellency at the enormity of the crimes committed, and the infamy of the conduct of the generality of the Damascenes. His Excellency talked of imposing a fine of 25,000,000 piastres, about 200,000*l.* sterling. I told him I could not form an estimate of the loss, but that my opinion was that 5,000,000*l.* sterling would scarcely suffice to cover the destruction of property, and indemnify those who have lost money, jewels, plate, and articles of dress.

It has been ascertained, with tolerable accuracy, that about 3,500 Christians, natives of Damascus, were massacred, and about 2,000 strangers who had taken refuge in the town for safety.

I expressed a hope that his Excellency, by his energy and activity might prove that security and order were restored and could be maintained on so certain a basis that an occupation by European troops would not be needed. He said he would endeavour to convince Europe of this, and he hoped a few days would prove the fact.

I must say that Fuad Pasha, considering the difficulties he has had to contend with, and the obstacles thrown in his way, has proved himself equal to the task imposed on his Excellency by his Sovereign; and I have every hope that he will not fail to complete the work he has so ably and energetically begun.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 101.

Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Damascus, July* 31, 1860.

FUAD PASHA made his entry with the Mushir Helim Pasha at mid-day on the 29th instant, and this morning, at 8 A.M., I waited on his Excellency.

He asked of me particulars as to facts and circumstances, and any suggestions I could make as to the state of affairs. I drew up a short memorandum, and am preparing another. I was much struck by his Excellency's frank and energetic bearing and conversation, and I have every hope that his mission will be conducted in a manner to satisfy Europe, to remove the stain thrown on his Government by the conduct of its employés in Syria, and to restore the Sultan's authority.

His Excellency professes his anxious desire to relieve the distress of the sufferers, and one cannot help trusting the apparent sincerity of his declarations on this point, and hoping that what is possible to be done may be effected. The evil, however, so exceeds all that can be imagined, except by eye-witnesses, that I fear it is beyond the means of the Turkish Government to do more than partially alleviate a very small part of so extensive a calamity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 101.

Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Damascus, August* 4, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that, on the 1st August, in the afternoon, I waited on Fuad Pasha, and gave his Excellency a long memorandum, containing a list of the most notorious murderers and plunderers, also a list of persons who had done harm by their mischievous display of bigotry, exciting the people to the massacre of the Christians. The memorandum gave the names of some of the respectable persons of the city who had behaved well. His Excellency thanked me for the information, and compared it with that he had received from other sources, with which mine in general agreed. Fuad Pasha also told me that he was preparing his measures, and only awaited the arrival of two battalions, expected to reach the 3rd instant, to strike the blow. Accordingly, yesterday morning, at a little after 5 A.M., the troops having come in, the guards at the Consulates and throughout the city were doubled, the shops closed, and the streets deserted; during the whole day arrests were made, plunder delivered up or seized; and it is said that between 300 and 400 of the worst characters were seized, disarmed, and imprisoned. Everybody was in alarm, and all were cringing to Europeans in order to obtain a good word from them. To-day the arrests continue, but no Chiefs have as yet been seized; the Pasha's plan seems to be to catch the lower class of assassins before he touches the Chiefs. Meanwhile the greatest panic exists among the Mussulmans of all classes and ranks, and their tone has entirely changed from what it was a few days ago, and no one ventures to threaten death to the Christians in case of the landing of European troops in Syria. Thus we have, I am happy to say, made a great advance towards the restoration of confidence, and the most timid now feel that they are safe.

I am happy to say that ophthalmia alone prevails among the crowds sheltered within the walls of the Castle; but fever does not exist, nor even dysentery, which was hardly to be expected under the circumstances.

Inclosure 3 in No. 101.

Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Damascus, August* 9, 1860.

I HAVE been waiting in expectation of having something decisive to report to your Excellency in regard to Fuad Pasha's acts. His Excellency began by availing himself of every source of information to learn the exact position of affairs. This, however, was not easy, for he was misled and thwarted by the members of the Medjlis, who thought his Excellency was an employé of

the ordinary kind, and that by opposing searching investigations, and by procrastination, he would be tired out. They have found, however, that they were mistaken; still it required several days to extract any trustworthy reports from them, yet I think his Excellency has at last succeeded, and although these gentlemen have not acted candidly, I believe a good deal has been learned from them, on pressure being applied. Property of great bulk has been restored, but I fear of small value. About 750 persons accused of murder and robbing, or of robbing alone, are under arrest; some have been proved guilty of murder; only one, as yet, has been executed; and in the Christian quarter the very same day a Christian was massacred, and the report was spread about the city that the inhabitants were determined to murder a Christian for every Mussulman executed. This report has renewed a panic, and increased the desire of the Christians to quit the city, many of whom were beginning to think that they might be able to remain.

The Criminal Commission cannot get any witnesses to swear to a man being a murderer; many will testify that people have been guilty of plundering, but, as to murder, one might almost believe that none had been committed; and although it is certain that above 5,000 persons have been massacred in broad daylight, or by the light of blazing houses, yet nobody will testify to having witnessed a murder committed, or will recognize a single man guilty of such a crime. If the ordinary forms of Turkish law cannot reach such criminals, extraordinary proceedings must be resorted to, and people proved guilty of plundering must be treated as having, at the same time, committed murder. Atrocities such as have been committed cannot go unpunished by such subterfuges as are attempted to turn aside the sword of justice. If other means cannot be devised, a hatti-sheriff should be published, condemning to death every one guilty of arson or robbery in the late outbreak at Damascus, giving to the Court power to recommend to a less penalty than death such persons in whose favour strong extenuating circumstances can be adduced.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

No. 102.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 4.)

My Lord, *Damascus, August* 13, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a most interesting report, by Mr. Cyril Graham, on his visit to Hasbeya and Rasheya. It needs no addition to increase its interest, and it were needless to augment the horrors of the scenes Mr. Graham has so vividly described.

I can inform your Lordship that his Excellency Fuad Pasha has already taken measures to relieve these poor people from the fate with which they are threatened.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure in No. 102.

[Report by Mr. Graham on the Condition of the Christians in the Districts of Hasbeya and Rasheya

ON the 6th and 7th August such bad accounts were given me by certain natives of Hasbeya and Rasheya of the condition of the Christians in that district, that I determined upon visiting without delay both those towns, so recently the scene of horrible massacres.

On the 8th I had an interview with his Excellency Fuad Pasha and announced to him my intention, at the same time asking authority for removing, if necessary, the Christians from that country, or for making the best possible arrangements for their safety. The Pasha seemed delighted with my proposal, for he said he was extremely anxious to obtain accurate information of what

was going on in that quarter, and hitherto he had been able to obtain no authentic accounts whatever. He immediately ordered me an escort, promised to be guided by my reports in his future measures for the security of the country about Hermon, and placed at my disposal the sum of 20,000 piastres for distribution among the unfortunate Christians of the country I was about to visit.

I left Damascus that same evening, Wednesday, August 8th, and reached Rasheya the next morning. On arriving there I went to the house of the Druse Chief, Khazâi-el-Ariàn, and immediately began my inquiries as to the number of Christians at that moment in the place, and as to the condition in which they were. I soon found that they were indeed in a miserable state; they had nothing to eat except what they owed to the bounty of the Druses, and that was little enough! The population amounted to 1,100 souls, whereof only 76 were men, all the remaining males having been killed, and some few having fled to Damascus and Beyrout. In order to distribute the funds committed to my care, I had all the women and children mustered, and then separated in divisions according to the quarters of the town they occupied, each division again was shut up in a house, and then one by one the women and children were admitted through the door at which I stood and placed in their hands money, so that I had an opportunity of ascertaining almost to an accuracy the number of the population at that moment at Rasheya. The Druses, however, soon became very jealous of this and came in numbers to ask what I was doing in their town, and what my object was in coming.

There are two Chiefs in Rasheya, one the above named Khazâi Agha-el-Ariân, the other Mohammed-en-Nasâr, whose name is mentioned with horror by all the Christians, as having been the chief instigator of, and chief actor in, the massacre of the 11th June. He came to see me at the house of the other Chief, and a conversation insued, from which it appeared that they still entertained the belief in common with most of the Druses, that the English Government must be extremely satisfied with what they had done, for they imagine that any diminution of the number of the Christians will be acceptable to us as weakening the French influence in the country! I soon undeceived them, and told them plainly that all the civilized world was horrified at their atrocious behaviour, and no people could have a greater abhorrence of their conduct during the last months than the English. They were then very anxious to learn all they could about a French occupation, and assured me that should the French land in Syria and attempt to penetrate into the interior, they would at once slaughter all the remaining Christians. The Chief Mohammed Nasâr then left me, and, on going out of the house, told some of my escort, Algerines belonging to the Emir Abd-el-Kader, that they, the Druses, would kill me as I had no good intentions towards them. He repeatedly told me he despised the Sultan and his Government, and that the Druses were a free people and defied any force which should be brought against them. That night I started for Hasbeya, and passing through Kfeir and Nimis, two villages in which almost all the Christian houses had been burned and some 110 Christians killed, I reached the other large town belonging to the district of Hermon, Hasbeya. Here I repeated my inquiries, numbered the women and children, distributed money, and received visits from the principal inhabitants. The whole number of Christians at that moment was 1,430, there having been only three months ago no less than 3,200; some few are in Beyrout and Damascus; but I fear that fully 1,300 were slaughtered. Here the Christians were in the same state of suffering as those whom I found at Rasheya, and in both places they were hourly in terror of a massacre, so excited had the Druses again become.

I visited the Serai, which was full of the corpses of the Christians; none had been buried, and, strange to say, the bodies were well preserved, having been parched by the burning Syrian sun. The sight was dreadful, bodies lying in every attitude on the paved court of the palace, the stones, naturally white, being stained a deep brown: but the upper rooms presented even a more horrible spectacle; in almost all of them the bodies were piled one upon another to the height of five or six feet, and lay just as they had fallen; to add to the horror of this frightful scene, the poor women followed me in, and began to howl and mourn over their dead; they led me from corpse to corpse, telling me how they had seen their brothers, fathers, husbands, sons, slaughtered before their eyes, and calling me to witness and to avenge their wrongs. The Druses who accom-

panied me made their jokes on the bodies, and one fellow showed me a pair of pistols set in silver, one of which had been broken in dashing the brains out of the Christians' heads. He lamented over his pistols and said, "Oh, that it should have been spoiled against their cursed hard skulls!"

Here again the Druses were more bold and insolent than I had ever seen them anywhere before. I have travelled over all their country, and even visited them in their strongholds in the Haurân, and have never met with anything but courtesy; now, however, they speak with great insolence, boast of the number of Christians they have killed, and assert that they will cut to pieces any force which shall be brought against them. The Emir Saad-ed-Din, who had been most obnoxious to the Druses, had his head cut off during the massacre, and his body thrown out under the walls of the Castle. It is said that the Druses on first entering the Serai began to cut the Christians to pieces, but some of them remarked, "If we do this we shall spoil their clothes, let us strip them and then kill them;" so, accordingly, after that, they stripped them and slaughtered them in cold blood. I made inquiries about the gun which the Commander of the troops had with him in the Serai at Hasbeya, how often it had been fired, &c. The Christians told me, it had been fired twenty-seven times, but all the balls had struck the houses of the Christian quarter; this was certainly the case; and on asking the Druses, they said, "Yes, it is true; Osman Bey intended to fire upon us, but he did not elevate his gun enough, so that it destroyed the Christians instead of us." Osman Bey had the doors of the Serai opened and in rushed the Druses and commenced their slaughter.

In the evening the Druses here again threatened my life, on which one of my escort had some words with them; two Druses thereupon fell upon him, and there would have been some bloodshed had not some others interfered. I then returned through some of the other burned villages, where a few Christians were still struggling for their existence; coming back to Rasheya, where I visited the Serai, in which a second scene like that at Hasbeya presented itself, I again mounted and rode down to Damascus, where I arrived early on the morning of the 12th.

The result of my journey and of my inquiries was, that I ascertained the Christians to be in a state of great danger. No man dare go out of the towns. Each week several persons were maltreated and even killed. The Druses threaten to exterminate them altogether, should any attempt be made to remove them to Beyrout.

This day I have had another long interview with Fuad Pasha, have given him an account of my journey, and proposed to him that immediate measures should be taken either for the removal of the Christians about Hermon, amounting to full 2,600 souls, or for ensuring their safety if they are to remain there. In either case a considerable force will be required. At Rasheya I proposed that he should at once send to the Chief Khazâi-el-Ariân, who had conducted himself well, guarantee him full security if he would come to Damascus, and at the same time take measures with his own party for the protection of the Christians, thereby causing a division into two parties of the Druses of the town, which might enable the Pasha, by sending a certain number of troops, to protect the Christians against any mischievous attempt on the part of the Chief, Mohammed Nasâr.

This plan his Excellency adopted, and dispatched at once a messenger to the Sheikh Khazâi; he ordered also that 150 Algerines should start as soon as possible to protect Rasheya. A battalion of regular troops is also on the way from Beyrout to Hasbeya. It is very doubtful yet what may be the result of these movements; they may cause bloodshed, but it was a question, either of leaving the Christians entirely at the mercy of the Druses, who threatened—and we know enough of the Druses to believe it was not an idle threat—to exterminate men, women, and children, the moment the news should reach them of the landing of foreign troops,—or of running a certain risk in sending a body of troops to their support. I hope and trust that by a rapid movement the troops may come unexpectedly on these towns, occupy the Serais, and plant their guns there; in which case there is no further danger, as the Christians might all be gathered into the Serais, and the Druses would soon be dispersed by bringing the cannon to bear on their houses. The Pasha has shown such promptitude in preparing these measures that we may well hope for success. Should the position be found untenable, the Christians will then be taken under

a strong escort to the sea-coast, whence they can escape to Egypt or Candia, as so many have done hitherto.

(Signed) CYRIL C. GRAHAM.

Damascus, August 13, 1860.

No. 103.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 1.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, August* 22, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report that Ahmed Kaiserli Pasha, the new Governor-General of this eyalet, has arrived, and entered upon his functions. His Excellency bears a high character for uprightness, integrity, and ability. The usual visits of ceremony have been exchanged between us.

Khoorshid Pasha, the late Governor-General, returned a few days ago from Constantinople, under arrest, having been sent back by his Government to take his trial on the spot. He is confined in a private house, with sentries at the door to guard him.

Satisfactory news to the 20th instant came in this morning from Damascus. Fuad Pasha had commenced the executions on that day; 57 Mahometans, including some notables, were hanged in all parts of the city, and 110 irregulars and conscripts shot; between 300 and 400 were prepared to be marched away as prisoners to Beyrout, on their way to Constantinople. As Mr. Consul Brant writes to your Lordship by this opportunity, I have no doubt he will give all details.

I beg to inclose copy of a communication which I have received from Mr. Cyril Graham, who returned from Damascus on the 20th instant, which is a sequel to his report of his visit to Hasbeya and Rasheya, already transmitted to your Lordship by Mr. Brant.*

The Druses maintain the same attitude and determination as when I had last the honour to address your Lordship.

I have, &c.

(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure in No. 103.

Sequel to Mr. Graham's Report of his Visit to Hasbeya and Rasheya.

I MENTIONED in my report of the 13th of August, that immediately on my return from the Province of Hasbeya and Rasheya, I had, in the course of a lengthened interview with Fuad Pasha, suggested to his Excellency the expediency of forming a division among the Druses of Rasheya, by inviting Khazâi Aga-el-Arian to Damascus, and offering him a safe passage back again, should he consent to come.

I likewise recommended his Excellency to send a sufficient force, and some artillery, to both the above-mentioned towns, for the protection of the large Christian population which still remained there in hourly fear of their lives. I entreated him to take these steps with the least possible delay, in order to anticipate the report of the arrival of French troops.

Fuad Pasha did me the honour of attending to both these suggestions, and immediately dispatched Hassan Bek (Colonel O'Reilly) to Sidon, with orders to march up one battalion and two pieces of artillery on Hasbeya, while a half battalion, on the way from Beyrout to Damascus, was to be intercepted in the Bokâa, the plain of Cœle-Syria, and ordered to march upon Rasheya. His Excellency likewise dispatched a letter to Khazâi Agha desiring his immediate appearance in the city, at the same time giving me the commission of writing to him (Khazâi Agha) myself, and giving him safe passage on the promise of the Pasha. At the same time, no pains were spared to sow jealousy in the other faction at Rasheya—that of Mohammed Nasar. All this had the desired

* See Inclosure in No. 102.

effect. Khazâi Agha, after taking measures for the protection of the Christians, came to Damascus, and this so disconcerted the other Chief, that he marched off and removed all his Druses, leaving the place in the quiet possession of the Christians, under the protection of the friendly faction among the Druses. The interview between his Excellency and this Druse Chief was of great value, and it ended by his guaranteeing to protect the Christians, or, if necessary, to remove them to Sidon. By this time the regular troops will have reached their destination, and the Christians will be fully protected. We cannot be thankful enough for this, as we had cause, and good cause, to fear that, under the most favourable circumstances, this result would not have been obtained without bloodshed.

Fuad Pasha has likewise appointed a Mutsellim or Governor in each of these towns, thus reassuming the authority of the Porte in one of the wildest and most disturbed of the provinces of Syria. One hundred and fifty Cavalry are likewise placed at the disposal of the Governor of Rasheya.

(Signed) CYRIL C. GRAHAM.

Beyrout, August 22, 1860.

No. 104.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received September* 4.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, August* 15, 1860.

WITH reference to that part of my despatch of the 10th instant, reporting the continued disorders here notwithstanding the presence of Fuad Pasha, the large military force available, and the so-called peace between the Maronites and Druses, I beg to inclose the translation of a memorial I yesterday received from the Christians of Bekâa (Plain of Cœle-Syria), relating a horrible act of cruelty to two Christian women of which the Druses have been guilty; as well as translations of two reports, dated respectively the 13th and 14th instant, addressed to me by Mr. Vice-Consul Abela, of Sidon, on the actual state of the neighbourhood of that town. In this district a Christian was murdered by Druses a few days ago under circumstances of great atrocity, in the village of Arsoon. All this passes almost under the eyes of the Turkish Authorities, who do nothing effectual to put an end to it. I have duly brought the facts to the knowledge of Admiral Martin, who has addressed written representations relative thereto to Fuad Pasha at Damascus, and to Mustapha Pasha here. On my part, I am doing all I can in the interests of order and tranquillity. But little can be expected from authorities who, instead of doing their duty, act in the spirit of the Military Commander in Sidon, who, as reported by Mr. Abela in Inclosure No. 2, requested the Captain of the "Neptune" not to allow the officers of his ship to penetrate into the gardens, a couple of miles' walk from Sidon, as he could not answer for their safety, thus placing the town of Sidon with its garrison of regulars, and the Turkish man-of-war before it, at the mercy of a handful of Druse ruffians, who would disperse at a word spoken in earnest by him.

I have, &c.

(Signed) N. MOORE.

August 16, 1860.

P.S. Since the above was written, I am happy to be able to report that proper measures have been at last taken by the Turkish Authorities; the Governor of Sidon is to be recalled, the Commanders of troops at Sidon, and of those despatched to Hasbeya and at Rasheya under Hassan Bey (Colonel O'Reilly), as well as the battalion stationed on the limits of the Christian and Druse districts in the Lebanon, have received written orders to check the Druses, and if necessary to fire upon them.

N. M.

Inclosure 1 in No. 104.

The Christians of the Bekâa to Consul-General Moore.

(Translation.)

YOUR servants, the inhabitants and peasantry of the Bekâa and i t villages, beg to submit to you that, at the commencement of the civil war between the Christians and the Druses in the Mountain, we your servants had petitioned Aashoor Effendi, Kaimakam of the Bekâa, and applied for protection, engaging to remain in our homes without interfering in the affairs of the Mountain and its disturbances, as we are subjects of the Porte, occupied in our own business, and had paid what was due by us to the Government, obedient in every respect to our authorities' orders, and avoiding all causes of contention. The reply from the said Kaimakam to our petition was, that he had submitted our application to his Excellency the Mushir at Damascus, but had received no answer as yet. We renewed several times the same request, and continued in that same position till the assassinations, plunder, and burning commenced in some of our places. We were still in our homes when Husni Bey, Colonel of the cavalry at Bâalbek, came to Mâalaka and sent for Sheik Kenj-el-Amad, the Druse Chief employed by the Government for the protection of the Bekâa. Sheik Kenj came to the Merj, a village in the Bekâa, and had an interview with the said Colonel Husni Bey, and the Kaimakam, Aashoor Effendi, which interview continued till sunset, then each of them went to a different point. In the same night Sheik Kenj-el-Amad went to the village of Gibgenin, where he met eight Christians, villagers of Kafarhooné, whom he deprived of their camels, mules, and all the property they had, and then killed them. On seeing this act we quitted our homes, leaving behind our property, and fled to Mâalaka, the residence of the Kaimakam, without bringing with us any of our property, cattle, &c., and stated to the Kaimakam, Colonel Husni Bey, and the military officers, all that had happened. The Kaimakam mounted immediately and went to the Bekâa, where our villages are situated, and passed through the district called Sharki-el-Bekâa, and so to the village of Karôn, on the verge of the Bekâa, and then returned. The same night all our villages in the Bekâa were burnt and plundered, and such persons as had remained in the villages, both old and young, including females and infants, were massacred. Girls were also violated—in short the horrors committed are unprecedented; our churches were demolished together with our houses; our animals were all driven off. All these atrocities were committed upon us without any cause on our part to entail the displeasure of the Porte or the Druses against us. We were compelled to flee from Mâalaka after repeated fruitless representations for the protection of our blood and families. We are up to this moment scattered in the mountains, naked and hungry, as we do not possess the means of subsistence, enduring the bitterness of death. We find nobody to whom we can have recourse to but your illustrious Government, as it is the source of mercy, pity, and benevolence towards those who appeal to it. We presented a petition to his Excellency the Mushir at Beyrout, containing all we have ventured to state above, but without any answer beyond referring it to the Commission, who told us to go to our homes. But our homes are desolate, there is neither produce or crops, or security for our blood there; and moreover Sheik Kenj Amad, the Protector of the Bekâa, still frequents our villages, and he kills those whom he meets with; and especially eight days ago, two of our women went to their village of Sfeita, and were immediately seized and burnt alive; this, besides cutting down our plantations, and taking our silk and other crops. We have therefore nothing left to subsist upon in our villages, although we have paid our engagements to the Government on the same. We throw ourselves at the feet of your Government, and beseech it to consider our condition, for we are in a forlorn state, naked and hungry; death carries off numbers of us daily in consequence of our destitution. We venture to repeat our supplications for succour, &c.

(Signed by the Inhabitants of eight villages of the Bekâa.)

(*Received August* 14, 1860.)

Inclosure 2 in No. 104.

Vice-Consul Abela to Consul-General Moore.

(Translation.)

Sir, *Sidon, August* 13, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that the day before yesterday the woman of the village of Azoor, whose arm the Druses had broken, and not cut off, as I had stated, came here. The doctor of the "Neptune" is attending the poor woman. She told us that the Druses, after pursuing and breaking her arm, wanted to burn her, to force her to reveal the places where she had hidden her property, which she showed them had been already plundered. A girl who was with her was ill-treated, and menaced with violation, and had to escape during the night, and came here. These two women told me that another woman of El Soccosh, who could not produce the property demanded of her, was tied by the Druses to the tail of mules, which dragged and kicked her till she died. These Druse ruffians are of the village of Mazrâat-el-Shoof. Another woman arrived yesterday, from Djezzin, and says that Daher Osman, the Agent of said Bey Djomblat, has ordered that no Christian should be allowed to leave for Sidon, under pain of death to whosoever disobeyed.

The Captain of the "Neptune" called upon the Mudir of Sidon to take measures to check the disorders; but the latter told him that he could not act except within his jurisdiction, that is, about half an hour's distance round Sidon. More than this, the Colonel of the Garrison informed the Captain that security was still wanting in the neighbourhood of Sidon, and that, therefore, he, the Captain, should not permit his officers to penetrate into the gardens in the region of the River Awali.

These last two days the Mahometans evince a more fanatical feeling than was the case two or three weeks ago; though we have at present two vessels of war: what would they do if these vessels were to leave? In Iklim, Djezzin, Kharroob, Hasbeya, and Rasheya, the Druses continue to cut down the trees of the Christians.

In Deir-el-Kamar, where there is nothing but dead bodies and ruins, there is a company of troops, whilst in the Djezzin district, where so many miserable Christians are to be found, there is not one soldier to protect them.

The Druses still carry off the cattle and crops of the Christians in Gibâa; the Christians do not cease making their complaints thereof to the Nadir of the district, but he is indifferent, and extends no protection to the Christians.

In conclusion, it is seen that the state of disorders against the Christians is unabated in the surrounding country, and that the Governors of the districts do nothing to restrain their course.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. ABELA.

Inclosure 3 in No. 104.

Vice-Consul Abela to Consul-General Moore.

(Translation.)

Sir, *Sidon, August* 14, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that to-day a Christian woman of the village of Mehtekra, who had fled to Sidon for refuge, went with her daughter to the mill, on the River Awali, to grind some corn; on their return, on this side of the bridge, they were attacked by a Druse, who carried off the small quantity of flour they had, and stripped them of their clothes, loading them with the most horrible curses.

The Mussulmans of the Kharroob, who have plundered so much from Deir-el-Kamar, Zahlé, and the neighbourhood of Sidon, have been for the last two days engaged in transporting their booty to deposit it in the Metuali

districts. The authorities here not only give no assistance in retaking and restoring to their Christian proprietors such plundered property as comes this way, but they do their best to prevent such restitution.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. ABELA.

No. 105.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received September* 4.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, August* 16, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report the arrival, this morning, of General d'Hautpoul, with two battalions of French troops, partly in the steamer of the Messageries Impériales, and partly in a Government transport. More transports with troops are in sight. The force is at this moment landing.

Ahmed Pasha, the ex-Seraskier and Governor-General at Damascus, whose return to Syria I have already had the honour to report, has been sent on to Damascus, together with the other minor military officers arrested, to take their trial there. It is to be hoped that a proper trial, and an adequate sentence, will not only be passed, but also locally carried out, on these culpable public officers.

Another Austrian frigate, the "Radetsky," has arrived, as well as another Dutch one, to-day, bearing the Dutch Admiral's flag.

No. 106.

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received September* 4.)

(Extract.) *Damascus, August* 16, 1860.

I ARRIVED at Damascus on the 11th instant, having passed Lebanon by the new carriage-road from Beyrout, on which a French company have been employed during the last year. This road is now tolerably complete, almost to the summit of Lebanon, with some detached portions beyond, so that, with about three weeks' work, it would be practicable for an army, as far the eastern side of the great plain of Bekâa (Cœle-Syria), whence troops could move without much difficulty, either north or south, for operations on the great plains of the interior. In the plain of Bekâa, the smoke was still rising from Zahlé, and numerous villages which had been burned, while parties of Moslems were scattered over the plain, carrying off, on camels, the crops of Christians who had fled or been killed.

I entered Damascus early in the morning, when I at once called upon the Consul, and delivered the letter with which I had been entrusted for him. I was struck by the sullen, scowling aspect of the people, in passing through the bazaar, showing that they were by no means cowed, although they may feel some alarm at the arrests being made. Yesterday, I waited upon his Excellency Fuad Pasha, to whom I was introduced by Mr. Brant. He informed me he had arrested 800 persons, of whom several were above the common rank; that they were undergoing trial, and that he would execute the sentence, whatever it might be. I said I was glad to hear that matters were proceeding to his Excellency's satisfaction, that the eyes of all Europe were upon him, and that a report of the due punishment of the miscreants of Damascus would be eagerly expected. He said that he could not act more rapidly than he was now doing, and that it was difficult to get evidence. I mentioned that the occasion was one which demanded summary proceedings; those of a militray court, rather than the delays and quibbles of an ordinary law-court. He said he quite agreed, and had adopted such a course; that any reasonable evidence was admitted, even as far as that of a single Christian against a Moslem. I replied no more could be expected, and that it was therefore to be hoped that no assassin would escape punishment. His Excellency then mentioned, that he found his position a very difficult one, as, do what he might,

he yet feared some European Government would not be satisfied. Had a certain course been indicated, he would have endeavoured to follow that course, even to executing such a number as might be demanded. I replied no European Government could indicate such a course, or make such a requisition; that his Excellency was the judge appointed by the Sultan, and all that European Governments could demand would be, that, as the crime had been so great, and shared by so many, the punishment should also be of so signal a nature as would not only satisfy justice in the meantime, but deter from like crimes in all time coming. He said that he felt his personal character to be at stake in this case, and that he would therefore confront all the difficulties of his position, but that he required support and advice, and requested that I would give him mine. I said any service I could render was at his disposal, for, although I had no instructions whatever on the subject, I believed it to be the anxious desire of Her Majesty's Government to support him in the execution of the duty entrusted to him. His Excellency expressed his regret at the approaching arrival of a French force, and feared it would create much confusion in the country. I assured him that I did not think the French expedition would be permitted at present to mix itself up in the internal affairs of the country, and that, in any case, the surest mode to prevent any such intervention was to settle matters so thoroughly as to leave no excuse for such a movement. He said he feared excuses would nevertheless be found. I reminded his Excellency that an occupation would take place under a Convention, and that the French Government would be required to abide by its terms. He asked whether no English force would come; to which I replied that I had no information.

His Excellency's delay in commencing executions, many persons having already been condemned, his desire to be rid of foreign intervention, and his anxiety to have some definite indication of what would satisfy Europe, all cause me to think, that he is rather desirous to ascertain with how few condemnations Europe could be satisfied, than to secure and punish every criminal. This is perhaps not to be wondered at, for it is a serious step for a Moslem to put so many co-religionists to death for having killed Christians, an offence in their eyes certainly not worthy of death. Up to the present moment, although reports have begun to circulate in the city that some Moslems are likely to be executed on account of the late massacres, they yet believe it will be but a few, and that the remainder will be fined, sent to serve in the army, or punished in some other light manner.

I believe that encouragement, perhaps pressure, will be required to induce his Excellency to act up to the necessities of the present position. Any drawing back, or irresolution on his part, particularly if coupled with the non-arrival of the foreign expedition, now expected, may have a most disastrous effect in the country. I sincerely trust, therefore, that he will act with all the vigour which he has been generally believed to possess.

Achmet, late Pasha of Damascus, sent back from Constantinople most properly, will arrive here to-day, and immediately be brought to trial. I think there is little doubt that he will be condemned to death, so strong against him appear the various charges of complicity in the recent massacres, both in and out of Damascus.

I have suggested to Fuad Pasha to send from Beyrout a portion of the Ottoman troops there, to bring away the Christians yet among the Druses at Hasbeya, Rasheya, and neighbourhood; the troops to be accompanied by a well-known European or native Christian, to give confidence to the refugees. He has acted at once in this matter, and dispatched an officer last evening to see the measure carried out.

This morning he sent two Mudirs, or petty governors, direct to Hasbeya and Rasheya, to resume the functions of government at those places, furnishing them with a Proclamation, by which the Druse Chiefs are held responsible for the safety of the nearly 3,000 Christians yet in their district. This measure was very necessary, as we heard here yesterday that the Druses intended to detain the Christians as hostages, and were maltreating them.

His Excellency proposes to move against the Druses, when he has concluded his duties here, following them, if necessary, to the Haurân and Ledjah, and it is probable I may accompany him, unless events of more importance occur elsewhere.

No. 107.

Lord J. Russell to Mr. Fane.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September 5*, 1860.

AS the accounts which have lately been received from Syria are not altogether satisfactory, I have to instruct you to take an opportunity of stating to Count Rechberg that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, if the second division of 6,000 men should be required in that province, according to the Convention concluded at Paris, Great Britain and Prussia might furnish 3,000 men each, and that Her Majesty's Government are quite ready to agree to a proposal to that effect, or to make it, if thought desirable.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 108.

Safvet Effendi to M. Musurus.—(*Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Musurus, September* 6.)

22 *Aout*, 1860.

DANS les dépêches successives que vous avez adressées au Gouvernement Impérial pour le tenir au courant de l'impression produite en Angleterre par les événements de Syrie, et l'informer des considérations dans lesquelles vous avez dû entrer pour relever les graves inconvénients qui résulteraient pour la tranquillité de l'Empire si le projet d'une intervention militaire étrangère venait à être exécuté, nous avions constaté avec reconnaissance que le Cabinet de St. James, tout en admettant, en principe, l'intervention en question, l'avait cependant subordonnée à l'acquiescement formel de la Sublime Porte.

De son côté, la Sublime Porte, sentant les dangers dont cette mesure se trouve entourée, n'a pas manqué de s'exprimer dans ce sens; et ce n'est que devant les conseils des Représentants et la perspective qu'on nous a montrée de voir les troupes étrangères débarquer sur notre territoire malgré le refus que nous aurions opposé à la conclusion d'une Convention, que nous avons été réduits à choisir entre deux maux le moindre.

En même temps que nous avons donné ainsi notre adhésion, nous nous sommes fait un devoir d'exposer franchement aux Puissances toutes nos appréhensions, et la suffisance des mesures que nous avions déjà prises. Ce que Fuad Pacha a fait à Damas en peu de jours, prouve que nous étions en force pour comprimer les désordres et pour punir les coupables. L'heureux début de notre Ministre des Affaires Etrangères nous fait espérer que le corps expéditionnaire ne trouvera, à son arrivée en Syrie, qu'un pays parfaitement pacifié et tranquille.

Or, si le débarquement des troupes Françaises s'opère sans qu'il soit justifié par aucune cause suffisante qui nécessite leur présence, à plus forte raison peut-on admettre qu'elles ne pourront avoir aucun motif plausible pour s'avancer dans l'intérieur du pays.

Nos efforts sont, à l'heure qu'il est, dirigés vers le but de circonscrire l'occupation à un point convenable du littoral, et d'obtenir qu'on ne le pousse pas dans l'intérieur. Si ce point peut être résolu comme nous le désirons, non seulement la pacification de la Syrie n'en serait que plus promptement et plus sûrement obtenue, mais il aurait encore l'avantage de neutraliser le dangereux effet de l'intervention militaire étrangère qu'il ne nous a pas été donné d'empêcher.

(Translation.)

August 22, 1860.

IN the successive despatches which you have addressed to the Imperial Government to keep us informed of the impression produced in England by the events in Syria, and to acquaint us with the considerations upon which you have been obliged to enter to remove the serious inconveniences which would result for the tranquillity of the Empire, if the project of a foreign military

intervention was to be executed, we have observed with gratitude that the Cabinet of St. James, whilst admitting, in principle, the intervention in question, had, nevertheless, made it dependent upon the formal assent of the Sublime Porte.

The Sublime Porte, for its part, perceiving the dangers with which this measure is surrounded, has not failed to express itself in this sense, and it is only owing to the counsels of the Representatives and the vision held out to us of foreign troops landing on our territory, notwithstanding the refusal which we should have given to the conclusion of a Convention, that we have been reduced to choose the lesser of two evils.

At the same time that we thus gave our consent, we thought it our duty frankly to declare to the Powers all our fears, and the sufficiency of the measures we had already taken. What Fuad Pasha did in a few days at Damascus proves that we had force sufficient to suppress disorders, and to punish the guilty. The satisfactory *début* of our Minister for Foreign Affairs makes us hope that the expeditionary force will find, on its arrival in Syria, a country completely pacified and quiet.

But if the landing of the French troops takes place, without being justified by any sufficient reason to necessitate their presence, it can with all the more reason be admitted that they can have no plausible reason for advancing into the interior of the country.

Our efforts are, at the present time, directed with a view to confine the occupation to a convenient point on the coast, and to obtain that they should not push further into the interior.

If this point can be settled as we wish, not only will the pacification of Syria be more rapid and more surely obtained, but it will moreover have the advantage of neutralizing the dangerous effect of the foreign military intervention, which we were not able to prevent.

No. 109.

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received September* 6.)

(Extract.) *Damascus, August* 23, 1860.

ON the 20th instant I had the honour briefly to report that the execution of the criminals condemned for participation in the massacre at Damascus had at length commenced. Of 167 persons condemned only 57 were found guilty of murder. These were hanged in the bazaars and public places of the city, at 10 o'clock in the night of the 19th instant. Amongst them were four or five persons above the common class, leaders of armed levies, in the pay of Government. Hardly 40 of the whole number of criminals belong to the ordinary population of the city.

On the afternoon of the 20th instant the remaining 110, who belonged to the irregular troops, and had been found plundering with arms in their hands, were shot, by parties of infantry of the line, without the city. The executions took place without public notice, and were witnessed by very few persons. The shops of the city have been very generally closed, and yet remain so.

I have since waited upon his Excellency Fuad Pasha, who then stated that sentence of death had been recorded against about 40 others, who had not yet been captured; that between 300 and 400 prisoners were being sent to Constantinople, 130 of whom were condemned to hard labour for life, the remainder to imprisonment and exile; and that he would, besides, levy a conscription of some 3,000 men for the army from among the youth of the city. He also mentioned that the trial of Achmet, late Pasha, and of other military officers, was concluded, and that other prisoners were before the Court, but that no sentence had yet been announced. I suggested, that if not more than 57 of those executed had been guilty of actual murder, the inference would be that the great bulk of those engaged in the massacre were yet free, as it was hardly to be supposed that upwards of 5,000 persons had been put to death, not to speak of women outraged and carried off, by 57, or even by 100 individuals, and that it was to be hoped the others would not escape.

He said that there were others still to be tried, and that arrests should continue as informations could be obtained, but that he found the greatest difficulty in procuring evidence; that he had been most anxious to ascertain whether any conspiracy had existed, as had been repeatedly asserted, but that hitherto his efforts had been fruitless, and that Achmet, late Pasha, utterly denied all knowledge of any such plot. There seems no doubt, however, in the minds of those who were best acquainted with what was passing in the city previous to the outbreak, that, if not a formal conspiracy, at least a general understanding in favour of a massacre existed among the leaders of public opinion in the city. The Emir Abd-el-Kader, with whom I had an interview yesterday, asserts it. He states, moreover, that, in his own mind, he divided the city into twenty-four parts; of these, twenty were actively inciting to a massacre; of the remaining four parts, three and a half wished such an event, but did not excite, and the remaining half portion alone were really opposed to such a proceeding; that, when he went to the Great Council, while the massacre was taking place, and spoke to them, he was obliged to leave in disgust, for they went on smoking their pipes and would do nothing.

Fuad Pasha further mentioned having arrested three persons of station, the day before yesterday, viz., the principal Sheikh of the great Mosque, who had been very busy exciting the people, named Abdullah-el-Halebi; also, Mohammed Saïd Bey, the influential leader of a band of villanous Koordish irregulars; and Ghuzi Effendi, a principal member of the Great Council, and a man of very fanatical disposition. I may here mention, that Fuad Pasha's Secretary, who called upon me this morning, states, that, from fear of the future consequences to any informer, the Pasha has not yet been able to obtain an accusation against Sheikh Abdullah. I know that on the morning of his arrest, a large body of women, belonging to the families of the men executed, marched in a body to his house, screaming and execrating against him, to the alarm of all the neighbourhood, as the cause of their husbands' and relatives' death, in having incited them to rise against the Christians. Yet the Government have not been able to procure evidence against him.

His Excellency mentioned, that some forty Christians, who had been forced to become Mussulmans to save their lives, had been brought in, at his request, from a village; that they had been told they were free to return to their own faith, which they declared to be their wish, and that they have returned to their village Christians. His Excellency having stated that the city was struck with terror since the executions, I replied, that the terror was not universal, as, within my own knowledge, parties of men had come, in open day, to the house of the American Consul, and that only yesterday, and cursed the Consul and his religion, assuring him that he need not think Fuad Pasha would be always at Damascus to protect him. The same had also been done to the Emir Abd-el-Kader, and Europeans had been cursed and insulted in the public bazaar. He seemed surprised, and said he should wish to discover these persons. I said, I believed the American Consul could give the names of some. I suggested whether it would not be well to make it generally known that such conduct would be treated as a grave offence, as tending to disturb the public peace. He said it should be done at once. His Excellency had said that the Damascenes disliked even the Turks, and that it was necessary to strike terror into them to confirm the Ottoman rule, as well as on account of late events. I fully agreed in this, feeling, as I do, that it never was more evident than now, that the Sultan rules in Syria only in virtue of the feuds and mutual distrust of its various sects and races, and that the country has yet to be subjugated. I stated, that in respect of striking terror, it seemed to me a deeper effect would be produced in the city by detaining here, in the meantime, the prisoners about to be sent to Constantinople, the publication of their sentence being delayed for a time, as it was very undesirable the citizens should think the minor punishments had already commenced. His Excellency said he had not sufficient prison accommodation, though I should think this might easily have been arranged.

In the same view, I mentioned, that if his Excellency felt himself strong enough to put down any demonstration, it might be well that the executions should be more public, take place at a fixed hour in the day time, and that

it should be publicly announced for what crime the criminals were executed it not having, hitherto, been the practice here to punish Moslems capitally for the murder of Christians. His Excellency said that a paper was attached to the breast of each culprit, stating his crime, though, as few natives can read, even if they would approach at all, this serves little purpose. He added, that he had so little efficient assistance, every thing could not be so well arranged as might be desired; that all the work fell upon him from the first examination of the charge, even to the final details of execution.

His Excellency referred to the terms of the recent Convention. His Excellency also expressed much regret at being detained so long at Damascus, as there was yet much to do with the Druses, and the rainy season was not very distant. He did not think it would be necessary to call on the French troops to act in the interior.

There has been no recent disturbance anywhere in the neighbourhood of Damascus, though an isolated murder of a Christian yet occurs occasionally. In the city, Christians cannot yet walk about without a guard or Moslem protector, without being subject to insult, and none yet ventured beyond the walls. Still there is a very general alarm, particularly since the arrest of the three persons of station mentioned above. The Koordish quarter, in particular is almost totally deserted by the men, who fled immediately the first executions became known.

Of the movements of the Druses little is known here, except that the Chief, Said Bey Jumblatt, has been in the plain of Bekâa, within the last few days, collecting corn and money among his tenants and others, and seizing the property of all who cannot furnish these. This property has been sent to the southern end of Mount Hermon (Jebel-es-Sheikh), apparently for transport to the Haurân, whither it is now reported the Druses propose to retire quietly, and wait till the storm has passed. Said Bey has been addressing repeated letters to Fuad Pasha, to Abd-el-Kader, and to Mr. Brant, the English Consul here, containing no proposition, but that he has been doing his best to prevent evil, his object evidently being to procure a reply that might indicate, in what light he is regarded. In this, however, he has hitherto been foiled.

It is believed that the Christians in the Druse districts will now be withdrawn without opposition.

There are still about 8,000 Christians here. Fuad Pasha assures their safety, and has evacuated a Mussulman quarter for them, where they are now being housed.

Having now been at Damascus nearly a fortnight, and having heard many accounts of the conduct of individuals during the period of terror, I think it will be gratifying to your Lordship to learn that all disinterested persons concur in stating that the English Consul was the only official who showed himself, and always undaunted, during the reign of universal terror, when he repeatedly ventured, at the imminent risk of his life, to pass through the streets to the palace, where he entreated and urged the Pasha to interpose to prevent the wholesale destruction of life. Although unsuccessful in this respect, the self-sacrificing efforts he then made have been deeply appreciated, and he was undoubtedly instrumental in saving many lives. I am glad to be able to state that he appears in good health, notwithstanding all his recent harassing anxieties and exertions.

No. 110.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received September* 6.)

My Lord, *Paris, September* 5, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that the Convention sanctioning and regulating the French expedition which has been sent to Syria on behalf of the Five Powers, was signed this morning, and I transmit herewith the original, destined for the Queen's ratification.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 111.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 7.)

My Lord, *Therapia, August* 24, 1860.

I BEG to inform your Lordship that yesterday I had the honour of being presented to the Sultan by his Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer.

His Majesty was pleased to give me a most gracious reception, and was good enough to say, that he was glad to have an opportunity of seeing me before my departure for Syria.

He then expressed in a most energetic manner his horror of what had taken place there, and concluded by assuring me of the sense he entertained of the friendly feeling which had always been evinced towards him by Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 112.

Résumé of Despatches from Fuad Pasha, to the 23rd of August. (Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Musurus, September 4.)

(Traduction du Turc.)

D'ABORD, pour arrêter d'un coup les auteurs et complices des atrocités commises, la ville de Damas a été divisée en dix cercles. Dans chacun de ces cercles un détachement de troupes Impériales a été stationné, et une Commission y a été instituée, composée de notables de la ville et présidée par un officier supérieur de l'armée. Enfin, un cordon militaire a été établi tout autour de la ville, de manière que tous les habitants se sont trouvés ainsi subitement placés sous la main rédoutable de la force armée. Puis, on a procédé, dans chacun de ces cercles, à l'arrestation des coupables et à des perquisitions pour recouvrer les effets enlevés. C'est en conséquence de ces mesures qu'en un seul jour, et sans coup férir, 428 coupables ont été arrêtés; qu'une partie des effets pillés, pouvant égaler à 6,000 ou 7,000 charges de cheval, a été recouvrée, et que, de plus, outre les effets qui avaient été jetés dans la rue pendant la nuit, une quantité considérable en a été restituée aux Commissions.

Les auteurs des meurtres et du pillage ont été renvoyés par devant la Cour Extraordinaire de Justice pour subir l'interrogatoire nécessaire, et pour être jugés et condamnés à des peines proportionnées au degré de culpabilité du chacun. Ceux des individus compromis qui auront été reconnus n'avoir pas pris personnellement une part active aux crimes perpétrés, seront renvoyés de la ville en exil indéfini. Ceux qui auront été condamnés aux travaux forcés et aux galères seront dirigés sur Beyrouth pour être embarqués sur les vaisseaux Impériaux et envoyés dans des localités convenables afin d'y subir leur punition. Des soulagements ont été prodigués avec promptitude aux habitants victimes de ces malheureux événements.

Quant aux malades et aux blessés, ils ont été placés dans l'Ecole Militaire convertie en hôpital, et où ils sont soignés et assistés de toute manière.

Toutes les mesures sus-mentionnées ont reçu leur complète exécution en peu de jours; et, au fur et à mesure que les différentes punitions prononcées par la Cour Extraordinaire seront infligées, le résultat en sera communiqué à la Sublime Porte.

L'ordre et la tranquillité la plus parfaite règnent à Alep, à Jérusalem, et dans le reste de la Syrie.

(Translation.)

IN the first place, in order to arrest at once the originators and accomplices of the atrocities which have been committed, the town of Damascus has been separated into ten divisions. In each of these divisions a detachment of Imperial troops has been stationed, and a Commission has been formed, composed of the leading men of the town, and presided over by a military officer of rank. In fact, a military "cordon" has been established all round

the town, in such a manner that all the inhabitants are placed directly under the control of an armed force. In the next place, in each of these divisions they have proceeded to arrest the guilty, and to make investigations for the purpose of recovering the property which had been carried off. In consequence of these measures, in one day, and without a shot having been fired, 428 guilty persons have been arrested; a portion of the stolen goods, equal to 6,000 or 7,000 horse-loads, has been recovered, and, moreover, in addition to the property which had been thrown into the street during the night, a considerable portion has been restored to the Commissions.

The instigators of the murders and plunder have been summoned before the Extraordinary Court of Justice, in order to undergo the necessary inquiries, and to be tried and condemned to a punishment in proportion to the guilt of each. Such of the persons compromised who shall be proved to have taken no actual part in the crimes committed shall be sent out of the town into perpetual banishment. Those who shall have been condemned to hard labour and the galleys shall be sent to Beyrout, to be embarked in the Imperial ships, and conveyed to the proper places for them to undergo their punishment. Succour has been promptly administered to the inhabitants who have been the victims of these deplorable events.

As regards the sick and wounded, they have been placed in the Military School, which has been turned into a hospital, and where they are cared for and looked after in every way.

All the above-mentioned measures have been fully executed within a few days, and, as soon as the different punishments awarded by the Extraordinary Court shall be inflicted, the result shall be communicated to the Sublime Porte.

The most complete order and tranquillity reigns at Aleppo and Jesusalem, and in the rest of Syria.

No. 113.

Lord J. Russell to Consul Brant.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 10, 1860.

I HAVE received your despatches to that of the 13th ultimo inclusive, and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the judicious conduct pursued by you during the late disastrous events which have taken place in Syria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 114.

Lord J. Russell to Consul Brant.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 10, 1860.

MR. CYRIL GRAHAM appears from his report, of which a copy is inclosed in your despatch of the 13th ultimo, to have behaved with great courage, sense, and humanity on the occasion of his late visit to Hasbeya and Rasheya, and I have to instruct you to convey to that gentleman the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for his exertions on behalf of the distressed Christians in that district.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 115.

Mr. Hammond to Major Fraser.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, September* 10, 1860.

I AM directed by Lord John Russell to acquaint you that his Lordship approves of your proceedings as reported in your despatch of the 16th ultimo.

No. 116.

Mr. Hammond to Major Fraser.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 12, 1860.

I AM directed by Lord John Russell to acquaint you that his Lordship approves of your proceedings as reported in your despatch of the 23rd ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 117.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 13.)

My Lord, *Damascus, August* 24, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 10th instant desiring me to express, in suitable terms, the thanks of Her Majesty's Government to his Highness the Emir Seyd Abd-el-Kader for his noble exertions in saving the lives of Christians on the occasion of the massacre of Damascus.

I have peculiar satisfaction in performing this duty, and I trust your Lordship will approve the terms of the recognition of his meritorious services by Her Majesty's Government, as expressed in my letter to his Highness of this day's date, copy of which I have the honour to inclose.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure in No. 117.

Consul Brant to the Emir Abd-el-Kader.

To his Highness the Emir Seyd Abd-el-Kader,

I HAVE been charged by the Government of Her Britannic Majesty to express to your Highness the high sense they entertain of the services rendered to the cause of humanity by your Highness in saving the lives of so many Christians, who must otherwise have perished by the hands of their cruel enemies in the late massacre at Damascus.

In your Highness's conduct, Her Majesty's Government acknowledge the difference between the high-minded Mohammedan Prince and the cowardly bigot who unfortunately controlled the fate of so many defenceless victims of fanaticism.

I consider it a high honour to have been made the channel of communicating the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government on such an occasion, entertaining, as I do, deep feelings of admiration at having witnessed your Highness's exertions in favour of so many persecuted people.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Damascus, August 24, 1860.

No. 118.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 13.)

My Lord, *Damascus, August* 25, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copies of despatches which I have lately addressed to his Excellency Sir H. L. Bulwer.

Up to this time no sentence has been passed on the ex-Mushir Ahmet Agha, nor on the other officers of the garrison now on their trial by the Military Court.

Fuad Pasha maintains great secresy as to his intentions, and until his plans are carried into effect they remain unknown. Meantime rumour is active, and reports of all kinds are circulated; some turn out good guesses, but most of them are improbable or totally without foundation. I think it best to abstain from relating what is not authentic, or what I consider doubtful. No more executions have taken place.

The Christians still in the Castle, estimated at about 8,000, are about to be lodged in Mohammedan houses in three of the quarters of the town which are to be entirely given up to them, and protected by a guard. The Local Government will not, therefore, in future furnish animals to convey them to the coast.

The public tranquillity has not been disturbed, but the fears of the Christians are constantly renewed by rumours, and they hardly dare resolve on staying here; gradually I trust they will regain their courage, but it will take a long time.

The public health is good.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 118.

Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Damascus, August* 16, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that the ex-Mushir arrived last night under the name of Ahmet Agha, and was immediately brought before a Commission to be examined; the examination was renewed this morning. Through this channel his Excellency Fuad Pasha expects to be able to ascertain whether the outbreak was a plot concocted long beforehand, or whether it was only suppressed fanatical feeling which burst out through the occurrence of purely accidental circumstances.

Daas Agha, a partisan Chief, who was given the rank of Ubashee in the Aunieh Irregular Horse, by the late Mushir, was arrested in the city wo days ago.

The Mushir, with a strong body of troops, went out to Jeroud, where his family has long possessed large estates and great influence. A good deal of plunder was found in his house, which was brought into Damascus. His residence was burned with ten others of influential persons who had been laying the neighbouring villages under contribution and vexing the Christians.

Yesterday four Mussulmans from the Hauran were executed. They sometime since murdered thirteen persons who went to reap the harvests at the villages of Sanamein and Kanakir.

I anticipate that Fuad Pasha will immediately commence executing some of the criminals condemned, and I have no doubt his doing so will strike terror into the population. The Mussulmans will not yet believe that any executions can result from the murder of infidels; when that is made clear to their mind, many will change their tone and conduct, and make revelations which they at present withhold.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 118.

Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Damascus, August* 20, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that I have just learned by a communication from his Excellency Fuad Pasha, that 57 criminals have

been hanged this morning in different parts of the city, and 110, partly belonging to the Bashi-Bozouk horsemen, and partly to the Irregular Cavalry, called Aunieh, were shot at the Genk Meidan, just outside the town.

The trial of persons arrested is continuing, and his Excellency promised to furnish me with a list of all those who are or may be condemned, as well as with the names of those who have escaped for the present, but who have been condemned by contumacy.

The ex-Seraskier, Ahmet Agha, has been tried, but his sentence is not yet published. Osman Bey, the Commander of the troops at Hasbeya, is under trial.

The people of the town are stricken with terror; they evidently never contemplated what has happened, and are trembling at what may still be impending.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure 3 in No. 118.

Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer.

Extract.) *Damascus, August* 22, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency, that yesterday I was invited by Fuad Pasha to pay his Excellency a visit, as he happened to be at leisure. Major Fraser accompanied me, and the French Consul joined us soon after. The conversation naturally turned on the events of the preceding day. His Excellency informed me, that about forty criminals had been condemned by contumacy. He announced to us also, the arrest of Sheikh Abdallah-el-Halebee, the Chief of the Ulema of Damascus, considered by the inhabitants in the light of a saint, but in reality a mischievous fanatic and intriguer; although he seeks his pecuniary interest by fraud and chicanery, yet he exercises immense influence over the people. His arrest produced a great sensation. Another influential person, Mufti Ghuzee Effendi, was likewise taken, he was a member of the Ulema, as well as of the Great Medjlis, was extremely fanatical, and by his age, standing, and position, possessed influence, which he chiefly used to gain money.

Mohammed Saïd Bey was also arrested; he is the son of Shamdeen Agha, the chief Koord in the place, a man of about 90 years of age, and very rich. Mohammed Saïd was made a Mirallai by Ahmed Pasha, to the great disgust of the regular army. He had the command of 500 horsemen of the Aunieh Irregulars: I do not know exactly of what he may be accused, but as a Koord he enjoyed a bad reputation. About 300 persons condemned to the Bagnio for life, leave this evening for Beyrout on their way to Constantinople; 2,000, or perhaps 3,000, will be sent to the capital, to be enrolled in the army. How many more executions will take place is not decided; trials are continually going on, as well as arrests.

About 200 Christian families are lodged in a Turkish quarter of the city called Kanawat, one of the best divisions of the town, and close to the Serai. A great many Christians are still in the Castle, and are reluctant to leave it, but probably in a few days they may take courage, and decide on accepting the proffered houses.

We spoke to his Excellency Fuad Pasha as to the advisability of confiscating the property of the condemned, after legal claims on it have been satisfied, in order to compensate the Christians for their losses. His Excellency said that confiscation was no longer legal, but it was observed that such a case as the present was exceptional, and it would be a perversion of justice to allow the families of criminals to be enriched by their plunder. His Excellency did not seem to have well considered the case, but it will be advisable to renew the subject another time.

No. 119.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 13.)

My Lord, *Damascus, August 25, 1860.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copy of a memorandum sent me by order of his Excellency Fuad Pasha, giving, up to the 22nd August, the numbers of the persons on whom punishment has been inflicted for their participation in the massacre and plundering of the Christians of Damascus.

I should hope that Fuad Pasha does not yet think of concluding his researches, as many individuals known to have been implicated in the massacre and plundering are still at liberty, and have not even been questioned, and yet his Excellency seems to have relaxed in his energy, and apparently to consider that sufficient has been done.

For my own part, I fear that the people have not been sufficiently intimidated by the examples made, and that they might again repeat similar scenes with more pitiless cruelty and malignity under a weak Governor.

I cannot perceive what sufficient guarantee can be given for a vigorous administration, if future Governors of the Province are to be chosen from the class of Pashas, all the members of which seem so totally inefficient.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 119.

M. Danisch to Consul Brant.

M. le Consul, *Damas, le 23 Aôut, 1860.*

J'AI l'honneur de vous transmettre, ci-près, une note relatant le nombre de personnes condamnées à la peine capitale, aux travaux forcés à perpétuité, à l'exil, ou aux travaux forcés pour un tems déterminé, suivant leurs degrés de culpabilité dans les déplorables affaires dont Damas a été dernièrement le théâtre.

Comme le Tribunal Extraordinaire institué d'office par son Excellence Fuad Pacha s'occupe avec activité de l'interrogatoire des prisonniers qu'on n'a pu encore examiner, la liste définitive et détaillée des personnes jugées et à juger vous sera communiquée officiellement, aussitôt que ce Tribunal aura terminé ses travaux.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) DALAGGIO DANISCH,
Secrétaire de son Excellence Fuad Pacha.

(Translation.)

M. le Consul, *Damascus, August 23, 1860.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith a note, with the number of persons condemned to capital punishment, to hard labour for life, to exile, or to hard labour for a certain time, in proportion to their guilt in the deplorable events of which Damascus has lately been the theatre.

As the Extraordinary Tribunal, established by his Excellency Fuad Pasha, is actively occupied in interrogating the prisoners, who have not as yet been examined, a complete and detailed list of the persons tried and to be tried will be officially communicated to you as soon as this Tribunal shall have finished its work.

Accept, &c.
(Signed) DALAGGIO DANISCH,
Secretary to His Excellency Fuad Pasha.

Inclosure 2 in No. 119.

List.

Personnes condamnées à mort, comme ayant assassiné directement des Chrétiens, et qui ont été pendues	56
Id. condamnées à mort pour avoir pris part à l'émeute, armes à la main, et qui, en leur qualité de soldats auxiliaires, zaptiés et bachi-bozouks, ont été fusillés	111
Id. condamnées au bagne à perpétuité comme ayant pris part à l'émeute, les armes à la main, et qui ont été envoyées à Constantinople	139
Id. condamnées à l'exil, comme ayant pris part au pillage, sans armes	145
Id. condamnées aux travaux forcés pour un tems déterminé et retenues à Damas pour être employées aux travaux des routes	186
Id. condamnées à mort par contumace et qui seront exécutées au fur et à mesure qu'elles tomberont entre les mains de la justice	83
Total	720

(Translation.)

Persons condemned to death, as having openly assassinated Christians, and who have been hung	56
Persons condemned to death for having taken part in the disturbances, armed, and who, in their capacity of auxiliary soldiers, zaptiés and bachi-bozouks, have been shot	111
Persons condemned to the bagnio for life, as having taken part in the disturbances, with arms in their hands, and who have been sent to Constantinople	139
Persons condemned to exile, for having taken part in the pillage, without arms	145
Persons condemned to hard labour for a fixed period, and kept at Damascus, to be employed in working on the roads	186
Persons condemned by default, and who will be executed as soon as they shall fall into the hands of justice	83
Total	720

No. 120.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received September* 13.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, August* 31, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of my despatch of the 29th instant to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, reporting occurrences of public interest since my last despatches to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure in No. 120.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, August* 29, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report that General d'Hautpoul, Commander-in-chief of the French expedition, wishing, it is understood, to have an interview

with Fuad Pasha, is to start to-day or to-morrow for Damascus, with a Turkish military escort, placed at his disposal by the latter.

The transport "Ganges," conveying the 800 troops and officers still wanting to bring up the force to its stipulated numerical strength (6,000) is not yet arrived, and anxiety is felt at the cause of the delay.

Mr. Vice-Consul Abela reports that upwards of 1,000 Christians of Hasbeya, Rasheya, and the surrounding villages, have safely reached Sidon, under escort.

The Druse position is not changed since my last report, beyond the reported departure of considerable numbers of Druses from the Shoof and Arkoob for the Hauran.

Isolated acts of aggression on their part against Christians and their property continue.

I am informed that a memorial to me from the Druse Chiefs is in preparation, appealing to Her Majesty's Government for protection against unfair treatment or persecution, and throwing themselves entirely upon their justice and consideration.

About 280 Damascenes, condemned by Fuad Pasha to the galleys, some for life and others for a term of years, arrived at Beyrout a few days ago on their way to Constantinople. They were embarked on board the "Shadié," Turkish screw line-of-battle-ship. They passed under the Consulate, handcuffed and guarded by military.

No. 121.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received September* 14.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 5, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship translated copies of a rescript addressed by the Sultan to Fuad Pasha; also his speech to the troops.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 121.

Imperial Rescript.

(Translation.)

I HAVE, by the perusal of the letters received from you, made myself acquainted with your arrival at Damascus, and with the details of the measures you have adopted. The protection of the life, property, and honour of every denomination of subjects, being one of the chief obligations of the divine law, it was the religious duty of every Mussulman to have known this article of our faith. I need not therefore say to what extent my heart and that of all Mussulmans, who are acquainted with God's commands, has been afflicted by the fact that a horde of perverse and ignorant persons among the inhabitants of Damascus have, by reason of the wickedness and sordidness of their reprobate natures, disregarded the above pure principles, and have dared, in opposition to the divine law, to shed the blood, violate the honour, and plunder the property of a number of poor creatures, their countrymen.

The amount of punishment reserved for the authors of such wickedness in the next world is not concealed from the eyes of the intelligent, but it is most necessary that they should receive in this world also the punishment awarded both by the divine and temporal law.

Therefore it appears fit to our Government that you should, in accordance with your official authorisation, immediately proceed to the infliction of condign punishment on such persons as shall, upon trial, be proved to be guilty.

The zeal which you have displayed and the service which you have rendered, being a proof of your natural ardour and personal intelligence, has obtained my fullest appreciation and approbation.

The fresh proofs of fidelity and valour displayed by all the chiefs, officers, privates, and other functionaries of my troops that are accompanying you, as conveyed in your despatches and in two military "masbatas" presented by you, answer completely to what I expected of them, and are in harmony with the glorious military qualities and character I have always found in them. You will, therefore, proclaim to them that their acts have obtained my complete satisfaction. May God always grant success to you and to those who strive on my behalf with fidelity and integrity.

August 18, 1860.

Inclosure 2 in No. 121.

Speech of Fuad Pasha to the Turkish Troops at Damascus.

(Translation.)

Comrades,

SOME French and English troops are coming to this neighbourhood. The European Governments, always desirous for the tranquillity of our country, have asked to assist in putting down the troubles which have taken place here, and His Majesty's Government, in order to show the trust which they repose in their Allies, have accepted their assistance. You know that these troops are troops belonging to Governments which have once upon a time rendered great assistance to our Government. Fulfil, therefore, the duty of comrades, and as yourselves are the host, and they the guests, act up to this quality, and pay them every sort of attention. Thus, they will see in what way you serve the the just views of your Sovereign, how you observe military discipline and honour, and that you do not require to be assisted or encouraged in punishing the authors of the crimes that have been perpetrated against Christians, who are equally our countrymen, nor in exacting vengeance in the name of humanity.

No. 122.

Mr. Morris to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received September* 15.)

My Lord, *"The Times," September* 15, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit a memorial from the Druse Sheikhs in Syria, which was entrusted by them to the Special Correspondent of "The Times" at Beyrout, for the information of Her Majesty's Government.

One copy of this document has been sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, and another to the Emperor of the French, but I do not know through what channels they were forwarded.

I have, &c.

(Signed) MOWBRAY MORRIS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 122.

Petition.

(Translation.)

A PETITION to the pavement of the threshold of Her Majesty the Illustrious Queen of England, whose grandeur may God, whose name be glorified, cause to endure, and the glory of whose power may he strengthen! O God! Amen.

The representation of the whole of the gentry and commonalty of the Druse nation of Mount Lebanon unto the Royal threshold of Her said Majesty is, that since, by the grace of God, his servants (mankind) have been favoured by the gracious manifestation of the majesty of your sovereignty and dominion, in clemency and compassion unto the servants of God, wherever they may live, and whoever they may be, among the sons of men; and more especially to him

of whom it may be found that something has happened to him without investigation and proof; therefore, at the present time, do these (your) servants rush and prostrate themselves at the threshold of your Sovereignty, imploring that they may be the recipients of the compassion of Your Majesty, and earnestly desiring that we may be looked upon with the eye of pity and the execution of justice.

We are emboldened to present this petition to the threshold of the gate of England's Royalty, the just, the compassionate towards the weak among God's servants; and, inclosed therein, we have dared to place a report, containing the relation of the events which have taken place between us and the Maronite nation of Mount Lebanon, in order that, from the beginning to the end, they may enter the Royal ear, coveting, as we do, that we may be made the recipients of the Sovereign compassion, by being treated with equity, and according to evidence which is notorious, and of which the causes and origin were patent; not according to an idea of expediency contrary (thereto),* against which we have no power, and over which we have no control.

We bow down, and we cast ourselves on the pavement of the threshold of your Illustrious Sovereign Majesty, praying that you will take pity on us, by causing justice and equity to be done by concerting measures with our own exalted Ottoman Sovereign and the Great Powers, so that we may not be punished for complaints made by our adversaries against us, devoid of truth, or that execution be done upon us before investigation. The compassion of Sovereign Majesty forbids that execution be done contrary to justice. This is what we rush to represent to the pavement of the threshold of Your Majesty, whom may the Lord of mankind protect from evil! O God! Amen.

I the humble servant, by reason that the inhabitants, the presenters of this petition, do not, according to their custom, use signets, have hereunto affixed my seal and signature, and I certify to the truth of their representation.

(Signed) The Servant, HAMDAN BELMINI.

August 17, 1860 (o.s.).

Inclosure 2 in No. 122.

Druse Account of the late Events in Lebanon.

(Translation.)

IT is well known to the whole world, and the ears of people in all lands have been filled with the report that, ever since the year 57 [(A.H.) (A.D. 1841)], the Maronites have pertinaciously contemplated the uprooting of the Druse community from the Druse Mountain (Mounts Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon), and the establishment of their own independence therein; being puffed up with the idea of their great numbers and wealth, and being also led to pride by the representations of certain interested persons.

They commenced hostilities in the year above-mentioned, and in the year 61 [A.D. 1845], in hopes of bringing about this result. But God frustrated their rebellious designs, and punished them as their conduct had merited, so that it was thought they would not in future attempt such acts, or be puffed up with similar hopes.

But when the Bishop Bolus Miss'ad became patriarch over the above-mentioned nation, the idea was again entertained by him, and the hope tempted him to pride. With the advice and approval of Bishop Tubia 'Avn, and of others like him, he took and concerted measures necessary for the execution of the same.

They perceived that the most efficient means for the realization of their designs was unanimity, from which unity of purpose proceeds, and, since they saw it was possible for some of the Chiefs of their people to rely on their own numbers, and refuse to act in concert with them, especially as the greater number of these Chiefs were [men of wealth, and surrounded by comforts,

* Obscure.

besides being known for their sentiments of kindnes to women and children, to say nothing of their patriotism, they (the Bishops) set themselves to work to undermine the consideration enjoyed by these Chiefs, and to abrogate their rights, setting up in their stead persons who entertained similar views with themselves, and who would be mere tools in their own hands. In proof of this may be cited what occurred at Beytu-'l-Khāzin, at Beyt-Jeyshed, and at other fiefs of the Christians, where they were expelled, their property was seized, and Tanoss Shāhin, with others, were set up in their stead; also the spread of this same evil to the districts of Kāti', Meten, &c.

Another requisite for their plans was the confidence (?) of their people, for herewith power is fortified. The proof that they set to work to secure this confidence consists in their having written and distributed pledge documents among the inhabitants of all the villages, binding them to act in concert, and in blind confidence. The purport of these documents became known, and several were got possession of, when they were found to contain that which is above set forth, and the wording of the whole was identical.

A third requisite was an alliance with the other Christian people, since thereby they would not only be directly strengthened, but would also be guaranteed from their opposition, for, in the two former risings, a considerable number had refused to participate in their proceedings, by reason that it was obvious that, after achieving the object of their desires, the Maronites would turn upon them and treat them as they had done others, unless they embraced Maronitism. The proof of this idea is the strenuous effort made to display affection, and to parade an unusual show of conciliation; also the issue of proclamations and manifestoes by the patriarch and bishops to the whole sect, to the effect that they should behave towards the people of other Christian denominations as if they were the children of one sole race, and to the Khawārina [priests?] to the effect that they might frequent their (Maronite) churches, be present at their masses and burials, contrary to what had been the custom. We saw all this in more places than one, and it was established beyond doubt by a multitude of people.

A fourth requisite was the existence of delegates, in the nature of a public assembly, in each of their principal parishes, who might be the organs for addressing and advising, and from whom might emanate orders and dispositions, for, thereby, ideas might be strengthened. The proof of this is the organisation of delegates in Beyrout, Zahleh, Deir-el-Kamar, Kesrawān, and other places, as is well known. The principal of these assemblies was the assembly at Beyrout.

A fifth requisite was the creation of "Chiefs of the young men," whom these latter might obey; for, by this means, it became easier for them to carry their plans into execution. The proof of this is what took place, and was publicly known in respect to the appointment of "Chiefs of the young men" in every village and plantation, even in the towns, and, what is more still, in the very centre of Government, in Beyrut itself.

The sixth, was the general armament of the people of the sect, so that their strength might be augmented. The proof of their efforts to gain this point consists in what was seen as to the distribution of great quantities of arms from Beyrout to every place. This distribution was effected principally by means of the Khawārina [priests?] people. When inquiry was made as to the necessity for this measure, and as to payment for the arms, since it occurred in a season of distress, when most of them were in want of necessary food, let alone the means of paying for these arms in large quantities, the answer was given that they were for their own protection, and, according to the tenor of the bills of exchange, the time of payment was fixed for a future date. It afterwards became evident that these bills of exchange were a mere feint, and that the arms were from the "Company" formed at Beyrout, for conducting the affairs of the rising.

For the space of about six months, also, Bishop Tubia occupied himself in the formation of a Christian Committee at Antalias; and, according to what transpired, his chief design, in the formation of this Committee, was the enrolment of young men in every place, and to learn who among them was unarmed, so that arms might be furnished to them. When he found that he could not carry out this design, he took other steps to arrive at the desired knowledge by means of the Khawārina [priests?] people.

Another measure was the instruction of the young men in military exercises. The proof that they exerted themselves to accomplish this object consists in what was seen as to their furnishing drill-masters to the greater number of their villages, to teach the sword exercise, equitation (?) and ball practice, &c.

Another, again, was the getting rid from among themselves of all strangers to their sect, as far as was possible, so as to be safe from a divulgation of their secrets, not to mention their own security of mind. The proof of this is that Mussulmans and people of the Mute'evvila sect (Metuali) are found inhabiting Kesrawān, Tutūh, and their districts; these were urged to take their departure from among them, or to adopt the Maronite creed, since they were few in number. In fact, a considerable number were constrained to embrace the Maronite faith, and those who adhered to their old professions were left in bad circumstances. The exertions of the Bishop Tubia reached that point that he threatened the wife of the Emir Sulayman-el-Metīn, and also her two sons, who were Mussulmans, until they entered the Maronite community. He also excited the Emir Mejīd, one of the grandsons of the Emir Beshir Shahābī, and promised him that, if he would begin the rising, he would procure his nomination as Kaimakam of the whole Mountain. This was with the view to induce him to become a Christian again, and to make him pleased with the idea of re-entering the Maronite community; for the said Emir had professed Islamism at Constantinople. In fine, they left nothing undone that might facilitate the execution of their designs, and to such a point that, if they were all to be mentioned, the tale would never end.

As soon as it was perceived that the arrangements were completed as they desired, and that the preparations for their designs were all carried out in the best manner, as above detailed, the Committee of Beyrout began to write to the districts and to require the attendance of delegates from each place. The confident bearing of the Christians, also, and their warlike aspirations, became more and more conspicuous; as did also their pressing invitations to join them, and their promises of immense advantages, such as the distribution of ammunition, the furnishing provisions (or pay), and everything needful for war; so that, in a short space of time, they rose in open revolt and made public manifestations of being in a state of warfare.

They began, in the first place, to take possession of the highways, to rob and ill-treat travellers, and to oppress those newly (established?). All this while the Druses took no heed of what was happening, and their Chieftains were using every effort and endeavour to preserve and perpetuate tranquillity, making continued representations to the principal Christians and those known for their wisdom, and exhorting them to remain quiet and peaceable, and to refrain from such acts, warning them at the same time of the evil consequences. The only effect, however, was that these latter became more and more excited and unsettled, until at length, on Friday night, the 15th of Ramazan [6th April, 1860?] while a Druse muleteer, of the village of Ba'Kalīn, one of the dependencies of the (fief or) or manor of Shuf, was passing the night in the caravanserai named Khānu-'l-Kas'a, and situated in the vicinity of the village of El-Hids, a dependency of the Deputy-Governorship [Kaimakamate] of the Christians, a posse of Maronites came upon him from the village and fired upon him as he slept; they then cut him to pieces with their swords, and left him strewed about. Nothing was done in this matter, further than representing the facts to the authorities in the usual manner.

A certain interval elapsed after this, the public excitement increasing from one day to another. Then was seen the commencement of the formation of military corps in the district of Kesrawān, in the neighbourhood of Beyrut, and elsewhere.

Again, on the 23rd of the month of Shewwāl [14th May, 1860], three Druses, muleteers, of the village of Ma'āsir, were returning from the town of Sidon; and on their arriving in the vicinity of the bridge of that place, they were set upon by a rabble of armed men from among the Maronites of Kaytūla, a village in the district of Jazīn, and various other places, who fired at them, killing two of the number, and leaving the other at the point of death. When news of this event reached the relatives of the slain, great excitement was caused, but instant measures were adopted to calm it. Two

days later, however, as several Christians of the district of Jizīn were passing beneath the village of Kahtūnīyya, situated within the fief of Shuf, they chanced to meet with some Druses, and fire was opened on both sides, three of the Christians losing their lives on the occasion.

Intelligence of this having reached Jazīn, the inhabitants became greatly moved, and a party set out declaring war against the district of Shuf. Upon which steps were taken to lay the matter before the Authorities. Orders were immediately given for the especial despatch of an officer and fifty horsemen, who were also accompanied by Commissioners on the part of the Kā'im-makām (Deputy-Governor), from among the members of the Council and others, with a sufficient number of horsemen, so that, with the cognizance of the lord of the manor (Mukāta'aji) of those places, Sa'īd Bey Jānbulāt, the necessary measures might be carried into execution under the circumstances.

When this party reached the village of Muktāra, the residence of the above-mentioned lord of the manor, it was judged best to send two messengers to treat (?) with Kahlūnīyya and Kaytūla, as was the usual custom. The inhabitants of Kahlūnīyya accepted the terms proposed (?), but the men of Kaytūla flew to arms and drove away the messengers in a most insolent manner, acting under the advice of Abu Semra, "Chief of the Young Men," of the district.

The excitement in this part of the country then rose to an extreme pitch, and every symbol declaratory of war was displayed. All kinds of endeavours were made to counsel moderation to them, and to set them right; but their arrogance was only increased thereby.

The delegate of the Christians of Hazūb (or Kharūb), too, named Dāhir Nasīf, rose up in arms declaring war, and a body of the Christians of that district collected about him in the village of Burjeyn, where he resided. On Monday, the first of the month of Zī-'l-ki'da [21st May, 1860], he met with a Mussulman of his village, assailed him with his arms, and wounded him. And on the same day a large party of horsemen sallied forth from the village of Zahleh proceeding to the plain of Bekâa, where they commenced molesting the cattle and the men of the Druses that they found in those quarters. This party established themselves in the village of Kabr-Elyās, situated at the foot of the Mountain. On the same day another party, inhabitants of Kesrawān, made incursion as far as the Dog River (Nehru-'l-Kelb), and there commenced the formation of a corps under the command of Tanoss Shāhīn.

On Saturday, the sixth of the month of Zi-'l-ki'da [26th May], some individual Druses of the village of Beshāmūn were going to find some of their relatives who were among the irrigators working on the river of Beyrout. When they had arrived in the neighbourhood of the kitchen-garden of the oil presser, situated on the bank of the river, they were met by the Christians assembled there, who demanded their arms. They refused to give them up; but those latter continued to press them until they entered a house there. This was surrounded, and the menace was held out that unless they gave up their arms, the house should be burnt down over them. Several of them then gave in, but others threw themselves into the outer premises out of the windows (?). Cavasses (?) were sent after these, who came up with them in the direction of the city. At this juncture they were met by Eyyub of Tripoli, one of the committee of delegates at Beyrout, and author of this plot. With him was an armed band, who immediately commenced firing on them, killing one and wounding a second badly, so that he died in consequence.

The day following, a Maronite of Deir-el-Kamar was proceeding on the road of the above-mentioned place, and had reached the shop of 'Aynāb, when he was met by some relatives of those killed in the way above recited. They fired at him and killed him; and when the intelligence reached Deir-el-Kamar, it produced great excitement among the inhabitants, and they commenced a perquisition among the Druses there present and found a Druse man from Kafr-Fākūd, whom they shot, and he died.

On the next day, Sunday [27th May], by reason of what had happened at the Deir (convent), great excitement occurred in the manor of Shahār, and the whole Maronite population thereof assembled in the village of Mu'allaka, and displayed the emblems of war.

On the morrow, Monday [28th May], a full Court of Employés, the Members of the Provincial Council, and the Notables of the city, was held at

Beyrout, in the presence of his Excellency the Governor of the province, and the Bishop Tubia was sent for. A debate was held as to what should be done to abate the existing disturbances, and to disperse the gatherings of the Christians, which had extended up to the boundaries of Beyrout, and to cause them to depart to their homes. The resolution was taken, to put in motion, with all dispatch, the troops of the Imperial forces, who were, accordingly, moved out that very day to the lands of Hāzimiyya; also, that confidential persons on the part of his said Excellency, and the Dean or Archdeacon [Vakīl] of the said Bishop, should be sent to Tanoss Shāhīn, to exhort him to withdraw from what he had undertaken, and to disperse the band collected about him; and although the Bishop made an appeal to notify his disapproval of this arrangement, and declared he could do nothing in the matter, it was still thought the best that could be done; so he became satisfied, and sent his Dean with the confidential persons, who went together to Tanoss. But nothing came of this, excepting that in the evening of that same day a large body of men from that army entered the village of Ba'badā, in the confines of the village of Shuweyfāt, the place of residence of the Druse Kaimakam, whence, to the manor of Kesrawān, is a distance of about five hours' journey. All the Christians of the district assembled there also.

The Kaimakam (Deputy-Governor) immediately sent in a report to the authorities and to the Consuls his well-wishers (?). His Excellency the Governors gave orders that confidential persons should be sent to advise the chiefs present in the said village, and to turn away that army from prosecuting its designs. They had peremptory instructions to disband it. The answer was that, of a certainty they would complete that which they had undertaken in point of smiting the Druses; and that if the regular troops should interfere, they would fight them also. Not satisfied with this, the Kaimakam again sent confidential persons to the said chiefs to ask for the dispersion of the assemblage, and the dismissal of every one to his home, and the withdrawal from this enterprise, the cause of universal trouble. As a last argument, the reply was that they had opened the banners of war, and there was no way left to close them again.

On the same day, a large body of the Maronites of Jerūr Kesrawan and Kāti' advanced upon the lands of the meadows which are in the advanced parts of the manor of Metu. And on the next day, Tuesday [29th May] the Khūrī (priest?) of Busheriyya, one of the arable districts of Beyrout, went out with a large assembly, having in his hand a flag of war, and advanced with them in the intent of attacking the Druses of Beyt-Meri, situated in the direction of the Meten. When they were nigh upon entering the village, Ibrahim Agha (an officer of the hired troops, stationed there by the provincial authorities to prevent the causes, among the inhabitants, on the part of daring people, of what had happened in former years), and the elders (or an old woman) of the Druses of the village, went to the Emir Yusuf-Ali-Ebu-'l-Lam', the lord of the manor, and begged him to send back this Khūri and his band, and to prevent warfare. The Emir did his best to attain those results; but, seeing that he had no power over them, he told the Druses to evacuate the village. They forsook their homes immediately, so as to avoid all cause (for trouble), and betook themselves in the direction of the village of the Druses. When they arrived outside the village, they saw this band enter it and commence burning the houses thereof. They suddenly set out in pursuit of them, intending to destroy them also. Then they were forced to defend their lives, and those dependent on them, so that a combat took place between the two parties, and, in spite of the small number of the villagers, and the superiority of the Christians in that respect, it did not take long before these latter were routed and put to flight, so that the Druses returned home.

On the same day, the band of Zahleh, stationed in the village of Kabr-Elyas, went out into the Mountain with the view of finding Ali Bey El-'Amad, who resided there in the village of 'Ayn-Dāra, for the protection of the Damascus road, as he was commissioned to do. When they approached the entrance to that village with their bands, which amounted to about 3,000 fighting men, the said Ali Bey went out to drive them away, attended by his servants and the people of the village, who were under 200 fighting men in number. A battle took place between the two in the Debūr valley, which lies

near the village. The noise of the combat reaching to the adjacent districts, successive arrivals of brave men brought him succour, and the struggle was prolonged until the band from Zahleh was routed and returned to the caravanserai Khān Morād, situated near to the village of Kabr-Elyās, where it took up its quarters. The battle was then renewed; they were surrounded by the men, and the fight pressed sore upon them. It took but a short time to rout them again, when they fled in confusion to the various districts of Zahleh. The number of Druses engaged in the whole of this affair did not, however, amount to 1,000 fighting men; and the said 'Ali Bey El'Amād was wounded in the combat, while the Sheykh Hamūd 'Abdu-'l-Melik was slain therein, although he had come solely to make inquiries, and to prevent hostilities, and was unarmed, being generally known as one of the chief wishers for peace.

On the above-mentioned day, a band of Christians went forth from Deir-el-Kamar to go to the lower 'Urkūb. On nearing the village of Kafr-Nabrakh, the residence of Mulham Bey El-'Amād, the Bey went forth to repel them, and a combat ensued, when they beaten, and had to turn back again.

On the next day, Wednesday [30th May], the bands of Ba'abdā went forth to attack the manor of Upper Gharb. And as soon as news of this expedition reached his Excellency the Governor of the Province, he sent his interpreter to them, with several military officers, to advise them to desist from their design, and to caution them as to the consequences of this attack. But they would not listen to this, and proceeded to the place they had in view. And when they entered the nearest parts of the Gharb, and began to set fire to several places therein, the men of the Gharb went out against them, defeated them, and put them to flight; neither did they give up the pursuit until his Excellency the said Governor restrained them, and put a stop to the combat.

On this day, a body of Maronites. collected together in the Metīn from Zahleh and other places, advanced against the Druse villages situated in the vicinity of the Christian districts, which villages had already been abandoned by the inhabitants. They set fire to the villages of Karnā'il and Kafr-Selwān, with others, and then advanced against the remaining Druse quarters. Upon this, the Druse inhabitants went forth to repel them, when a battle ensued, which lasted a long while, until the Christians were driven back in confusion to their own districts.

On the same day a fight took place in the village of Hamānā, and after a fierce siege, the Christians were routed there also. Again, on the same date, at about midnight, many shots were heard in various directions in the plain of the Shuwayfāt from all the guardians placed towards the west of the village, in the direction of the band of Muallaka; and, as is usual when such things occur on the part of the guardians, it was understood as a signal of the arrival of a band to attack the place. For this reason, the inhabitants began to take measures of precaution, and to prepare to meet the approaching band. Some few went out to obtain information in the direction of the guardians, and found a multitude of men under arms, and one of the guardians killed. And when they advanced towards them, they fired at them, and moved on towards them; so that they were under the necessity to return the fire of the advancing pary. After fighting for a certain while, they were defeated, and left the road leading to the village.

The next day, Thursday [31st May], the bands of Christians who were assembled in Beyt Meri, advanced to attack the Druses of the village of 'Ibādiyya, and the bands assembled in Salīma, 'Ubāniyya, Ba'badāt, and Bekfiya, to attack the Druses of the village of Rās. When each ofthe bo dies had reached the vicinity of the place it was to attack, the inhabitants came out to repel them, and fighting went on for the space of eight hours, until the Christians cleared away, and returned in disorder.

On the day following, Friday [1st June], as a number of Druses from Manāsif were reaping a field belonging to them, near to Deir-el-Kamar, a party of Christians from Deir-el-Kamar went out to attack them, and fired at them; this led to a fight.

Another party went out to attack the Druses of the two villages Kafr-hamal and Kafr-katra, both belonging to the manor of Munāsif; a battle ensued. and the noise was heard in the neighbouring districts. People flocked

in promiscuously at the sound, to give succour; and when they had become numerous, the Christians began to set fire to the houses of the Druses, in the Deir (el-Kamar). Upon this the fighting became serious, and attacks were mutually made on both sides; but the Christians were beaten, and took refuge in the village, pursued by the Druses until they had occupied it; and they penetrated it in various places until nightfall, when certain of the leading men came forward and drew them away from fighting; upon which each of them went away home.

The same day a party of Christians started from Jizīn to attack the Druses of the village of Nīhā. The inhabitants went out to meet them, a fight ensued, and fresh combatants kept coming up to the assistance of both parties. The combat waxed fiercer and fiercer, until the result declared in the rout of the Christians in the whole of those districts.

On the same day again, Yusuf, the bleacher, delegate of the Christians of the district of Tuffāḥ, went out with a band he had collected in the village of Derbu-'s-Sīn, to attack Kāsim El-Yusuf, who was on the river of the bridge of Sidon, keeping guard over the possessions of Sa'īd Bey Jānbulāt, situate in that direction. When he neared the spot, they met and fought, when the bleacher and his party were discomfited.

On Monday, the 17th of the same month [4th June, 15th Zī-'l-Ka'da], the bands of Zahleh, stationed at Hummā-Kafr-Selwān, attacked the Druses of the village of Fātūghā; and, as it chanced that his Excellency the Great Governor of the Province had set out on the road to Damascus to prevent a gathering which he had heard there was a particular intention of forming, his Excellency prohibited any succour being sent to the Druses, and sent the most peremptory orders to their Chiefs in the vicinity to prevent any relief from being sent to them; but, as the village of Fālūghā is near the village of Karnā'īl, a party of Druses resident there had already set out to assist before the orders arrived, so the fight waxed hot, and the Christians retired defeated His Excellency immediately sent some men of note among the Druses to turn them back and to put out the flames of this misadventure.

After that the Druses had arrived in the neighbourhood of Zahleh, and on Tuesday, the 24th of the month [12th June], took place the arrival of the levies of the Hawrān and of the valley of Tīm and their environs, in the Bekâa; for, so soon as the news was received in those quarters that the Maronites of the Druse Mountain, with their co-operators belonging to other sects, had risen openly to carry out what they designed in respect of extirpating all traces of the Druse nation from the Druse Mountain, and of establishing their own supremacy there, and that they had begun to form bands and to attack the Druses, their zeal for their kinsmen was kindled, and a large body of them came forward to ascertain the truth and to assist.

The next day, Wednesday [13th June], as a small party, established at Ber-Eliyas (Kabr-Elyas?), about an hour and a-half's journey from Zahleh, were attacked by the horsemen of Zahla, a combat ensued between them, and the flames of war raged until the horsemen of Zahleh were worsted and retired into the village.

Then, as had been the case from the beginning, the utmost endeavours were used to prevent the least thing from happening, and to take away all cause of (trouble), and to bring about the return of tranquillity; and, since the presence of those levies in the places mentioned was a cause of disquiet, instant efforts were made by the Kaimakam to restrain the said army, and cause them to return home quietly. He sent for Sheikh Mahmūd El-'Id, one of the chief priests [or elders] of the Mountain, whose love of peace and security was well known, and commissioned him to go and advise them, and set them right, employing all possible means to effect that purpose. He went to them, and after much discussion he received from their Sheikhs and Chieftains the promise to undertake nothing for the space of three days, founded upon the consideration that every pains was being taken to effect a reconciliation between the two nations; that delay expired without the accomplishment of this purpose, and then a fresh term of four days was arranged with them.

But, on Monday, the 29th of the month, on which this second delay was arranged, as some Druse horsemen were picketed (?) in the lands of Sa'd-Nā'il, at about an hour's distance from Zahleh, a body of Zahleh horsemen fell upon them, and a battle was begun. The remaining bodies of Druses present there-

abouts gathered by degrees to the noise of the combat; fresh parties issued from Zahleh, and the flames of war raged outside of the village between them. Before very long, the bands of Zahleh retreated to the village, and intrenched themselves there. The parties of Druses surrounded it, attacked it, and entered it by storm, sword in hand. Those who were therein fled in disorder to the Mountain.

On Wednesday [20th June] the first of Zī-'l-hijja, news spread over most districts of the Mountain that fighting had occurred at Deir-el-Kamar, and that it was undergoing a siege. Then men began to flock there from places in the vicinity. When the more advanced parties of these gatherings arrived there, and shots began to be fired from the houses, a certain number of these Druses were struck. Then it was they attacked the place, and took possession of the whole town, killing a large number of those Christians whom they found therein.

When his Excellency the Governor of the Province heard of this, he instantly mounted his horse, and taking with him a part of the regular and of the hired troops, set out in haste for the village. On arriving there, he ordered the fighting to be stopped, and the evacution of the place by the Druses, who were there. He then received information that affairs were in a critical state in the city and its environs; upon which he returned thitherwards, and, after giving the necessary directions and orders, he again went out to the camp of the regular troops.

His Excellency had already given orders for the two Kaimakams of the Mountain to come in to Beyrout, with as many as were necessary of the lords of manors, members of local Councils, and persons of distinction among the inhabitants, in order to deliberate upon what might be necessary to be done in the actual condition of affairs, so as to change this into a state of peace and calm.

In pursuance of that mandate, the two Kaimakams, and the others, came in, and after lengthened discussions between the two parties upon the several questions above-mentioned, the mutual consent and agreement of both parties was given, and peace was made as occurred between the two races after the war of '61; which is that each agrees to give and forget the past (to let bygones be bygones), to bring no actions, and raise no claims either now or in future, from the time when these troubles broke out into general warfare until the present time; and, hereupon binding contracts were written.

No. 123.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, September* 15, 1860.

THE substance of the reports of Mr. Consul Moore, Mr. Consul Brant, and Mr. Cyril Graham,* is sent to you herewith, that you may communicate it to M. Thouvenel.

You will perceive that none of these gentlemen have much confidence in the measures taken, and fear that as soon as European opinion is satisfied the old injustice will prevail.

It is for the French Government to consider and compare their accounts with ours.

It will be for them to decide very soon whether the French troops can return after two months' sojourn, or whether they shall stay the whole six months of the Convention.

In the latter case it may be desirable that the second division of 6,000 should go to Syria. Your Excellency is instructed to say that for this second division Great Britain and Prussia are ready to furnish 3,000 each. But it is necessary to decide soon on account of the insecurity of the Syrian coast.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

P.S. You will speak to M. Thouvenel as soon as possible on this subject.

J. R.

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* See Nos. 101, 102, 103, 104, and 105.

No. 124.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 15, 1860.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency a copy of a paper furnished to me by M. Musurus,* purporting to contain the substance of Fuad Pasha's reports, as transmitted to M. Musurus by Safvet Effendi on the 23rd ultimo.

I directed Mr. Hammond, in my absence from London, to see M. Musurus, and to state to him that although I was very much pleased at the accounts of all that Fuad Pasha had done up to the 23rd of August, I regretted to observe what he had not done.

The Pasha of Beyrout, the Pasha of Damascus, and the Turkish Officer who connived at the massacre of Deir-el-Kamar, have hitherto been unpunished. A court-martial would easily ascertain the facts. Indeed we are told that the trial of Achmet Pasha is concluded, although the sentence has not been pronounced.

I desired Mr. Hammond to say that if those men are not severely punished, the public opinion of Europe, although it may acquit the Grand Vizier, Aali Pasha, Ruschdi Pasha, and Fuad Pasha, will infallibly conclude that persons high in office at Constantinople have instigated those murders before the fact, and have protected the murderers after the fact. What will then be the condition of Damascus? The relations of those who have been executed will remain full of sentiments of revenge, and with increased hatred of Christians. They will naturally say that if they indulge their revenge to the utmost, although some may be punished, they are sure to find protectors at the Sultan's Court; so that the position of the Christians in Syria will be worse than ever.

M. Musurus promised to report faithfully to his Government what Mr. Hammond had thus said to him.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 125.

Lord J. Russell to Consul Brant.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 19, 1860.

I HAVE to acquaint you that I approve of the letter which you addressed, on the 24th of August, to the Emir Seyd Abd-el-Kader, of which a copy is inclosed in your despatch of the 24th ultimo, conveying to his Highness the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for his exertions in saving the lives of Christians during the late massacre at Damascus.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 126.

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 19.)

(Extract.) *Damascus, August* 30, 1860.

NO event of marked importance has occurred since I did myself the honour to address your Lordship from this place on the 23rd instant. About that period an official memorandum, of which I now inclose a translation, was addressed to the different Consulates, containing a list of the number of prisoners condemned up to that date, together with the punishment awarded.

Few arrests of criminals have been made during the last week, but for four days past his Excellency Fuad Pasha has been levying conscripts for the army from among the able-bodied citizens. During seven or eight years past, the city of Damascus has failed to furnish the annual quota required by the Porte, thus forming a debt of which his Excellency has now demanded an immediate

* No. 112.

settlement. Up to to-day the troops have collected about 1,000 men, one-half of whom are leaving for Constantinople this evening. The citizens are doing their best to evade this forced levy, and the shops, as well as other places of business, have continued closed since the 27th instant.

No more executions have taken place, nor have any been announced, and to a looker on the trials appear to proceed very slowly. Fuad Pasha complains of the difficulty of obtaining evidence, and there doubtless is difficulty. Few Moslems will voluntarily come forward as accusers; yet persons capable of forming an opinion, and well acquainted with the city, think that, amid such a mass of guilt, these difficulties are by no means insuperable.

His Excellency has been receiving visits from several Arab Chiefs of the Haurân district during the past week, and has been attempting to settle some old tribal feuds among them, with the view, apparently, of using their combined strength against the Druses, if necessary. It would be infinitely preferable, however, in every point of view, that the Government should show itself capable of dealing single-handed with its unruly subjects.

His Excellency has been providing further house accommodation for the Christian refugees yet in the Castle; but they show themselves slow to take advantage of it, owing to their fear of the Moslem population, who still curse any Christian they meet without a guard or other protection. There seems reason to believe that it will be long ere Christians can again feel at ease in Damascus.

The approach of the caravan of pilgrims from Mecca, commonly designated "the Hâj," has just been announced by a salute from the Castle. It is not yet known, however, whether, under present circumstances, they will be permitted to enter the city.

Inclosure in No. 126.

Memorandum.

(Translation.)

Persons condemned to death for having murdered Christians, and who have been hanged	56
Condemned to death for having joined in the outbreak with arms in hand—and who, as belonging to the irregular troops, or armed police, have been shot	111
Condemned to imprisonment for life, as having joined in the outbreak, with arms in hand, and who have been sent to Constantinople	139
Condemned to exile as having joined in the pillage, without arms..	145
Condemned to hard labour for a fixed period, and detained at Damascus to be employed on roads	186
Condemned to death in their absence ("par contumace"), and who will be executed according as they fall into the hands of justice	83
Total	720

No. 127.

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 20.)

My Lord, *Damascus, September 3, 1860.*

I HAVE the honour herewith to inclose notes of a conversation I yesterday held with his Excellency Fuad Pasha, which will, I trust, explain the present position of affairs.

His Excellency seems very desirous that the French expedition should remain inactive for the present. No further executions have yet taken place; but those of the officers implicated at Hasbeya, Rasheya, and Damascus, about five persons in all, are expected daily.

A few conscripts are yet being taken, the required number of 2,000 not having been yet obtained.

The Christians seem alarmed at the prospect of Fuad Pasha quitting Damascus, but I think without good grounds, as his Excellency's absence will be short, and the garrison is ample.

No event of any importance has occurred since my last report on the 30th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER.

Inclosure in No. 127.

Notes of a Conversation held with Fuad Pasha by Major Fraser, at Damascus, September 3, 1860.

HIS Excellency Fuad Pasha having expressed a desire to see Mr. Consul Brant and myself, Mr. Brant being unwell on that day I proceeded alone to wait upon the Pasha.

His Excellency said that he wished to state his intention of quitting Damascus for a short visit to Beyrout, rendered desirable in consequence of representations made by the General commanding the French expeditionary force. That General Beaufort had sent Colonel Chanzy to intimate that the French force was now ready for any duty that might be required of it; that the General was very desirous of quitting Beyrout, which was proving an unhealthy encampment for the troops, and as they were eager to be employed, and had been much excited by the stories told them by the Christian refugees in Beyrout, the General feared some unpleasant collision might occur between the soldiers and some part of the Moslem population. That the General therefore thought a double purpose might be served if the French troops were permitted to proceed into Lebanon, taking with them the Christian refugees, and re-establishing them in their villages; but that in any case the General would be obliged to seek a spot in some good military position where he might hope to preserve the health of his men.

To which statement his Excellency had replied, that he had no objection to General Beaufort seeking another position, but had proposed that it should be in the Kesrouan, (the Maronite country), which was objected to, or, at all events, not in the country occupied by Druses, as his Excellency was particularly desirous of avoiding any collision until a plan of action had been decided, and due preparation made. His Excellency had further stated that he thought it better the Christians should not return to their villages until it were known whether military operations would be undertaken against the Druses or not, as in the former event the whole French force would be insufficient to guard the Christians, scattered, as they would be, through numerous villages, against the perils of Druse reprisals. His Excellency added, that in consequence of these representations he had decided to proceed himself to Beyrout about the 6th instant, with the view of personally examining what would be required. He also remarked that the French seemed urgent to be employed, but he saw the greatest objection to their acting at all independently of the Ottoman troops, as, should blows by any accident be once exchanged between the French and the Druses, it was impossible to say how far it might lead, as the Haurân Druses would probably join the others, while friendship and a community of feeling might cause some of the Bedouin to support the Druses.

With regard to the trials of criminals, his Excellency mentioned that those of Achmet, late Pasha, and of several military officers implicated at Hasbeya, Rasheya, and Damascus, were closed, that the subordinate officers would shortly be executed, but that Achmet Pasha would in the meantime be reserved pending the trial of Khoorshid Pasha of Beyrout, and the examination of the members of the Great Council of Damascus, who had now been arrested, in the hope that some light might be thrown on the nature of the relations subsisting between them. The conduct of the private soldiers at Hasbeya and elsewhere towards the widows and daughters of the slaughtered Christians, including the abduction of some, having been brought to his Excellency's notice, he said he had not before heard of these charges, that the men had been disbanded and incorporated in other corps, but were yet within reach, and that their conduct would be

inquired into, as well as that of all military officers in any position of authority at places where massacres had taken place.

His Excellency repeated that he found himself in the greatest possible difficulty as regarded the notables of the city, that he had received letters from all quarters begging him to strike quickly and severely at the leaders in late events; but that, notwithstanding all his desire to succeed, he had hitherto utterly failed in obtaining evidence sufficient for conviction; though hearsay evidence and general rumour were not wanting. That his position was deeply embarrassing, as it would hardly be believed in Europe that evidence against individuals of the higher class was so difficult to obtain in this country. He would willingly have formed a species of jury had he been able to find five men who could be trusted with such a duty, but he felt that such men as he could obtain would in all probability acquit every Moslem brought before them. He was therefore debarred that resource, and had hitherto been obliged to conduct all the preliminary examinations himself, with the aid of his personal staff, in order to decide who should be sent before the Special Court constituted for the purpose.

His Excellency requesting to know whether I had any suggestion to make in this matter, I replied that it appeared to me he would economise his own valuable time, as well as be relieved from a very unpleasant responsibility, by causing functionaries accustomed to the collection and preparation of evidence to be sent from Constantinople, who could then devote themselves exclusively to this duty. That I had also heard it said by citizens, that although the "Muktars" (or chiefs of quarters) might be unwilling to give lists of compromised persons belonging to their own quarter, they would not make the same difficulty regarding those of adjoining quarters, and that in this way much information might be obtained. His Excellency said he would consider these plans, yet he feared he would never be able to satisfy European Governments: that he proposed, however, to continue his present investigations, try such offenders as he could discover, reserving their sentence; that he would then report what he had done, with his opinion on each case; if these were approved sentence could be passed and executed; if not, further investigation might be prosecuted. But that, in any case, he felt it would be necessary in the interest of the Ottoman Government itself to exile for ever from Damascus those influential persons who had been at all compromised by their attitude in the recent outbreak, even where there was no distinct proof of overt acts. That with regard to the property of those executed, including in several instances plunder taken during late events, he had, pending a reference to Constantinople, placed it under sequestration, direct confiscation not being permitted by the Ottoman Code.

I here took the opportunity of mentioning that the Commissioners of the Powers in alliance with Turkey would shortly arrive in Syria, when his Excellency would have it in his power to explain to these officers his whole position, and might count on their best advice and assistance. His Excellency desiring to know the object of the Commission, I replied that I had no information on the subject, but, from newspaper reports; I presumed it to be to inquire into the nature and extent of the late sad events, and to ascertain, in co-operation with his Excellency, how such disasters could be best avoided in the future. With regard to the Druses, his Excellency said he had not decided on any positive line of policy to be pursued until he learnt what might be the demands in this respect of the European powers. That so far as he had yet considered the question, there appeared to be but two ways of dealing with this matter. The first would be, after due consideration, to make certain demands of the Druses, such, for instance, as the surrender of certain chiefs, or other individuals, for trial; the payment of a pecuniary indemnity to the Christians; rebuilding of villages destroyed, &c., leaving it free to the Druses to comply or not. The other course would be to attack them at once without making any demand whatever. That never having either confirmed or set aside the Treaty of Peace entered into between some of the Druses and Maronites, he was free either to acknowledge or reject it now.

His Excellency having asked which of these I should conceive to be the preferable plan, I replied, provided a sufficient demand were made, I should prefer the first, not less in the interest of the Ottoman Government itself than in that of all others concerned, particularly as it was impossible to foresee where

the second course might terminate, and which would yet remain open should the Druses decline compliance with the demands made. His Excellency was strongly of that opinion also, although he would decide nothing until he had an opportunity of consulting with the European Commissioners.

The interview here closed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER.

No. 128.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received September* 20.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, September* 7, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 17th ultimo, relative to Lord Dufferin's mission to Syria as Her Majesty's Commissioner, and to state that I will carry out the instructions therein given me by your Lordship to the best of my ability.

I beg to inclose copies of three despatches to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte—the two last reporting, amongst other events of public interest, the arrival at Beyrout and reception of Lord Dufferin, and his Lordship's departure for Damascus.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 128.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, September* 3, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Lumley's despatches, acquainting me with the receipt of telegrams by your Excellency from Lord John Russell to authorise me to draw the former for 3,000*l.* and the latter for 2,000*l.* more on Messrs. Heywood, Kennard, & Co., for the relief of distressed Syrians. I beg to state that I have already acknowledged to his Lordship the receipt of authority to draw for the sums previously announced, amounting in all to 2,700*l.*, exclusive of the 5,000*l.* now acknowledged.

I draw for sums on account according to the requirements of the Beyrout Committee; in this way I have hitherto drawn to their order two bills of 500*l.* each.

I have also drawn on Lord John Russell for the 200*l.* Government donation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 128.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer,

(Extract.) *Beyrout, September* 3, 1860.

LORD DUFFERIN arrived at Beyrout yesterday in the Turkish Government steamer "Cairo." I accompanied his Lordship to-day on a visit to the Vali Ahmed Pasha, who had sent a guard of honour and horses to meet Lord Dufferin at the landing-place, and accompany him to the Serai.

Five hundred conscripts of the number recently taken by his Excellency Fuad Pasha, on account of arrears for the army for the past eight years, arrived from Damascus handcuffed, and were embarked yesterday on board a Turkish man-of-war for conveyance to Constantinople.

The French transport "Ganges" also arrived here yesterday towed by another French steamer, the "Indus." A battalion of the 5th Regiment conveyed in her landed this morning. The "Indus" is laden with stores for the army of occupation.

Inclosure 3 in No. 128.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, September 5,* 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's despatch of the 26th ultimo, acquainting me with the arrival of Lord Dufferin at Constantinople, and giving me certain instructions relative to his Lordship's mission to Syria, to which I beg to say that I will entirely conform.

I have already reported in my despatch of the 3rd instant, Lord Dufferin's arrival at Beyrout on the 2nd instant. I had made the necessary arrangements with the Authorities for his proper reception on landing, previously to which Ahmet Pasha, at my suggestion, had sent an officer of rank on board to compliment his Lordship on his arrival.

Availing himself of the interval of some days that will elapse before the arrival of his colleagues, Lord Dufferin started last night for Damascus, accompanied by Mr. Cyril Graham, and attended by a Turkish escort obtained by me from Ahmet Pasha. His Lordship's object is to visit that city and see Fuad Pasha. His absence will not, he calculates, exceed a week.

Count Bentivoglio informed me yesterday that M. de Weckbecker, the Austrian Consul-General at Beyrout, has been named Commissioner for Austria.

By the last news from Damascus I learn that no further executions had taken place, but that Fuad Pasha had arrested the members of the Grand Medjlis, and that seizures of conscripts continued. Fuad Pasha was expected to leave Damascus in two or three days on a short visit to this place, in consequence, it is understood, of the Envoys sent to communicate with his Excellency by General d'Hautpoul. The sentence pronounced against the ex-Seraskier and Governor-General of Damascus was still kept secret. Many comments are made as to the motives of this reticence.

The Emir Abd-el-Kader had been invested with the Medjidié of the first class, sent to him by the Sultan as a mark of His Majesty's approbation of his conduct during the massacre of Damascus. M. Scheffer also has arrived here, bearing the insignia of the Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour conferred on the Emir by the Emperor of the French.

I have no change to report in the attitude of the Druses. In the meantime, no fugitive Christian ventures to return to his home, such as it is. The consequence is, that these unfortunate people still crowd the sea-coast towns by thousands, enduring the extreme of hardship and privation, and are at once the cause and victims of disease, which, at Beyrout, has carried off hundreds of their children, amongst whom it has been particularly fatal on account of want of proper nourishment.

No. 129.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received September* 20.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, September* 8, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Damascus post came in this morning. My letters announce the arrival in that city of Lord Dufferin, on Thursday, the 5th instant. Fuad Pasha had not then left for Beyrout, which will enable Her Majesty's Commissioner to see his Excellency. This day is mentioned for the departure of Fuad Pasha for this place. Major

Fraser writes me that the Turkish military officers inculpated for their conduct at Hasbeya, and Rasheya and Deir-el-Kamar would probably be executed soon. Ahmed Pasha's sentence was still unpublished, being, it was stated, reserved until the trial of Khorshid Pasha also be completed.

The object of Fuad Pasha's visit to Beyrout is understood to have reference—first, to the French expedition, and secondly, to meet the Commissioners of the Great Powers, and ascertain the objects of their mission, and the nature of the relations to subsist between his Excellency and those gentlemen.

The Turkish functionaries in Syria appear to be totally unaware of the appointment of European Commissioners to Syria. When I announced to Ahmet Pasha, the Governor-General of Beyrout, Lord Dufferin's arrival and his Lordship's mission, the Pasha professed entire ignorance of everything relating thereto.

Yesterday a further batch of about 500 conscripts from Damascus reached Beyrout, on their way to the capital. Several of these conscripts have been allowed, by order of Fuad Pasha, to buy themselves out for 20,000 piastres per man; some of these are stated to have been amongst the murderers in the late massacre. The Christians say that these men can well afford to pay 20,000 piastres out of the plunder of their co-religionists.

No. 130.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received September* 20.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, September* 3, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith for your Lordship's information copy of a despatch which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c,

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 130.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, September* 3, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I arrived here yesterday afternoon in a steam-yacht, which his Highness El Hami Pasha, son-in-law to the Sultan, and a personal friend of my own, was good enough to place at my disposal.

As yet none of my European colleagues have reached Beyrout. The Austrian Commissioner had not been appointed when I quitted Constantinople. The Russian and Prussian Commissioners were not to leave that city until Wednesday, the 5th instant, and the steamer which is to bring M. Béclard from Alexandria is still at anchor in this bay; it is not probable, therefore, that the Commission can meet for another eight or ten days.

Under these circumstances I propose to put myself at once into communication with his Excellency Fuad Pasha, the Turkish Commissioner, and to employ the time which must necessarily elapse before our other colleagues can assemble, in acquainting myself with the actual position of affairs, and the state of the country.

With this double object in view, I have arranged to start to-night for Damascus. I shall remain there probably three or four days, and then return to Beyrout in time to meet my colleagues on their arrival.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 131.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received September* 20.)

My Lord, *Damascus, September* 8, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, respecting the state of affairs in this country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 131.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Damascus, September* 8, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Excellency with my arrival in this city.

Although I did not anticipate that any inconvenience would be likely to arise from my visit to Damascus, I thought it prudent to acquaint his Excellency Fuad Pasha with my intention, stating, at the same time, that I came quite in an unofficial capacity, and that should his Excellency be of opinion that it would be at all undesirable I should persevere in my project, I should at once return, and in the meantime would wait on the road, to learn his pleasure; his Excellency having invited me to proceed, I entered the city on the afternoon of Thursday last, and having in the meantime heard a report that his Excellency was himself about to proceed to Beyrout, I waited on him at once, in order that my arrival might not in any degree disarrange his plans. I had, however, the satisfaction of learning that other causes had already induced him to postpone his departure for some little time longer.

His Excellency then proceeded to give me an account of the way in which he had dealt with the persons implicated in the late massacres at Damascus; Mr. Brant will have already informed your Excellency of the nature of these punishments. Fifty-six persons have been hanged on the charge of murder; 111 irregular soldiers have been shot on the charge of having taken part in the emeute; 139 have been condemned to the galleys for life; 145 have been exiled on the charge of plundering; 186 have been condemned to hard labour for a term of years; and sentence of death has been recorded against 83 persons who have escaped. A considerable number are in prison awaiting their trial.

Other measures of severity have been initiated, and I have the honour to inclose for your Excellency's information, a statement furnished me by Fuad Pasha, of the various acts of rigour which he had thought necessary since his arrival. For the last three weeks there have been no executions.

In reply to some further inquiries, his Excellency was good enough to inform me, that Osman Bey, who had commanded at Hasbeya, Mohammed Ali Bimbashi, at Rasheya, and Ali Bey who was in charge of the troops in the Christian quarter of Damascus, had been condemned to death, and would probably be shortly executed.

In regard to the fate of Ahmet Pasha, his Excellency seemed still undecided, and in mentioning his name, was even careful to speak almost in a laudatory manner, of certain arrangements the ex-Governor had made previous to the outbreak.

On presenting myself to his Excellency, I had taken the precaution of explaining to him, that I had no official communication to make to him whatever, that my instructions were to act in concert with my colleagues, and that if I now ventured to wait upon him he must consider my visit merely that of a former friend and a future colleague. Yesterday his Excellency was good enough to come and see me at the house of Mr. Brant, who has been so kind as to receive me under his roof.

With the little information I have as yet had time to acquire, it would be premature for me to hazard an opinion as to the character of Fuad Pasha's policy. There is one fact, however, to which I would venture to draw your Excellency's attention. Out of the whole population of Damascus, only fifty-six have been actually executed on a charge of murder: now the lowest computation places the number of Christians massacred in Damascus alone, at 5,000; it is impossible to suppose but that the number of the murderers, at all events, equalled the number of their victims. It would not, however, be an improbable conjecture, that in the death of every Christian, at least three Moslems were concerned, for the butchery seems not to have been conducted by bands of men, proceeding successively from street to street, but to have taken place simultaneously in every part of the Christian quarter. This would raise the number of those who are probably guilty of murder, to 15,000 persons. But murder was not the only description of crime committed; to murder was superadded an universal pillage, the destruction of every single Christian house in the city, and the violation of a large quantity of the Christian women, under circumstances of the most atrocious cruelty. It would certainly seem that fifty-six executions bear but an inadequate relation to the number of guilty persons, and the enormity of their crimes.

P.S.—I have just received intelligence that Ahmet Pasha, Colonel Ali Bey Colonel Osman Bey, and Mohammed Ali Agha, have been shot. The executions were not public.

Inclosure 2 in No. 131.

Memorandum.

Damas, le 8 *Septembre,* 1860.

LE lendemain de l'arrivée de son Excellence Fuad Pacha, occupation de tous les quartiers de la ville par la troupe, formation de Commissions Militaires dans chaque quartier de la ville, pour arrêter les émeutiers, assassins, pilleurs, &c. Ces Commissions sont parvenues à arrêter après quatre ou cinq jours de travaux 800 personnes environ qui ont été remises au Tribunal Extraordinaire, composé de fonctionnaires amenés de Constantinople. Les arrestations ont continué depuis ce jour là. L'Ecole Militaire de la ville a été transformée en hôpital pour les femmes Chrétiennes. Admission dans l'hôpital militaire de tous les Chrétiens malades ou blessés. Formation d'une Commission chargée de distribuer des vivres, de l'argent, et des effets aux Chrétiens. Arrestation de quatre individus qui ont massacré les frères et le père d'une jeune fille qui a été amenée à Damas avec les assassins de ses parents, et qui a déclaré avoir été violée par l'un d'eux et avoir été possédée, à tour de rôle, par ces malfaiteurs, qui ont été pendus. Sur la condamnation du Tribunal Extraordinaire chargé de juger les personnes incriminées, 111 personnes ont été fusillées, 56 pendues, 145 condamnées à l'exil, 186 aux travaux forcés, et employés aux travaux de construction de routes, 83 à mort, par contumace. Parmi ceux qui ont été exécutés se trouvent 18 individus appartenant à des familles nobles, ou des gens marqués dans le pays. Le 15 Août, ordonnance portée à la connaissance du public, et mettant en demeure tous les habitants de la ville et de la campagne, à remettre aux autorités locales les hommes, femmes, et enfants même ayant embrassé l'Islamisme qu'ils retiendraient chez eux. Toute personne contrevenant à cet ordre était déclarée coupable de recel et condamnée à mort. Tous les Chrétiens, au nombre de 500 environ, qui avaient de gré ou de force embrassé l'Islamisme, ont été mis en demeure de retourner dans la religion de leurs pères. Trois quartiers Musulmans ont été évacués et mis à la disposition des Chrétiens, qui s'y sont installés ou s'y installent. Une maison a été mise à leur disposition, pour servir de chapelle à tous les rites Chrétiens.

Ordonnance condamnant la ville de Damas à fournir 2,000 hommes à l'armée Impériale. Prix de rachat fixé à 20,000 piastres, de ceux qui se trouvent en dehors de 2,000 conscrits et qui appartiennent à des familles nobles. Plus de 1,000 hommes expédiés déjà à Beyrouth pour être dirigés vers Constantinople. Arrestations journalières pour la conscription. Emprisonnement des personnes accusées par des Chrétiens.

Vendredi, 7 Septembre, réunion, sous la présidence de Fuad Pasha, du Conseil de Guerre, qui a prononcé la dégradation et a condamné à être fusillés—

1. L'ex-Muchir Ahmed Agha;

2. Le Lieutenant-Colonel Ali Bey, Commandant, lors des événements, le quartier Chrétien de Damas;

3. Le Lieutenant-Colonel Osman Bey, Commandant la garnison de Hasbéya;

4. Le Chef de bataillon Mehemmed Ali Agha, Commandant la garnison de Raschéya.

En outre le Sous-Commandant de la garnison de Hasbéya, Mehemmed Ali Agha, a été condamné à la dégradation et à la réclusion perpétuelle.

Officiers condamnés à mort et à la dégradation, et dont l'exécution de la sentence est ajournée, leur confrontation avec les accusés qui se trouvent à Beyrouth pouvant être nécessaire:—

Abdul Selam Bey, Lieutenant-Colonel, Commandant à Deir-el-Kamar, condamné à être dégradé et fusillé;

Id. id. pour le Lieutenant-Colonel, Commandant à Bleddîn près Deir-el-Kamar.

Id. id. Havis Agha, Sous-Commandant de Deir-el-Camar.

(Translation.)

Damascus, September 8, 1860.

THE day after the arrival of his Excellency Fuad Pasha, occupation of all parts of the town by the troops, formation of Military Commissions in each quarter of the town, to arrest the rioters, murderers, pillagers, &c. These Commissions succeeded in arresting, after four or five days' work, about 800 persons, who have been handed over to the Extraordinary Tribunal, composed of functionaries brought from Constantinople. The arrests have continued since that day. The Military School of the town has been transformed into a hospital for Christian women. Admission to the military hospital of all sick and wounded Christians. Formation of a Commission charged with the distribution of provisions, money, and property to the Christians. The arrest of four persons who had massacred the brothers and father of a young girl, who was brought to Damascus with the murderers of her relations, and declared that she had been violated by one of them, and abused by all of these villains in turn, who have since been hanged. 111 persons have been shot, 56 hanged, 145 condemned to exile, 186 to hard labour, and made to work on the roads, 83 to death by default, after having been condemned by the Extraordinary Tribunal charged with the trial of persons implicated. Among those who have been executed, are found 18 persons belonging to noble families, or influential people in the country. August 15, order to the public, commanding all the inhabitants of the town and country to hand over to the local authorities the men, women, and even children who had embraced Islamism, who might be in their power. Any person acting contrary to this order was declared guilty of concealment and condemned to death. All the Christians, to the number of about 500, who had either of their own accord or by force embraced Islamism, were ordered to return to the religion of their fathers. Three Musulman quarters have been cleared of their inhabitants and placed at the disposal of the Christians, who have settled or are settling themselves there. A house also has been placed at their disposal, to serve as a chapel for all the Christian rites.

Order requiring the town of Damascus to furnish 2,000 men for the Imperial army. Price of release fixed at 20,000 piastres for those who find themselves not among the number of the 2,000 conscripts and who belong to noble families. More than 1,000 men already sent to Beyrout to be despatched to Constantinople. Daily arrests for the conscription. Imprisonment of persons accused by the Christians.

Friday, the 7th of September.—Meeting, under the presidency of Fuad Pasha, of the Council of War, which pronounced the degradation and condemned to be shot—

1. The ex-Mushir Ahmed Agha.

2. Lieutenant-Colonel Ali Bey, Commandant, before the late events, of the Christian quarter of Damascus.

3. Lieutenant-Colonel Osman Bey, Commandant of the garrison of Hasbéya.

4. Mehemmed Ali Agha, Commander of a battalion and of the garrison of Raschéya.

Besides the Sub-Commander of the garrison of Hasbéya, Mehemmed Ali Agha has been condemned to be degraded and to perpetual imprisonment.

Officers condemned to be degraded and to death, and the execution of whose sentence is put off, it being thought necessary to confront them with their accusers who are at Beyrout—

Abdul Selam Bey, Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding at Deir-el-Camar, condemned to be degraded and to be shot.

The same sentence on the Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding at Bleddin, near Deir-el-Camar.

The same on Havis Agha, Sub-Commander at Deir-el-Camar.

Inclosure 3 in No. 131.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Damascus, September* 8, 1860.

IT has become necessary Fuad Pasha should leave Damascus for Beyrout. His absence will, probably, last a considerable time. During the interim it was desirable he should secure the tranquillity of the city by an exhibition of severity, which should renew the impression caused by the vigour of his acts when he first arrived, but which time was beginning to efface. It was to be wished that so great a responsibility as that entailed by the execution of a Pasha should be assumed by the proper person before the arrival of the Commission; and lastly, this supreme act of justice became a not unfitting conclusion for the first act in the terrible drama which has been displayed in his country.

I am convinced that, in ordering the execution of Ahmet Pasha, his Excellency has acted in the interest of his Government. Any acts of severity to which it may be necessary for the Commission to urge him hereafter will appear to occur less at their dictation than as the natural sequence of a line of policy his Excellency will have already inaugurated.

Inclosure 4 in No. 131.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Damascus, September* 8, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that, in compliance with the instructions contained in a despatch from Lord John Russell, of the 14th ultimo, immediately on my arrival at Damascus, I brought under Fuad Pasha's consideration the case of the unfortunate girls and women that are supposed to have been carried off to Moslem harems during the late disturbances. In reply, his Excellency assured me, that in consequence of his having denounced the penalty of death against every Moslem who should retain prisoner any Christian woman, he had reason to believe that all those who had been so unfortunate as to be carried off were already restored to their friends. Such, however, I fear, is far from being the case; at the same time it will be most difficult even to ascertain if any are missing. The native Christian families are so broken up that no mother can be certain whether her child has suffered death or been carried off. Even when there is a probability

in favour of the latter alternative, no clue can be obtained as to the harem in which she may be secluded, for many have, doubtless, been transferred to great distances by Koords and others, and will probably be sold. In the meantime I have taken measures to ascertain, both at Beyrout and at Damascus, the number and the names of the missing girls and children of both sexes.

Inclosure 5 in No. 131.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Damascus, September* 8, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose for your Excellency's information a copy of a despatch I have addressed to his Excellency Fuad Pasha on the subject of Mr. Graham's murder.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 6 in No. 131.

Lord Dufferin to Fuad Pasha.

Excellence, *Damas, le Septembre* 8, 1860.

J'AI l'honneur de remettre à votre Excellence une brève note à l'égard du meurtre de M. Graham, un de nos Missionnaires.

Votre Excellence s'apercevera qu'il y a quelque incertitude sur l'identité du meurtrier.

Mais cela ne doit pas nous étonner lorsqu'on refléchit sur les circonstances dans lesquelles le crime fut commis, et que peut-être pas un seul de ceux qui ont été témoins du meurtre le trouve dans son intérêt de dénoncer le criminel et de le mettre entre les mains de la justice.

En même tems il n'existe pas la moindre doute qu'il y a plusieurs personnes qui seraient à même de donner à votre Excellence les renseignements nécessaires sur ce sujet, et j'espérerai que par les efforts et le zèle de la police votre Excellence apprendra pour certain les noms des individus qui sont coupables, et parviendra à les faire arrêter.

J'espère que votre Excellence me pardonnera si j'affirme que je le regarde comme une mesure de première importance que les meurtriers de ce monsieur soient puni avec la dernière sévérité.

Votre Excellence ne manquera pas de voir que c'est absolument nécessaire que la population de Damas soit convaincu que la Porte est résolu d'entourer de la protection la plus inviolable les personnes de tous les Européens qui se trouvent dans la ville. Les Chrétiens de ce province peuvent au moins se fier pour leur sécurité à leur connaissance de la langue et des mœurs du pays, mais un Europeén n'a d'autre garantie pour sa sécurité que celle qui provient de l'inviolabilité attachée à sa personne par le Gouvernement Ottoman. J'oserais ainsi soumettre à votre Excellence que si vous eussiez la bonne fortune de découvrir les meurtriers de M. Graham, il serait à désirer que l'exécution soit conduite d'une manière si publique et si formelle qu'elle fasse une vive et permanente impression sur la population de Damas, et qu'elle leur soit à jamais un exemple du danger qui leur attend s'ils osent mettre leur main sur un Européen.

Mais laissant le dénouement de cette triste affaire entre les mains de votre Excellence, je me tourne à l'accomplissement d'un devoir beaucoup plus agréable.

C'est celui de remercier votre Excellence de l'aimable et gracieuse recéption que vous avez bien voulu me donner. Je ne dirai pas combien j'ai su apprécier la manière bienveillante dans laquelle votre Excellence m'a fait sentir que c'est

votre désir d'établir les relations que j'aurai l'honneur d'avoir avec vous sur le pied d'une amitié sincère et cordiale.

Je puis vous assurer que rien ne manquera de ma part pour mériter votre confiance.

En quittant l'Angleterre mon Gouvernement m'a prévenu qu'il était son désir que tous mes efforts soient dirigés à maintenir l'autorité de votre Excellence dans l'exécution de vos tristes devoirs, et il n'est pas nécessaire de vous dire avec quelle cordialité je m'empresserai d'accomplir cette tache.

Je n'ai qu'à regretter que l'appui et l'encouragement que mon Gouvernement désire vous donner ne soit moins efficace qu'il n'aurait pu l'être si quelque personne d'une plus grande expérience avait été choisi pour le représenter.

Votre Excellence a eu la bonté de me dire que je pourrai me permettre de vous adresser non seulement en ma capacité officielle de Commissaire de Sa Majesté, mais aussi comme votre ami personnel.

En faisant part à votre Excellence de tems en tems des vues de mon Gouvernement j'espère que ne n'oublierai jamais la déférence et le respect qui sont dues à la haute position, aux grands talents, et au caractère personnel de votre Excellence, et si jamais j'oserai profiter de la permission que vous m'avez donné de soumettre à votre considération mes opinions particulières sur un sujet quelconque je prierai votre Excellence de se rappeler que c'est votre bonté qui m'aura encouragé, et que ce sera avec la plus haute appréciation de l'indulgence de votre Excellence que j'oserai profiter d'un tel privilège.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

(Translation.)

Excellency, *Damascus, September* 8, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to send your Excellency a short note with respect to the murder of Mr. Graham, one of our Missionaries.

Your Excellency will perceive that there is some uncertainty as to the identity of the murderer.

But this is not astonishing when we reflect on the circumstances under which the crime was committed, and that probably not one of those who were witnesses of the murder finds it their interest to denounce the criminal and to deliver him up to justice.

At the same time there is not the slightest doubt that there are many persons in a position to give your Excellency the necessary information on this subject, and I am in hopes that, by the efforts and zeal of the police, your Excellency will find out for certain the names of the guilty persons and will cause them to be arrested.

I hope that your Excellency will forgive me for stating that I look upon it as a measure of the greatest consequence, that the murderer of this gentleman should be punished with the greatest severity.

Your Excellency will not fail to appreciate the absolute necessity of the population of Damascus being convinced that the Porte is determined to protect most inviolably the persons of all Europeans in the town. The Christians of this province might at least trust for their security to their knowledge of the language and manners of the country; but a European has no other guarantee for his security than that which proceeds from the inviolability attached to his person by the Ottoman Government. I would further beg to submit to your Excellency that, if you should be fortunate enough to discover the murderers of Mr. Graham, it would be desirable that the execution should be conducted in so public and formal a manner that it should make a lively and lasting impression upon the population of Damascus, and should be a warning to them of the danger which awaits them if they dare to lay hands on a European.

But, leaving the settlement of this sad affair in your Excellency's hands, I have a much more agreeable duty to perform; it is that of thanking your Excellency for the kind and courteous reception which you have been good enough to accord to me. I cannot sufficiently express my appreciation of the kind way in which your Excellency has convinced me of your desire to establish, on the footing of sincere and cordial friendship, the relations which I shall have the honour of holding with you.

I can assure you that nothing shall be wanting on my part to merit your confidence.

On my leaving England, my Government informed me of their wish that all my efforts should be directed to maintain your Excellency's authority in the execution of your unpleasant duties, and I need not assure you of the pleasure with which I shall endeavour to accomplish that task.

I have only to regret that the support and encouragement which my Government is desirous of affording you may be of less avail than it would have been if some person of greater experience (than myself) had been selected to represent it.

Your Excellency has had the goodness to inform me that I may address you not only in my official capacity of Her Majesty's Commissioner, but also as your personal friend.

In communicating to your Excellency from time to time the views of my Government, I hope I may never forget the deference and respect due to the exalted position, the great talents, and the personal character of your Excellency, and if I should ever venture to take advantage of the permission which you have given me of submitting for your consideration my private opinions upon any subject, I must beg your Excellency to remember that it is your kindness which has encouraged me, and that it will be with the highest appreciation of your Excellency's indulgence that I shall venture to make use of so great a privilege.

Receive, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 132.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received September* 21.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 12, 1860.

IMMEDIATELY on the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of August 30, on the subject of the unfortunate women who were carried off by the Druses, I addressed an official note to Aali Pasha, and a despatch to Lord Dufferin, copies of which I have the honour to inclose herewith.

I also wrote to Fuad Pasha in the sense of your Lordship's instruction, and I doubt not that his Excellency, in conjunction with his colleagues, will use his utmost efforts in rescuing these unfortunate persons from their lamentable situation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 132.

Sir H. Bulwer to Aali Pasha.

Sir, *Therapia, September* 11, 1860.

YOUR Highness is no doubt already aware that Her Majesty's Government considers the condition of the unfortunate Christian women who have been carried off by the Druses and other rebels as the question which demands the earliest attention of the Commissioners sent to Syria, and that Lord Dufferin is instructed to press upon Fuad Pasha and his European colleagues the necessity of taking immediate measures for rescuing from their lamentable situation those unfortunate women whose sufferings call forth the strongest feelings of sympathy on the part of all Christian nations.

I am therefore instructed by Her Majesty's Government to press this matter most urgently on the Porte, and to say that it admits of no delay; and

at the same time to request that the necessary instructions be at once forwarded to Fuad Pasha directing him, in conjunction with his European colleagues, to take prompt measures for attaining the object in view, and also for taking such steps as may appear most advisable in order to provide for the maintenance of these poor women until they can find permanent homes and means of subsistence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 132.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 11, 1860.

YOU are already aware of the views of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the Christian women who have been carried off by the Druses and other rebels, and whose condition demands the earliest attention of the Commission in rescuing them from their lamentable condition.

In consequence of further instructions which I have received from Her Majesty's Government on this subject, I have addressed an official note to Aali Pasha, copy of which I have the honour to inclose herewith for your information, and I doubt not that the necessary instructions will be at once sent to Fuad Pasha to give the matter his earliest attention.

I need not assure your Lordship of my readiness to afford you my aid in this matter, but not knowing precisely the way in which I can further assist you, I leave the matter in your hands, confident that your Lordship, with the support of your colleagues and Fuad Pasha, to whom I have also written on the subject, will succeed in rescuing, if not all, at least the greatest number, of these unfortunate persons from their present terrible situation.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

No. 133.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, September* 22, 1860.

I SAW M. Musurus yesterday, and expressed to him a qualified satisfaction at the punishments inflicted by Fuad Pasha at Damascus.

I pointed out to him that Khoorshid Pasha had not yet been tried, and that the Christians driven from their homes had not yet returned to them.

No. 134.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 22.)

My Lord, *Paris, September* 21, 1860.

I HAVE spoken to M. Thouvenel, as instructed by your Lordship's despatch of the 15th instant, relative to the French forces in Syria, with a view of ascertaining how long they were likely to remain, and whether it would be necessary to reinforce them.

M. Thouvenel replied that he was without any information which would enable him to answer my questions. I had accidentally seen the Minister of War previously, and I had put similar questions to his Excellency, who answered as M. Thouvenel had done. General Beaufort, he added, had gone

to Damascus to put himself in communication with Fuad Pasha, and his next reports would probably throw more light upon the future. Marshal Randon did not anticipate the necessity of sending reinforcements unless operations were to be undertaken by the European troops. Fuad Pasha was said to be at the head of 15,000 men, a force amply sufficient to keep the country quiet.

M. Thouvenel appeared to think that the Commission would best be enabled to judge when the French troops could return, and he expressed apprehensions that this would hardly be possible for the moment, as there would be great danger of a reaction on their departure.

I reminded M. Thouvenel that the season was fast approaching when the coast of Syria would become dangerous for the squadrons, and when the landing of reinforcements would become a matter of difficulty, and I said that were it deemed necessary to send reinforcements Her Majesty's Government were prepared to furnish a part of them. His Excellency expressed great satisfaction at this announcement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 135.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, September* 22, 1860.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 21st instant, reporting a conversation with M. Thouvenel with reference to the stay of the French troops in Syria, and the necessity for reinforcing them by the dispatch of the remaining number of troops specified in the Convention, of which, in case they were required, Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to send a portion.

I have to state to your Excellency, in reply, that the season is getting too late for the safe landing of such reinforcements on the coast of Syria, and Her Majesty's Government's hope they will not be needed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 136.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received September* 24.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 12, 1860.

I INCLOSE your Lordship a list of the persons condemned at Damascus for their share in the late massacre. I am sorry to say that Mr. Brant does not think it includes all the principal parties.

I am going to speak to Aali Pasha immediately on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure in No. 136.

List of Persons condemned to Death by Fuad Pasha.

[See Inclosure in No. 126.]

No. 137.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, September* 24, 1860.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 8th instant, inclosing copies of your despatches of that date addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, respecting the state of affairs in Syria, and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve your conduct as reported in those despatches.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 138.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 29.)

My Lord, *Damascus, September* 6, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of my despatch of the 30th ultimo to his Excellency Sir H. L. Bulwer, regarding the conduct of the ex-Mushir during the late disturbances, and giving some of the causes of the massacre at Damascus.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure in No. 138.

Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract) *Damascus, August* 30, 1860.

NOTHING, I believe, would have given self-possession to the ex-Mushir. A very slight degree of courage on his part would have prevented the calamity, but when he allowed the ill-disposed to work out their own will unchecked, and left in abeyance so completely his functions as head of the Government, nothing could be done by the subordinate employés.

I observed to Ahmet Pasha that when the Mussulman boys were set to sweep the streets of the Christian quarter in chains, precautions should have been taken to repress a possible outbreak; he replied that it would have been useless, as the plot was prepared, and, had not this pretext been found, some other would have served the purpose. I then asked him what was then done by the secret police, of whose activity and intelligence he had boasted, that he was not informed of the plot; to this he gave no answer. At one time, however, he pretended that there was a plot, at another that no such existed. I have not yet seen any distinct evidence that an organised plot was formed. The disposition to plunder and murder the Christians no doubt was very strong, but the exhibition of vigour on the part of the Government, it is universally acknowledged, would have repressed it.

The soldiers recruited in Syria were not to be depended on, as was evident from their conduct at Hasbeya and Rasheya, and these very men were those selected to guard the Christian quarter on the occasion of the Beiram, and to repress the outbreak. This certainly looked suspicious, but I believe the real reason was that the Mushir was afraid of them, and wished to remove them from the Serai, and preserve for his own protection—which alone seemed to occupy his thoughts—the well-disposed men.

The ex-Mushir is now on his trial, and must justify his conduct and explain his motives as best he can. What goes on is kept quite secret, so that none but the members of the Court are cognisant of the proceedings. The public mind must judge of them by the final result, which is self-evident if the cause be decided not by favour but by the justice of the case.

If the surmise of the people be correct there will inevitably be concealment, but I will not suppose the surmise alluded to to have any foundation, and

I will not anticipate so blameable a course from his Excellency Fuad Pasah from the suspicion of which, I think, his proceedings thus far should exempt him.

In my opinion Ahmet Pasha is guilty of gross incapacity in his mode of treating his Medjlis, and in not taking precautionary measures often suggested to him; of obstinacy, in maintaining in his post his Tufenkgee Bashi, who was notoriously incompetent, against the repeated warnings of persons of all classes, for weeks before the outbreak; for not endeavouring to rescue the Christians of Hasbeya and Rasheya, although he repeatedly promised to do so, being warned of their danger; for not making any effort to prevent the attack on Zahleh; for perfect indifference to, at least, if not connivance at, the massacres of the Christians by the Druses, regarding which he is reported to have said that there were two great evils in Syria, the Christians and the Druses, and that the massacres of either party was a gain to the Turkish Government; for the most extraordinary want of foresight as to the consequences of what was going on, and, when matters became more critical, of being still more obstinate and inactive, until at last he appeared to be paralyzed by fear; for never appearing without the Serai at the head of his troops, either to prevent the outbreak at the commencement, or to check the massacre afterwards, or even to arrest the conflagration. For such neglect of duty, and incapacity in an employé of his high rank, and for such arrant cowardice in a General Officer, by which the lives of probably 10,000 Christians were sacrificed, besides the intense misery occasioned to twice as many by wounds and sufferings, by loss of parents and relations, and of property; by the disgrace brought on his Sovereign, by the ruin on his country, and the indelible stain on his religious faith, supposing even nothing but incapacity for his high functions and cowardice as an officer be proved, the punishment of a disgraceful death has been merited.

It would indeed produce most lamentable consequences were this contest to degenerate into a religious conflict; but such a result is not improbable, unless very great discretion and forbearance be enforced on the Christians of the Lebanon. Their conduct, for some years past, has been marked by an intolerant and irritating spirit; and at Beyrout, now they have taken courage at the presence of French troops, they have directly become insolent and provoking towards the Mussulmans, and if such behaviour be not severely repressed by their religious Chiefs, great inconvenience will result.

The incidents of the war, in which Druses and Maronites were alone concerned, must be considered apart from the massacres at Hasbeya, Rasheya, and Deir-el-Kamar, which were perpetrated in cold blood after the Christians had surrendered their arms on their safety being guaranteed by the Turkish officers commanding the garrisons. It might have been impossible for the authorities to have hindered or arrested the war, but it was in their power to have prevented the massacres, and therefore they may be charged with having allowed them. This gives to these massacres a character of enormity, independent of the war. The massacre of Damascus was no further connected with the war than as that it afforded a good pretext for the outbursting of a long pent-up hatred of Christians, and that the passions of lawless men once excited, they were ready to join in any acts of murder and plunder.

With respect to the causes which produced the fanatical feelings of the Damascenes, it is of long standing, and is only an old wound re-opened. Up to the period of the Egyptian occupation, fanaticism reigned unchecked in Damascus. It then received a severe blow, beneath which it was crushed temporarily, and was not allowed to revive while the province was attached to Egypt. Since the restoration of Syria to the Sultan, the local Government has been yearly becoming more lax, and fanaticism has been gradually reviving. Since the close of the Russian war, it has made a more marked advance, and the Porte itself has used it as one of the means of diminishing European influence; this was, of course, done secretly, but it was pretty evident to superficial observers even, for the disguise was too transparent not to allow the purpose to be seen through it.

In the last two years it was remarked that abuse of Christians, and terms of reproach towards their faith were more frequently used than formerly. Boys threw stones at Christians and Europeans in the streets, and respectable Mussulmans passing and witnessing these outrages did not reprove the authors of them. When the war between the Druses and Christians broke out, these

impertinences were more frequent, but the authorities did not increase in vigilance, and the ill-disposed become more bold. The respectable inhabitants did not to my knowledge encourage these acts, neither did I hear they discouraged them; they seemed to treat them with indifference. A large bell, lately placed in the Maronite Church, gave great umbrage. The magnificent Lazarist Convent was not seen with pleasure. The splendid houses built by the rich class of Christians excited jealousy, and their general prosperity tended to create in the Mussulmans feelings of envy. The persons who managed the affairs of the Pashalic were Christians; they kept the public accounts, and grew rich in the employment. The Christian traders were more prosperous than the Mussulmans; in short, the intelligence and industry of the former bore its natural fruits, but the pride of the latter was all the more deeply wounded. All these circumstances annoyed the Mussulmans, and they felt their inferiority as well in influence as in riches, and it rankled in their breasts; no doubt, therefore, these people were not sorry to see the Christians humbled. Perhaps your Excellency will consider the foregoing—added to the impotence of the local authorities in repressing the misconduct of the Mussulmans towards their Christian neighbours—as sufficiently accounting for an outbreak without the existence of an organized plot, when the ill-timed exercise of severity by the Tufenkgee Bashi produced the explosion. The Arab portion of the troops were excited by the desire of seizing the Christian women, and were greedy of booty, having tasted both at Hasbeya and Rasheya; and they were, therefore, eager to promote, rather than suppress, a movement which would gratify their lustful passions and their love of plunder.

I have already stated that no conduct on the part of my colleagues would have altered the course of events. I need not therefore refer further to them, nor to the question of what was the result of unpremeditated accident, and what of premeditated design, on which subject I have sufficiently enlarged. With respect to Fuad Pasha, it would be difficult to form a correct estimate at the present moment. His Excellency has acted with decision, though some persons think that he might have been less scrupulous on such an extraordinary occasion by awarding punishment on slighter evidence, as it was notoriously difficult to obtain all that would have been desirable in ordinary cases. The course adopted by his Excellency may ultimately lead to as full a discovery of everything as could have been made by a more direct but less formal proceeding, and his Excellency must be judged by the result of the inquiry when terminated, and by the completeness of his final success. He never probably could have imagined how difficult it was to obtain proofs of what had passed, nor of the number of respectable persons implicated, who thwarted him at every step; this has only gradually opened on his mind, and has rendered his course less prompt and decided than it would have been under different circumstances. I hope his Excellency may apply the remedies necessary to a final settlement with uncompromising sternness; it is needed to break the pride and fanaticism of the people, which have been so greatly excited and so much increased by the whole affair. The time is not yet come to think of conciliation, and it would be impolitic and prejudicial until the supremacy of the Government is firmly established throughout the country. It is difficult to conceive how the Government is to be made strong when the agents to be employed are in general so incompetent. Where are energetic and enlightened Pashas to be found? I confess I have only met with one in my experience possessing both energy and enlightened views, and that is Fuad Pasha. Safti Pasha enjoys a high reputation among the Damascenes, to whom he is known. If he be the man he is represented, and could be persuaded to accept the post, and be allowed to remain in it for five or ten years it might be a good arrangement. Khaleb Pasha, Ferik of the troops, and second in command here, formerly an officer in Ibrahim Pasha's army, is, I have heard from many, an honest, clear-headed, and energetic man, who would probably make a good Civil Governor. I have yet to answer the circulars sent with the despatch I am now replying to, but some of the subjects require consideration and time to explain what your Excellency requires me to report on. I will do so as early as possible, trusting your Excellency will pardon a little delay.

No. 139.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 29.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, September 14, 1860.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of my despatch of the 11th instant to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, announcing the execution of Ahmet Pasha and other Turkish military officers at Damascus.

When that despatch was written I had only received the bare announcement, and had but time to communicate the intelligence as it had reached me. I beg to recur to the subject, for the purpose of recording the high credit which this unprecedented act of justice reflects upou Fuad Pasha. His Excellency merits the highest applause for the firmness which pronounced, and the courage which carried out a sentence vindicating at once the claims of humanity and the honour of his Government, and it is only after a full consideration of the attendant circumstances, a highly excited and fierce populace, a natural feeling of sympathy with a co-religionist, and one of the rank and dignity of the late Field-Marshal, a cause which in the eyes of the majority of Mahometans falls short of crime, that the full merit of the act can be appreciated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure in No. 139.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, September 11, 1860.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that Ahmet Pasha, the ex-Seraskier and Governor-General of Damascus, together with Osman Bey, Commandant of the garrison of Hasbeya, the Binbashi of Rasheya, and Ali Bey, the officer in command of the troops in the Christian quarter of Damascus during the massacre, were shot in that city on the 8th instant, by order of Fuad Pasha. His Excellency left immediately after the executions and arrived here yesterday.

Lord Dufferin also returned to Beyrout this morning.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

No. 140.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 29.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, September 14, 1860.*

I HAVE the honour to report the arrival of M. Béclard and M. Novikow, the French and Russian Commissioners to Syria. The Prussian Commissioner is daily expected.

To-day Fuad Pasha issued summonses to thirty-seven Druse and thirty-five Christian Chiefs, to appear at Beyrout within five days, failing which they will be judged by default. Several of the Druse Beys, however, amongst them Beshir Bey Neked and Huttar Bey Amed, have already fled towards

the Hauran, together with the inhabitants of Bâakleen, a considerable Druse village, and the surrounding district, who, with their Chiefs, the Hamadis, took a prominent part in the massacres.

As for Said Bey Djumblat, he has to-day applied to me for a formal assurance of safety, when he would obey the summons and come to Beyrout, failing which he is prepared to fly. I have referred his letter to Lord Dufferin, for his Lordship's consideration and decision, with which I will acquaint your Lordship in a postscript if in time.

The Porte's Commissioner has just organized an Extraordinary Commission to try the accused, similar to the one his Excellency had established at Damascus. Several Mahometans of Beyrout, who took part in the riot of the 23rd June last, have fled, fearing that they may have to answer for their conduct on that occasion. It is now ascertained that they also joined the irregular troops in pillaging and setting fire to the villages in the Plain of Beyrout.

The French troops have not yet moved. No definite arrangement, it is understood, has yet resulted from the conferences between the Porte's Commissioner and the General-in-chief.

The number of distressed refugees on the list of our local Committee now amounts to 12,333, in daily receipt of relief from the Committee. Three thousand more are subsisted at Sidon, through an agent of the Committee in that town.

The mortality amongst the poor refugees is very great at Beyrout; as many as twenty died yesterday from exposure to the alternate heat of the day and the chills of the night.

No. 141.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received September* 29.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, September* 14, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte upon the state of affairs in this country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 141.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, September* 13, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that M. Béclard, the French Commissioner, and M. Novikow, the Commissioner for Russia, have arrived at Beyrout, the former yesterday, the latter this morning. M. Weckbecker, the Austrian Consul-General and Commissioner, being here already, it is only the absence of M. de Rehfues, the Representative of Prussia, that now delays the constitution of the Commission. This gentleman will arrive, I am told, in a week.

His Excellency Fuad Pasha, however, is anxious that some other person from Constantinople should appear on the part of Turkey, as he thinks that his own duties as Governor-General and Commander in-chief will render it inconvenient for him himself to attend our meetings. I do not know what view my

colleagues will take of this change of plan, but I have felt all along that the constant attendance of his Excellency at the sittings of the Commissioners would be almost impossible.

When his Excellency mentioned the subject to me, I merely observed that I thought it was a matter of great importance that Turkey should be represented by an able man, who would be capable of successfully advocating her interests, as it was expedient that any dispute which might arise should be decided within the bosom of the Commission itself, in order to avoid the appearance of any want of unanimity between himself and the Representatives of Europe.

The trial of Khoorshid Pasha commenced yesterday; that of Tahir Pasha is to be shortly instituted.

Yesterday, in alluding to these pending investigations, Fuad Pasha expressed to me with apparent sincerity, his determination not to flinch from his duty, however painful it might become.

In regard to the disturbances of the Lebanon, the following is Fuad Pasha's plan:—He has issued a proclamation, inviting all the Druse Chieftains to appear before him within five days, on the understanding that complete security shall be guaranteed to those who are able to clear themselves of all participation in the late atrocities. Against those who fail to appear judgment will go by default.

It is probable that the persons most compromised will decline to come. Their goods will then be declared sequestrated, and their persons outlawed. So far as it goes, this step would seem sufficiently judicious. An opportunity will be given to the innocent to separate themselves from their more guilty brethren before the impending storm bursts upon the Mountain, and the principle will be established that it is unjust to consider the whole Druse nation as having been implicated in the late disturbances.

Inclosure 2 in No. 141.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, September* 14, 1860.

FUAD PASHA has come to an understanding with M. de Beaufort respecting the movements of the French troops.

In a day or two, a portion of the Turkish army is to march a short distance into the interior, under General Kmety, for the purpose of occupying Deir-el-Kamar and other positions in the mixed districts of the Lebanon. It has been agreed that, shortly afterwards, detachments of French troops shall follow in their wake, and assist in patrolling the Mountain.

Of course, it is quite impossible for me to offer to your Excellency anything approaching to an opinion as to the character these military movements may eventually assume. Intelligence has reached me to-day that many of the Druse Chiefs are preparing to retire into the Hauran. Some may, probably, obey the summons of the Government, and surrender to take their trial. I can scarcely believe that any will attempt to make a stand in the Lebanon against the combined attack of the Turkish and French troops. Fuad Pasha expressed to me his hopes that the campaign would be confined to what he called "a military promenade." Whether the cordon of Arab tribes he has placed to the eastward of Mount Hermon for the purpose of intercepting the fugitive chiefs on their way to the Hauran will succeed in their endeavours is more problematical. Above all things, it is quite impossible to conjecture what eventualities may arise out of an endeavour on the part of the French troops to follow the Druses into their Eastern fastnesses, should it be decided that M. de Beaufort is to march in that direction.

No. 142.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received October* 1.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, September* 21, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of two despatches, of this date, with their inclosures, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte upon the progress of affairs in this country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 142.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, September* 21, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a nominal list of the persons forming the tribunal appointed to try Khoorshid Pasha.

Khoorshid Pasha's trial is still going on.

Inclosure 2 in No. 142.

Tribunal appointed to try Khoorshid Pasha.

President:—His Excellency Ahmed Pasha, Governor-General, late Governor of Smyrna.

Members:—1. Admiral Mustapha Pasha. Speaks English, educated at Sheerness, and has served on board English men-of-war.

2. The Mufti of the town of Beyrout, a Mussulman.

3. Abro Efendi, an Armenian Christian, an employé of Fuad Pasha.

4. Moharabji Hamid Bey, Mussulman Accountant for the province.

5. Colonel Humy Bey, alias Mr. O'Reilly, an Irishman. Has served under the late King of Sardinia and with the Hungarians.

This is a better Tribunal than the one erected at Damascus. Although not entitled, perhaps, to very much confidence, it might have been impossible to find among the subjects of the Porte the elements of a better one.

Inclosure 3 in No. 142.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, September* 21, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Excellency copy of a notification which has been addressed by the Government to the Damascene Christians who have fled to Beyrout for refuge to the number of 8,000 souls, inviting them to return to their city.

Yesterday a certain number of persons began to avail themselves of the facilities which have been afforded them for the journey. Others may possibly follow; I understand, however, that the great majority intend to wait until they receive from the Commissioners of the five Powers an unanimous recommendation to return.

I am as yet unable to say what may be the views of my colleagues on this subject; I confess that I myself am decidedly of opinion that these unfortunate persons should be encouraged to go back. Their presence in Beyrout is fraught with many evil consequences. The women and

girls become demoralised; the men acquire habits of idleness and mendicancy; and above all things it is to be feared lest, when the rain comes on, fever and ague should make terrible havoc among the unsheltered multitude.

Before leaving Damascus, I inquired most anxiously of every one capable of giving an opinion, whether any danger was to be apprehended of a second outbreak. Mr. Brant, our Consul; M. Outrey, the Consul of France; his Highness the Emir Abd-el-Kader; Mr. Robson, a Protestant Missionary; Mr. Mashalla and Mr. Frej, eminent native Christians; General Kmety and others, have all assured me that as long as Fuad Pasha is in Syria I need entertain no uneasiness on that score. Indeed, it seems to me that it is impossible to act at all, except on the supposition that his Excellency is capable of maintaining order at Damascus.

If this were not a certainty, it would be our duty not only to prevent every one from returning thither, but to warn every Christian soul within its walls to escape to the coast.

When, therefore, my private opinion was asked upon the matter, I did not hesitate to give it in the above sense.

M. Beclard is unwell, but I have been informed that he takes the same view of the matter.

In reference to this subject, I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency copy of a letter, with inclosure, I have addressed to Major Fraser at Damascus.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 142.

Notification.

(Translation.)

UNDER the auspices of His Imperial Majesty, lodging in certain quarters of Damascus has been provided for the Christians of Damascus after that outbreak which has now been suppressed. The Christians have occupied the dwellings so provided, and now not a single individual of them remains in the castle. There are at present in Damascus from eighty to ninety empty houses fit to be inhabited by families from amongst you who will return to their native place. As Damascus is at present under the shadow of His Imperial Majesty, and in the enjoyment of tranquillity and security, it is incumbent upon you to return to it; you will find there all that you require as regards lodging and subsistence.

In order to facilitate your return, and secure your comfort on the road, we have thought proper to assign 200 animals for each caravan that shall start for Damascus. Therefore, those of you that wish to return are to subscribe their names, and the number of mules they may require, at the office of the Relief Commission, in order that upon the requisite number being attained, animals may be given them at the expense of the Government, and a sufficient escort to accompany them.

His Excellency the Vali of Damascus will be written to in order that upon their arrival he should lodge them in the residences provided, and give them their appointed rations, for your allowances, after fifteen days from this date, will be distributed to you at Damascus, and not at Beyrout.

We have, therefore, issued this notification from the office of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and of the Extraordinary Special Commission to Syria.

Dated 1st Rebi-evel, 1277.

Inclosure 5 in No. 142.

Lord Dufferin to Major Fraser.

Sir, *Beyrout, September* 20, 1860.

IN consequence of the communication you have been good enough to make me respecting the annoyances to which the Christians of Damascus are still occasionally exposed, I have addressed to Abro Effendi a Memorandum, of which the accompanying paper is a copy.

I am happy to say that Abro Effendi has informed me, in reply, that his Excellency Fuad Pasha sent orders yesterday evening to Damascus, requiring the authorities to take immediate measures against the repetition of such irregularities.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 6 in No. 142.

Lord Dufferin to Abro Effendi.

Beyrout, September 19, 1860.

LORD DUFFERIN has the honour to inform Abro Effendi that he has just received intelligence from Major Fraser, at Damascus, that, since his Excellency Fuad Pasha's departure, the Christians in that city have been subjected to a certain amount of annoyance at the hands of the Moslem population.

Abro Effendi may rely on the accuracy of this information, as Major Fraser is a person by no means prone to exaggeration, and is particularly cautious in transmitting intelligence of the truth of which he is not certain.

That the Moslem population should take occasion to evince their ill-will towards their Christian citizens whenever they can do so with impunity, is, unhappily, to be expected. It might be impossible for even the most vigilant police to control every expression of animosity: at the same time, where it is so much in the interest of the Government to restore confidence and to engage the fugitive Damascenes to return to their city, it is absolutely necessary that extraordinary precautions should be taken against any exhibition of malevolence, however slight, on the part of the Moslem population; more especially as the slightest affront put by a Moslem on a Christian will be sure to give rise to a thousand exaggerations. No pains ought, therefore, to be spared in preventing the repetition of such acts as these to which Major Fraser alludes, and their commission ought to be punished with the greatest promptitude and severity.

In reply to an appeal which has been made to him for advice, Lord Dufferin has encouraged the Damascene Christians now at Beyrout to accept the invitation of the Government to return to their homes. It is, therefore, natural he should feel the greatest anxiety as to their future security, and he consequently ventures most earnestly to request that Abro Effendi would draw his Excellency's attention to this subject.

No. 143.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 6.)

(Extract.) *Therapia, September* 26, 1860.

IN reference to Lord Dufferin's proceedings and visit to Damascus, I have the satisfaction of saying, that he seems to have acted with the judgment and discretion which I anticipated from him. He in no wise urged Fuad Pasha to execute Achmet Pasha if he (Fuad Pasha) did not deem that officer deserved death; but Fuad considering him guilty, and he having been regularly tried and condemned, Lord Dufferin deemed it advisable (and I quite agree with him) that his execution should take

place forthwith, as the result of the deliberate judgment of an Ottoman authority, rather than at the demand of the Commission, which would otherwise have naturally made that demand.

No. 144.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received October* 6.)

My Lord, *Damascus, September* 20, 1860.

I MUST apologise to your Lordship for having lately discontinued my reports on passing events; I have been for some days so severely indisposed that I have been unable to write.

On Saturday, the 8th instant, a short time before Fuad Pasha's departure for Beyrout, Achmet Agha, the ex-Mushir, Ali Bey, Commander of the troops in the Christian quarter of Damascus at the time of the outbreak, Osman Bey, Colonel at Hasbeya, and Mohammed Ali Bey, the Bimbashi of Rasheya, were shot in the barrack square, the public not being admitted.

If it had not been for Lord Dufferin's arrival here, the execution of Achmet Agha might possibly have been delayed for some time further, as there did not seem much desire on the part of Fuad Pasha to hasten the execution of this man, who, had he done his duty, could easily have prevented the Damascus massacres.

I know little of what has been doing here since Fuad Pasha's departure; many fresh houses have been searched, in which plunder has been discovered, and some further arrests have been made.

All the Christians are now removed from the Castle into the houses in different Turkish quarters.

Yesterday morning at daybreak, nine persons found guilty of murder, were discovered by the inhabitants hanging in different parts of the city; among them was the murderer of the Rev. William Graham.

The Christians have by no means recovered confidence, and I understand that the general desire of the poor is to get away. They are often disturbed at night by their doors being assailed by stones, and although, when the guards are made aware of these attacks, they seize the assailants, yet the Christians experience great alarm, for it is usually where only one man or so resides among a number of women that these assaults are made.

The soldiers do not show a ready disposition to protect the Christians, and the latter seem quite afraid in the presence of a Moslem. I learn that some of these speak kindly to their Christian neighbours, and even assist them with the loan of cooking utensils and similar things; but in general, I believe, the feeling on the part of the Christian is dread or repugnance, and on the part of the Mussulman an angry sense of fancied wrong.

It will require a long period of tranquillity to restore a feeling of good neighbourhood between the sects, and indeed, in many cases, it is impossible that it can ever be re-established, especially where the losses of wives, children, and relatives have been great, and have occurred under painful circumstances.

The local authorities continue to supply a little money and bread, but the supply will not suffice when the cold and damp weather arrives; firing and warmer bedding and clothing must then be added.

Already sickness is extending, and there being no medical assistance for the sufferers, a great mortality may be anticipated. In short, the prospect of the approaching winter is sufficiently gloomy, and dearness of bread will, I fear, be added to the other causes of suffering.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

No. 145.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received October* 6.)

My Lord, *Damascus, September* 20, 1860.

IT would appear from what one hears from Beyrout, that an attack on the Druses is contemplated. Troops also are preparing to leave Damascus, they say two battalions and two guns for Hasbeya, whither Ismail Pasha (General Kmety) is reported to have directed his steps,—and an extra battalion to join Mustafa Pasha, in the Haurân. This is all I know at present. The Druses are themselves in great apprehension of an attack, and have been sending in Christians from the Haurân to endeavour to discover the intentions of the Turkish authorities in their regard.

The threatened outbreaks at Akka and Latakia show that the spirit of fanaticism is still as strong as ever, and that probably nothing but the occupation of Syria for a time by European troops will crush it out. It might be feared that if in one point it were to raise its head, and the local Government be too weak to put it down, a new outbreak would follow throughout Syria, and even beyond; for I do not think the Porte has sufficient troops at its command, and sufficiently energetic officers, to suppress a general outburst of fanaticism, to which the Mussulman population everywhere seem greatly disposed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

No. 146.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received October* 6.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, September* 23, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a narrative I have requested Mr. Robson to draw up for your Lordship's information of the circumstances under which the massacres of Damascus have occurred.

Mr. Robson is an Irish Presbyterian Missionary. He is a person of sober judgment and great intelligence. He has been a resident at Damascus for eighteen years; he speaks Arabic perfectly; and is naturally in a position to speak with very considerable authority on everything connected with the country.

His narrative, combined with that of Mr. Graham's, a copy of which I have already had the honour of transmitting to your Lordship, will form a trustworthy and connected history of the deplorable events which have deluged this province with human blood.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 146.

Memorandum.

FROM the commencement of the war between the Christians and the Druses in Lebanon, the Christians of Damascus were in the greatest alarm, for their Moslem fellow-citizens indulged constantly in very threatening and very insulting language towards them. Whenever they went into the bazaars or streets in the Moslem quarter of the city, men and boys applied offensive and degrading epithets to them and their religion, cursed them, and often spoke of a rising against them. The repeated successes of the Druses increased the insolence of the one party and the terror of the other. The murders of the Christians in Kinakir, known in the city on the 11th

of June; the massacres in Hasbeya and Rasheya; the outrages committed by the Moslems and Druses in villages in every direction in the surrounding country, and the sight of the wretched fugitives who flocked to the city for safety and food, to the number of 5,000 or 6,000, excited and emboldened the Moslems, and intensified the terrors of the Christians.

The impression began to prevail among all sects and classes that the Government itself desired and intended the destruction of the Christians. They were retained in the city only by the impossibility of escaping to any safe place. The fall of Zahleh, and the massacre in Deir-el-Kamar, added to the exultation of the Moslems, and rendered the panic of the Christians extreme and universal.

During all this time the Moslems became more assuming, insolent, and threatening; the insults heaped on the Christians more numerous, shameful, and alarming; while the Christians became more terrified, subdued, and cringing. They seemed to yield up at once all the rights and liberties which they had gained during the last twenty-seven years. They did not venture to ride any animal in the city; they ceased to resent any insult, or complain of any injury; they abstained from demanding payment of debts or enforcing claims against Moslems; they submitted in silence to impositions, and sometimes to assaults. To avoid the abuse to which they were exposed they ceased to frequent the cafés, the walks in the gardens, and other places of public resort, and almost abandoned their shops and business in the city. Few of them hoped that the approaching feast of the Kurban Beiram would pass without an attack on their quarter; and during the four days of the feast they confined themselves almost entirely to their houses and their own quarter.

The festival began on the 29th of June. On that day troops were stationed in the Christian quarter, and gave some encouragement to them. But they knew that the Imperial troops had been present at all the massacres of their brethren in the mountains, and that some of the officers and many of the men sent to their quarter had been themselves at those of Hasbeya and Rasheya; and the more they talked of these circumstances and reflected on them, the greater became their anxiety and their distrust of the soldiers.

The Beiram passed over, and they breathed a little more freely; but as the bearing of the Moslems did not become less insolent and hostile, and as Christians and Christianity were as much insulted as before, great anxiety and terror were still felt.

However, by Monday, 9th July, as nothing serious had happened in the city, and as there had been no further massacres elsewhere, the Christians had generally persuaded themselves that the danger which had distressed and terrified them so much and so long was nearly over.

It appears that some Moslems took pains to reassure them. On the previous evening, the now infamous Mustafa Bey-el-Hawasaly called on several of the principal Christians to persuade them that there was no longer any reason to fear, and that they might go to sleep with their doors open, and he would guarantee their perfect safety. On the 9th July, therefore, the poor Christians congratulated one another that they had escaped, and they generally returned, after a long intermission, to their usual occupations. The Government Clerks went to the Seraglio; the shopkeepers resumed their business; the tradesmen went to their work; the children were sent to school.

On that day the Pasha ordered two young Moslems to be put in irons for insulting Christians, and about 2 o'clock P.M. they were sent to sweep the streets. Immediately, as if this had been a preconcerted signal, the people in the principal bazars began to shut their shops, call on the religion of Mahommed, curse infidels, excite one another to arm and attack the Christians, and run together to the Christian quarter. Almost at the same moment the mob began to collect, arm, and run from the streets adjacent to the Christian quarter, the Shagur, a suburb on the south of the city, the Medân, a large suburb on the south-west, and a mile and a-half to two miles from the Christian quarter, and from Salehîyeh, a large suburban village two miles off. They encouraged and excited one another by calling on their religion and Prophet, by imprecations on the infidels,

and by crying, "Arm, arm! kill, plunder, burn; the time of slaughter has come, the sun of slaughter has arisen!" and by similar expressions.

The women also stimulated the men by their cries and curses, and their prayers for success and victory. At first they were afraid of the troops, and avoided the places where they were stationed, but they soon found that they had nothing to fear from them. The Bashi-Bozouks of Salim Agha-el-Muhaïneh, Mustafa Bey-el-Hawasaly, and others, the Kurdish Irregulars under Muhammed Said Agha, and the Zaptiehs or police, were among the earliest and the most active in the work of murder and plunder. Many of the Bashi-Bozouks, as those under Hawâsaly, had been specially enrolled to preserve the peace of the city during the excitement. The people of the city were gradually joined during Monday evening and Tuesday by Druses from the Medân and from Jermana, a Druse village two miles from the city, and by Moslem peasants from several of the surrounding villages. But no Druse Chief nor any regular Druse force from a distance took part in the affair.

The mob, with the exception of the Bashi-Bozouks, were very ill armed. Only a few had muskets, some had pistols, some had swords, a great number had battle-axes or daggers, but the great majority had only clubs or sticks. Perhaps not more than one in twenty had a gun, and many of the guns were of little value.

If the Bashi-Bozouks and Zaptiehs had done their duty the insurrection would have been put down at once; if they had only abstained from interfering no great effort would have been necessary to quell the mob. As it was the troops, if they had acted with any vigour, would probably have encountered little opposition even from the Bashi-Bozouks.

The Christians made no defence. It is said that a Greek fired some shots on the mob, and that shots were fired from two houses by natives. With these exceptions no resistance was offered to the murderers. The Christians were almost without arms. A few young men had fowling-pieces, and some few had pistols, but there was perhaps not a sword or axe among them.

The Russian Consulate, in the centre of the Christian quarter, was one of the first houses attacked, plundered, and set on fire. His dragoman was killed. Two of his servants escaped by hiding in a cellar, where, though the house was burned over them, they remained four days without food or drink. Among the houses first broken into were those of the Dutch and Belgian Vice-Consul, the United States' Vice-Consul, and Mr. Frazier, an American missionary. The first of these had escaped with his family before the house was attacked. Mr. Frazier and his family had gone from the city before the outbreak. The American Vice-Consul was very severely wounded, and escaped with great difficulty. His two eldest sons were not in the house; his whole family were scattered, and it was several days before they were reunited. The houses of the richer Christians were all early assaulted; the mob being attracted by the prospect of rich plunder. Then the houses adjoining them were attacked, and so the plundering, murder, conflagration and ruin spread more and more. The Greek Church and Patriarchate afforded plunder of great value in church ornament and plate, the rich dresses of the clergy, the patriarch's plate, and the money in the treasury.

It was guarded by soldiers on the day of the outbreak till after sunset, when it was broken into, rifled and burned, and a large number of persons were murdered in it.

The course of proceeding was generally the same. The mob broke the door of the house with axes, rushed in, sought first for the men, murdered any they could find with clubs, sticks, axes, daggers, swords, and using sometimes fire-arms also. Then they plundered the house of furniture, clothes, stores of food, the materials of trades, and everything in it, searching carefully for money or valuables which might be concealed, and threatening and terrifying the women and children to make them tell where the men were, and if anything was hidden. They searched the women lest they might have ornaments or money concealed in their clothes, and they generally took away any articles of dress of any value which the women or children happened to have on. They very generally seized the young girls and the younger women in the house, and often

took them off and kept them for a time. Finally the house was set on fire.

The better armed, the more respectable, and the more bold and violent of the murderers generally appropriated to themselves the more valuable articles in the house, and then left it for another. But they were followed by successive parties of the lower rabble, the unarmed, the poor, the weak, the women, and even children, and they stripped the house of all that remained. Not only the contents of the house, but doors, windows, window-shutters, and the panelling on the walls, were carried off. Even firewood, charcoal, the marble of the floors, and the timber of the roofs, were in many cases taken away. Besides what men, women, and children carried away, camels, horses, mules, and donkeys were employed to remove plunder.

At the moment of the outbreak a great number of merchants, shop-keepers, Government clerks, the clerks of the Moslem merchants, and some tradesmen, as stone-cutters and masons, were at their business in the Moslem part of the city. When the mob began to collect a part of these attempted to reach their houses, some with a feeble hope of assisting their families, and some because they knew of no other place of safety: some succeeded in getting to their homes, and some were killed in the streets. Another part fled to the English, French, and Prussian Consulates, to the house of the Emir Abd-el-Kader, or to the houses of Moslem partners or acquaintances, often, in their terror and despair, forcing themselves into houses where they were little welcome. Others concealed themselves in the khans in which or near to which they happened to be at the moment, and they were generally conducted to the old citadel next day by the troops. Had all the men been in the Christian quarter and in their own houses, as they were during the Beiram, the slaughter of the Christians would have been greater than it was, perhaps much greater.

Of the men who were in the houses or in the Christian quarter some fled to the churches, to the Austrian Consulate, or to the houses of their richer neighbours; but none of these places afforded safety. Many hid in closets, necessaries, or cellars, or on the roofs of the houses, and they were almost all discovered and most of them murdered. A number of them went down into the wells, and though a deep and narrow well, was a difficult, unpleasant, and dangerous hiding-place, nearly all those who went down into them were saved, and were taken out after remaining three, four, or five days, without food, and enduring all the inconveniences of such a retreat. A few escaped by passing over the roofs from house to house, and hiding at last among the ruins of houses already plundered and burned. A few got out of the city, but of these the peasants afterwards killed some and compelled others to become Moslems. Every possible expedient for concealment or flight was adopted. A few disguised themselves as women, but they were generally detected. A few also took off their outer clothes, assumed the appearance of rioters, and went off carrying furniture as if they were plunderers. Some fled from one Moslem house to another by day and by night, and though many perished in doing so, a good many finally reached a place of safety. In such perplexity, terror, and danger, and amid such scenes of plunder, outrage, murder, and fire, did those saved make their escape. To the fears which every one had for himself was added anxiety about the fate of his family and friends. Of the 2,000 families of Damascenes involved in the massacre hardly one family escaped all together and reached a place of safety without being separated. Generally one member of the family did not know what had happened to the others, and days passed before the survivors all met again.

From about 2 o'clock P.M. on the 9th of July, the plundering and burning of houses, the murders, and the outrages committed on women, went on incessantly till about two hours after sunset. During most of that time several thousands of rioters were actively engaged. The most valuable part of the plunder was secured and the murders were very numerous. Most of the mob retired from the Christian quarter during the night, but many remained, and the work of destruction never entirely ceased. The fire was by that time extensively spread, and several hundred houses must have been in flames. At daylight next morning the Moslems

returned to the Christian quarter in as great numbers as on the previous afternoon, and the plundering, burning, and murder went on throughout the day, diminishing, however, towards the evening, because little remained to be attacked. On this day almost all of the shops of the Christians in the principal bazaars were broken open and plundered. By sunset there was nothing left to the Christians but the stones and fragments of the timber of burning houses, and a few houses and rooms which the flames had not yet reached, and there remained no Christians in the quarter except those who were effectually concealed in the wells or amid the ruins of the houses.

On Wednesday morning a false and very improbable report was spread, that some Christians had fired from a Moslem's house on Moslems in the street, and killed two of them. The object of this report was soon evident from what followed. A mob of Moslems from Salehîyeh brought, it is said, by Sheik Abdullah-el-Haleby, under pretence of putting out the fire, commenced a new and very horrid work, in which others soon joined them. They went round the different quarters in which Christians had taken refuge, demanded that they should be given up, and either killed them as soon as they appeared in the street, and dragged their bodies to the Christian quarter, or first conducted them alive to the ruins, and killed them there. The number massacred in this brutal and shocking way, after their property and houses were destroyed, and after that they had hoped that the bitterness of death was passed, it is impossible to ascertain with any exactness, unless the Government were to institute a *bonâ fide* and rigid investigation in the districts of the city which were the scenes of these horrible murders. But it is certain that several hundred of those who vainly hoped that they had found a refuge, perished on that day, and that very few of those in private houses escaped, except such as consented to embrace Mahometanism.

After that day, Wednesday, the 11th July, there were only a few murders, because no Christians remained within reach of the murderers. Doors, timber, and marble were carried off from the ruins, but not to any great extent. The fire continued till the beginning of the following week, when it almost ceased for want of materials, though for some ten days longer it was partially maintained by setting on fire any portions of houses which here and there remained. The houses in Damascus, and especially the poor houses, owing to the way in which they are built, do not readily burn. Accidental fires are very rare, and almost all originate in the establishments of cooks or bakers—seldom in private houses. As there was a perfect calm during the massacre, the fire would have gone out of itself without spreading far if it had not been constantly kept up by setting fire to additional houses.

The work of the plunderers was complete. Nothing to be found in the Christian quarter was left if it seemed worth carrying away. Many had concealed some of their more valuable effects under the floors or in secret recesses, closets, presses, or holes in the wall, or by throwing them into wells; most of what was thrown into wells was preserved, but almost everything else was discovered and taken away. The shops in the bazaars were plundered, but the khans were not attacked, and the property which Christians had in them was not disturbed. The Consulates of England, France, and Prussia, owing to their situation in the Moslem quarter, to their being guarded, and to other special circumstances, were not plundered. Besides these, a house in the Moslem quarter in which an Englishman lived, escaped.

About 1,500 houses were robbed; one private and unguarded house was left untouched. Some 200 houses adjacent to or among Moslem houses were plundered and greatly injured, but not burned. All the rest of the quarter, to the number of 1,200 or 1,300 houses, with all the churches, schools, convents, workshops, and khans, is now heaps of ruins. In many places, in pulling down walls and cutting down ornamental trees, there are traces of laborious efforts to destroy even what the fire spared. The lowest and perhaps the most accurate estimate of the loss of property is between 300,000 and 400,000 purses, equivalent to 1,250,000*l.* to 1,500,000*l.* To this might well be added the loss resulting from the

compulsory idleness of the whole Christian population while the settlement of affairs is pending.

The number of persons murdered will never be exactly ascertained. Of hundreds, it is only known that they disappeared. The survivors are so scattered, and so occupied with other cares and anxieties, that it would be almost impossible to make an accurate list of the missing. An estimate may be made of the number of males in Damascus on the day of the insurrection, and of the probable proportion which the murdered bore to the survivors. The number of Christian males resident in the city were about 8,000 to 9,000, and of refugees from the surrounding country from 2,000 to 3,000. Thus the whole number of males would be between 10,000 and 12,000, and of this one-third may be deducted for children under fourteen years of age. Of the remaining 7,500 to 8,000, probably more than a third, or about 3,000, were murdered. This is the lowest estimate yet given, but it is perhaps within a few hundreds of the truth.

But it is difficult to speak with confidence, for there was great diversity in the fate of families and sects. The proportion of murders was greater among the members of the Greek Church than among those of any other sects, for their houses were exposed to the first attack of the mob. Many families did not lose a member; many lost every adult male. In the house next to the Russian Consulate on the north, the father and his three sons were murdered, the women were abused, and the house was, as usual, plundered and burned. Four brothers who lived together abandoned their house before it was attacked, and were separated in the streets; the two elder were murdered, the two younger escaped. Two men lived in one house; one went down into the well and was saved, the other hid on the roof, and was killed. In another house, where four unmarried working men lived, two of them were killed, and the other two were badly wounded and left for dead. In the Protestant Church four men and several women took refuge. One of the men was disguised as a woman and escaped from the church, but was wounded in the street; the other three concealed themselves, but were discovered, and two of them were killed. Some thirty men were murdered in the house of a Greek priest. In the house of a working man, who was in Beyrout at the time, eleven of his neighbours were killed in the presence of his wife. In the premises of the Greek Church and Patriarchate there were several hundred refugees from Rasheya, and many Christians from the adjoining houses. The mob broke in after sunset of the first day of the insurrection, and the slaughter, both of citizens and strangers, was very great. There was a large number of the refugees in houses connected with the Armenian convent, and there also a great number were murdered. In the streets and houses near the house of Mustufa Bey el-Hawasaly, a great many dead bodies were left. The Franciscan monks were all killed. The Lazarists were saved by the Emir Abd-el-Kader. About thirty ministers of religion, including the Franciscan and a Protestant missionary, were killed. Of the native priests only five or six escaped.

It was not out of pity that the murderers spared the children. Had it been so they would, probably, not have butchered old feeble men as helpless as children. It is a doctrine of Mahometanism, founded on a saying of the Prophet, and held by all Sunnites, that every child is from birth a believer in Islam, the true religion, and that unbelieving parents make it, as it grows up, a Jew, or a Christian, or an idolater, as the case may be. Children, therefore, being Moslems, it is unlawful to kill them; but it was doubtless intended to take possession of them and bring them up as Moslems. Several children who have been restored to their parents were circumcised.

Unlike the Druses, who generally respected the women, the Mahometans of Damascus acted most brutally towards them. The number of young girls, and of married women and mothers, abused by them, was, perhaps, greater than that of the men murdered. A great number were taken to houses in the town, or to the villages, and even to remote villages, and were kept, some for days and some for weeks, before they were allowed to return to their families. There was great diversity in the treatment to which those taken away were subjected.

Hundreds professed Mahometanism, during the massacre, in the hope of saving their lives, but hardly any of them were spared by the mob. Many, however, of those who found a precarious refuge in the houses of Moslems, and became Mahometans to avoid being killed or delivered up to the mob, were spared. Most of these involuntary apostates were only inspired with a greater dread and abhorrence of the persecutors and their religion, and took the first opportunity of leaving Damascus to seek a place where they might venture to abjure their forced conversion.

Only a very few remain in the city and seem disposed to adhere to their new profession. In the villages of the surrounding country also a very considerable number have been forced to abjure Christianity and embrace Mahometanism.

It is manifest that the design of the rioters was to exterminate the adult male population, take possession of the women and compel them to apostatize, bring up the children as Mahometans, and destroy the Christian quarter utterly and for ever.

The mob believed that all this was sanctioned by the views of the officers of Government, the chief men of the city, and the heads of religion, and that it was permitted, if not required, by their religion. As long as Jews and Christians submit to the Moslem authorities, and pay their taxes, they are entitled to protection for their lives, their women and children, and their property, even if they resist or rebel against their Sovereign. Recent authorities teach that a Frank, even if not submitting to the authority of the Moslem Sovereign, nor paying the taxes imposed on infidels, yet, if allowed to live peaceably among Moslems for a time, becomes thereby virtually entitled to protection; and it is unlawful and contrary to the Mahometan religion to kill him, or seize his property, or take away his wife or children. Yet, in opposition to these principles, the Mahometans of Damascus had come to believe that the Christians, by taking advantage of the privileges and liberties conceded to them during the last thirty years, had placed them in a state of disobedience and rebellion, and forfeited their right to security and protection; and that it was, therefore, lawful to kill and rob them, and carry off their women and children.

This belief that what they did was according to their law and religion, and agreeable to the wishes of their superiors, palliates, so far, the monstrous crimes of the mob, but casts a weightier responsibility and guilt on the influential teachers and guides who disseminated such ideas among the common people, and on the Government, which did nothing to correct the erroneous impressions as to its views and designs, which were so widely circulated and believed.

The Emir Abd-el-Kader did his utmost, from the commencement of the excitement, to inculcate right views; and it is said that one Sheik earnestly adopted a similar course. But it is not known that the Mufti or Sheik Abdullah-el-Haleby, the most venerated of the Ulema, or any others of that body, or of the influential people, assisted them. Rumour ascribes to them a very different course of conduct.

On the day of the outbreak, Colonel Ali Bey was in command of the troops in the Christian quarter, and actually refused to act against the mob. Another officer, Colonel Salih Ziky, without orders, made some of the troops fire on the rioters, and he also fired a gun, once or oftener. One or two persons were killed, and some wounded. When the troops fired, the mob fell back, and not the slightest symptom of resistance to the troops was shown.

This partial and feeble effort soon ceased. After sunset the troops were collected in one place, and remained till 1 or 2 o'clock on Tuesday morning, when they marched to the barracks. Not a sentinel was left in the Christian quarter. On subsequent days, a few of the troops were employed to conduct some Christians from khans and other hiding-places to the citadel.

No. 147.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received October* 6.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, September* 23, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte upon the progress of affairs in this country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 147.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, September* 21, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that since the publication of the notice alluded to in my despatch of the 13th instant, summoning the Druse Chiefs to appear by a certain day before his Excellency Fuad Pasha to answer for their conduct, repeated applications have been made, in an indirect manner, by Said Bey Jumblat, the most important of the Druse Magnates, to Mr. Moore and myself, urging us to afford him some assurance of safety, should he surrender to take his trial.

To all applications of this nature Mr. Moore and myself have agreed to give an absolute refusal.

We have felt that the only assurance we could give would be, that justice should be done, and that his safety must depend upon his innocence.

It is probable, however, that if a message of this description were sent to him, he would misinterpret it into a cautious intimation that he might count upon English influence to secure his acquittal.

Before the fall of Zahleh, Mr. Moore enjoined Said Bey, on behalf of the English Government, to interfere, and to prevent the effusion of more Christian blood. There is little doubt but that, had he chosen, he might have prevented the catastrophe. He turned a deaf ear to all remonstrances, and the place was lost.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Moore and myself have agreed to refuse to have any communications with him whatever, and to leave it to his own discretion whether to surrender or to fly.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 147.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, September* 23, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that yesterday twelve Druse Chiefs came in from the mountains. I beg to subjoin a list of their names :—

The Emir Mohammed Raslan, Kaimakam of the Druses; Emir Mulhim Raslan; Selim Bek Jumblat; Sheikh Asad Amâd; Kasim Bek Abu Neked; Sheikh Hosein Talhûk; Yusef Abd el Melek: Faur Abd el Melek; Kasam Hasan ed Din; Othman Bek Abu Elwîn; Sheikh Temal èd dîn Hamdan.

This morning I was paying a visit to Fuad Pasha in his tent, when a person came and whispered something in his ear. His Excellency turned round, and informed me that Said Bey Jumblat was waiting outside to learn his pleasure.

The other Druse Chiefs, since their arrival, have been merely kept under a kind of surveillance.

His Excellency intimated to me that now he intended to summon

them before the Council, at which he himself would preside, and that probably it would be decided to secure their persons.

This I am informed has been subsequently done, and all those I have mentioned are now under confinement in the Serail.

I have not been able to ascertain before what tribunal the accused are to be arraigned, nor am I aware whether the European Commissioners will be in a position to secure their respective cases an impartial investigation.

The contemplation of the circumstances under which those accused of complicity in the late disturbances—whether at Damascus or in the Lebanon—are tried, gives rises to many painful reflections. It seems impossible to constitute a tribunal, composed of subjects of the Porte, capable of inspiring with confidence either the accuser or accused.

When those designated for trial by public opinion are declared guilty, the disagreeable conviction forces itself upon one, that though the verdict may be just, its relation to the crime is almost accidental. The Turkish authorities are aware that Europe requires satisfaction for what has occurred, that a certain amount of punishment must take place, and that the reputation of the Porte must be cleansed in the blood of the guilty.

The tribunal acts under pressure; the defendant considers himself a victim surrendered to a political exigency; the plaintiff feels that it is rather a politic propitiation that has been made than that the ends of justice have been satisfied.

The better nature of every one revolts against such blundering jurisprudence.

In the case of the Druse Chiefs it is particularly necessary that those who judge them should be persons who have not only the will to decide impartially, but the intelligence to discriminate sagaciously.

The number of lies which will be ratified by the most solemn oaths will probably be enormous, the mass of conflicting testimony considerable, the distinctions to be drawn extremely subtle. I hardly think a native tribunal will have either the patience, the conscientiousness, or the freedom of opinion necessary to deal with the cases brought before them.

I do not know whether the Commission will consider itself empowered to interfere. It would, however, be fortunate if its wisdom could discover a remedy for this crying evil.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 147.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, September* 23, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that during the past week I have had several interviews with his Excellency Fuad Pasha.

During the course of our conversation his Excellency has been good enough to favour me with a somewhat detailed exposition of the plan he proposes to follow in dealing with the Druses of Mount Lebanon.

As I had the honour to inform your Excellency in my despatch of the 13th instant, Fuad Pasha has already commenced operations by issuing a Proclamation, summoning the Druse Chiefs to appear before him under pain of judgment going against them by default should they refuse to come.

As soon as the given days of grace shall have expired, his Excellency will issue a Decree, copy of which I have the honour to inclose, attainting the persons, forfeiting the honours, titles, offices, and sequestering the entire property of all the Chiefs, whose disobedience to his requisition will have been considered presumptive evidence of their guilt.

His Excellency will then give orders for the military occupation of the Lebanon by 5,000 troops under General Kmety, Sayda having been selected as the base of his operations.

A corresponding movement will be made by a portion of the Damascus army, who will take up a position in the neighbourhood of Hasbeya and Rasheya, under the western slopes of Mount Hermon, while the Arab tribes I have mentioned in the despatch already alluded to, will lay along the frontiers of the Hauran, for the purpose of intercepting the fugitives who may attempt to escape towards the Ledjah.

Inclosure 4 in No. 147.

Notification.

CONFORMEMENT à la volonté de Sa Majesté le Sultan la justice devant être exercée par un jugement impartial à l'égard de ceux qui ont trempé dans les événements regrettables qui ont eu lieu dernièrement dans le Mont Liban, une sommation générale a été adressée à tous les Chefs des Druses et Chrétiens de la Montagne afin qu'une enquête fût exercée et un jugement fût porté sur la source et les circonstances particulières qui ont amené cette guerre civile. Par cette sommation il a été déclaré que ceux qui ne feraient pas acte de présence à Beyrout dans le délai fixé seraient considérés comme ayant avoué et reconnu leur propre culpabilité, et qu'en conséquence ils seraient passibles des peines prévues par la loi.

Plusieurs Chefs Druses ne se sont pas rendus à cet appel. Or, quelques uns d'entre eux sont accusés d'être auteurs ou provocateurs de soulèvements, quelques autres comme étant coupables de crimes et délits civils, et la plupart de ces Sheiks se sont déclarés accusés par devant l'autorité Impériale et le droit civil comme auteurs et provocateurs de soulèvements, et coupables de crimes et délits civils, et comme ayant méconnu tous les devoirs que leur imposait leur qualité de Mokataji chargés de maintenir la tranquillité publique.

Tous ceux qui dans les Etats du Sultan excitent une population contre l'autre et provoquent des meurtres, ainsi que ceux qui y participent par des crimes ou délits civils, étant passibles des peines portées dans le Code Pénal, et les Chefs Druses ci-dessus mentionnés s'étant constitués coupables d'eux-mêmes par leur refus de se rendre à l'appel qui leur a été fait, la Mission Plénipotentiaire et Extraordinaire chargée de pacifier la Syrie arrête ce qui suit :—

1. Les grades et les titres des Chefs susdits sont abolis.

2. Leurs charges de Mokataji et les autres fonctions officielles qu'ils occupent sont éliminées.

3. Tous leurs biens, meubles et immeubles, sont séquestrés par l'Etat jusqu'à ce qu'il en soit disposé plus tard conformément aux ordres de Sa Majesté le Sultan.

4. Le degré de culpabilité des accusés et la peine dont ils sont passibles seront établis et arrêtés par le Tribunal Extraordinaire déjà institué à Beyrout, qui instruira le procès de ces indvidus et les condammera par contumace. L'exécution des sentences ainsi prononcées aura lieu au fur et à mesure que les condamnés tomberont entre les mains de la justice ; il est cependant réservé aux condamnés le droit de venir en personne se justifier devant ce tribunal.

5. Ceux qui ne sont accusés d'aucun crime ou délit civil ont leur vie et leurs biens garantis, et ceux qui auront protégé des Chrétiens lors des événements seront dûment recompensés.

6. La Kaimakamie Druse est provisoirement divisée en quatre cercles. Chacun de ces cercles est confié à un Commandant de troupes suffisant à établir les réfugiés Chrétiens dans leurs foyers, à maintenir leur sécurité, et à administrer en général le territoire de cette Kaimakamie.

(Translation.)

IN conformity to the wish of His Majesty the Sultan that justice should be administered by an impartial trial of those who participated in

the deplorable events which have lately taken place in the Lebanon, a general summons has been addressed to all the Druse and Christian Chiefs of the Mountain, in order that inquiry should be made and judgment given as to the source and the peculiar circumstances which brought on this civil war. By this summons it has been declared that those who do not appear at Beyrout within a certain time will be considered as having acknowledged and confessed their guilt, and that in consequence they will be liable to be punished according to the law.

Several Druse Chiefs did not appear at this summons. Some of them were accused of being the authors or promoters of disturbances; others of being guilty of crimes and civil offences; and most of these Sheikhs were declared accused before the Imperial authority and the civil law of being authors and promoters of disturbances, and guilty of crimes and offences, and of having neglected all the duties which, in their position of Mokataji, charged with preserving public order, were imposed upon them.

All those who in the territory of the Sultan excite one population against another, and promote murders, as well as those who participate by crimes and offences, being liable to be punished according to the Penal Code; and the Druse Chiefs above-mentioned having shown themselves guilty by their refusal to appear at the summons sent to them, the Mission Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary, charged with the pacification of Syria, has resolved on what follows:—

1. The ranks and titles of the above-mentioned Chiefs are abolished.

2. Their duties as Mokataji, and the other official functions which they held, are struck out.

3. All their property, personal and real, is sequestrated by the State, until it shall be hereafter disposed of by order of His Majesty the Sultan.

4. The degree of crime of those accused, and the punishment to which they are liable, will be decided on and settled by the Extraordinary Tribunal already established at Beyrout, which will try these persons and condemn them by default. The execution of the sentences thus pronounced will take place as fast as the condemned fall into the hands of justice; the condemned are, nevertheless, allowed to come in person and defend themselves before the Tribunal.

5. Those who are accused of no crime or offence have their lives and properties guaranteed, and any who protected the Christians at the time of the massacres will be duly rewarded.

6. The Druse Kaimakamship is provisionally divided into four divisions. Each of these divisions is placed under the charge of a commander of troops competent to establish the fugitive Christians in their homes, to maintain their security, and to govern generally the territory of this Kaimakamship.

Inclosure 5 in No. 147.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, September* 24, 1860.

IN accordance with the plan indicated in my last despatch dated the 14th instant, his Excellency Fuad Pasha and General Kmety sail to-night for Sayda, at which place a certain number of Turkish troops are already concentrated. The expedition will then march, with the greatest dispatch, into the interior.

A few days later a concerted movement will be made by a column of 3,000 French troops in the direction of Deir-el-Kamar.

The Christian refugees will be invited to return to their homes, and the pacification of the Lebanon will be commenced.

I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency copy of a Notification issued by his Excellency Fuad Pasha, for the purpose of inducing the uncompromised Druse natives to remain in their villages. I hear that the whole nation is struck with terror. The execution of Achmet Pasha and his field-officers has had, I believe, a greater effect in the Mountain than

even at Damascus, where the Syrian population naturally looks with indifference on the misfortunes of their Turkish masters.

A report has arrived, this evening, that 200 Druses have been already killed in endeavouring to force a passage through the line of Turkish troops stationed to intercept their retreat to the Hauran.

Inclosure 6 in No. 147.

Notification.

(Translation.)

IT has been understood that a portion of the Druses inhabiting the villages have given way to terror, in the apprehension that they were about to meet with punishment on the part of the authorities, without exception or distinction, and are therefore thinking of leaving their homes and dispersing. It is true that, in consequence of the late painful events which have occurred in Mount Lebanon, punishment will be inflicted on those who caused these disturbances, and are accused of personal participation in crime; and that these will be punished, after trial, in proportion to the magnitude of their crimes, according to justice: but this circumstance should not compel all the inhabitants to quit their homes, as nothing will happen to a single individual in contravention to justice and equity; and those who conducted themselves well during the disturbances, and protected the Christians, who are their fellow-countrymen, and served the Government and the cause of humanity, will be duly rewarded. Therefore they should occupy themselves with their business and avocations, relying on the justice of the Imperial Government.

We have consequently issued this Notification from the office of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and of the Special Extraordinary Commission for the Affairs of Syria, in order that all may know that which precedes.

Dated this 3rd Rebi-evel, 1277.

No. 148.

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received October* 6.)

My Lord, *Damascus, September* 21, 1860.

HER Majesty's Commissioner, Lord Dufferin, having been present at Damascus during the execution of Achmet Pasha and the three field officers inculpated at Hasbeya, Rasheya, and Damascus, I did not make a report on that occasion in deference to his Lordship's expressed intention of doing so. The effect of these executions on the public mind, however, was not at once perceptible. I regret to state that this now appears to have been very slight indeed, a result which I principally attribute to their having taken place in an inclosed yard, and, so far as regarded the inhabitants, in a manner entirely private.

On the 21st August, the day following the first executions, I had personally represented to his Excellency Fuad Pasha the necessity for greater publicity on all future occasions, with a view of producing the most serious impression possible on the population: a representation which I had the honour to bring under your Lordship's notice in my report of the 23rd August. This course, which seemed so imperatively demanded by the exceptional nature of the case, has not however been adopted, and the evil effects of a contrary one are now to be found in the tales current among some Moslems, to the effect that Achmet Pasha was not really shot on that occasion, but, after a certain pantomime, accompanied Fuad Pasha's party the same night to Beyrout; tales which, however incredible in themselves, yet indicate the doubt left in the minds of some by such a mode of proceeding, and the consequent failure, as regards those individuals at least, of the effect intended to be produced.

Since the departure of Fuad Pasha for Beyrout on the 8th instant there has been little show of vigour on the part of the local authorities.

Within the last five days, however, renewed action is visible, and 500 conscripts with a few convicts have been forwarded to Constantinople. During the last two days 200 additional conscripts have been levied, making in all nearly 2,000 taken up to the present time. Exemption has been granted to those who choose to pay 20,000 piastres (180*l.* sterling) per man, and about forty are said to have taken advantage of this privilege; additional men being taken in their room. The system is one liable to much abuse in the hands of unscrupulous employés.

On the 18th instant nine persons were hanged, criminals long since condemned as murderers, but for some unexplained reason reserved until now. They were all of the lower class, and may be designated as follows:—three Druses, two Koords, two Cavasses (Janissaries) of the Prussian Consulate, one man from Hamah, and a barber of Damascus, the latter stating that he was the murderer of the Rev. William Graham, a Protestant Missionary of Damascus. This statement requires confirmation, however, as it was only made after condemnation for other crimes; and there is reason to suspect that the confession was intended to screen the supposed murderer, for whom search is now being made. Of these nine culprits only five belonged to the city itself, so that, together with about forty of the fifty-six hanged on the 20th August, not above fifty of the ordinary inhabitants of the city have yet been executed for murder. The others condemned belonged either to the police force or irregular troops, and with very few exceptions were executed not for murder but for pillage, with arms in hand. Yet in a quarter of the city, where some 500 persons are calculated to have been engaged in the massacre, only about ten have yet been executed. The Christians insist there ought to be no difficulty in discovering the guilty if the Chiefs of the quarters (Mukhtars) be made to do their duty.

No judgment has yet been passed against the persons of position arrested a month ago, and described in my despatch of August 23rd, on the plea of want of sufficient evidence; indeed, the great body of criminals, both high and low, appears hitherto to have escaped punishment, nor can I learn that any adequate steps are being taken to discover or secure them. The criminal processes, slow during Fuad Pasha's presence here, seem as if about to cease entirely now. The necessity for a stern and signal lesson is nearly as great as ever, in consequence of the dilatory and inefficient mode in which the investigations and executions have hitherto been conducted; and I feel constrained to say that I have no hope of effectual steps being taken for the prompt administration of justice, and the consequent re-establishment of confidence and security, until some influential European element be added, directly or indirectly, to the Ottoman Commission hitherto charged with these duties.

The remaining Christians, under 5,000 in number, have now entirely evacuated the Castle, and are sheltered in the empty houses provided for them by the Government. I have within the last three days visited a large proportion of them, and regret to say that their condition is far from being what could be desired. Disease, chiefly fever and ague, prevails extensively. Steps are being taken to provide for their most pressing wants from the funds placed at Mr. Brant's disposal by the Syrian Relief Committee; but they are yet panic-stricken, and inclined to despair. They say those around them have only too cruelly proved their intense hatred and treachery, and they fear a renewal of such acts should war or any similar disturbing influence arise. They are now alarmed by the movement of troops from the city, although an ample garrison (5,000 men) yet remains, and desire to get away, without caring where. In their simple and affecting language they add, "Our hearts are burned up; we are strangers in the place of our birth; why should we stay? Let us go." I have visited them personally, encouraging and assuring them of safety, but have not yet succeeded in restoring their confidence; this can only be effected by time, and by vigorous retributive and protective measures on the part of the Local Government.

Military dispositions preparatory to operations against the Druses, should such prove necessary, are now being made. About 2,000 men, including Irregulars, have been sent into the Hauran, and 3,000 Regulars,

with 300 Koordish Cavalry and two guns, are leaving the city to-day for Hasbeya, accompanied by the Seraskier Helim Pasha. My original intention had been to join the force in the field, particularly if accompanied by his Excellency Fuad Pasha; but in view of the probable absence of Mr. Brant from Damascus, I propose to consult with Lord Dufferin before quitting my present station.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER.

No. 149.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, October* 8, 1860.

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatch of the 14th ultimo, and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve of the Reports upon the affairs of Syria which you addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople on the 13th and 14th of September.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 150.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received October* 11.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, September* 29, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch of this day's date, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, relative to the steps taken to procure the recovery of bedding carried off by the Druses, and respecting the pecuniary difficulties of the Turkish authorities in administering the government of the province.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 150.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, September* 29, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that on Tuesday evening, the 25th instant, the Rev. Dr. Thompson, a leading member of the Anglo-American Relief Committee, came to me for the purpose of making a very strong representation on the terrible mortality which must be expected to take place among the refugee Christan population if no steps are taken to recover the bedding, of which, together with everything else, they have been despoiled by the Druses. It would seem that in consequence of the peculiar nature of the climate, which is subject in autumn and winter time to rapid changes of temperature, a sufficient amount of bedding and night covering is one of the greatest necessities of life to the inhabitants of the Lebanon. No matter how destitute a family may be in other respects they will be sure to be abundantly supplied in this particular: deprived of this they cannot exist. Unfortunately bedding is the one thing with which it will be impossible for the Relief Committee to supply them. Food, clothes, money, they can give; but as to bedding, neither the materials out of which it is made, nor the hands to make it, are to be found. Yet if it is not procured, and that very speedily, the people will die. The nights are becoming rapidly colder, and already the women and children are crying out for covering.

Under these circumstances Dr. Thompson came to me to inquire

whether I could not induce Fuad Pasha to insist upon the Druses immediately surrendering all the property of this description which they had stolen, to the amount of at least 40,000 beds and coverlets.

On the morning of the day on which Dr. Thompson made me this important communication, Abro Efendi, the gentleman whom Fuad Pasha has appointed to represent him during his absence from Beyrout, had informed me that he was entirely destitute of funds, that he had vainly endeavoured to effect a loan, and that unless money was forthcoming within eight-and-forty hours he should be obliged to stop the daily rations the Government was serving out to the refugees. Could not my influence induce the English merchants to receive his proposals more favourably? I briefly replied that a loan was not an affair of influence, but of security, and that any interference on my part would be simply useless.

At the same time I very much fear that if the Government is compelled to stop the supply of daily rations to the refugees the consequences will be disastrous. Not only will several thousand fresh applicants be thrown upon the lists of the Relief Committee, but such an act of inhumanity and want of faith, however unwillingly committed, would at once destroy the slender confidence in the intentions of the Government which Fuad Pasha's conduct is in some slight degree restoring, and the prospect of even a provisional settlement of the country will be as remote as it was two months ago. Unhappily the only securities which can be made available for a loan upon the spot are the Custom-house dues, but it is quite uncertain whether these have not been already secretly mortgaged at Constantinople. The Ottoman Bank and the English merchants here are inexorable. Unless, therefore, something is done at once, the catastrophe cannot be prevented. Under these circumstances I have ventured upon a step of which I trust your Excellency will not disapprove. I have offered to place my private credit at the disposal of Fuad Pasha, and to supply him at once with the sum of 5,000*l.* on the understanding that in addition to the doubtful securities he has to offer, he pledges me his personal honour for the repayment of the debt within a given time. To this transaction I have affixed but one condition, for the due fulfilment of which I have also required Fuad Pasha's word of honour, viz., that within a certain time 40,000 beds and coverlets shall be placed at the disposal of five persons, three native Christians and two Europeans, selected by myself, but acting in the name of the Relief Committee, who shall repair to five circles in the Lebanon, and distribute the recovered property to their rightful owners.

By thus relieving, and at the same time taking advantage of the necessities of Fuad Pasha, their daily rations are continued to the refugees, the scandal and distress that would result from a break-down in the Government system of relief is prevented, and the lives of hundreds of women and children who would have died from want of covering at night will be saved. The only inconvenience that could possibly attend this arrangement would arise from it becoming known that I myself was concerned in it. Against this contingency I have taken every precaution. My name will not appear in any way mixed up with the transaction: all the pecuniary part of the business will be done through the Ottoman Bank, whose manager is a personal friend of my own, and the restoration of the bedding will proceed under the superintendence of the Anglo-American Relief Committee.

In conclusion, I must beg your Excellency to observe that, had I waited to bring this subject under the consideration of the Commission, much precious time would have been lost, as the Commission is not even yet officially constituted. The beds would probably have been partly destroyed, or plundered, or concealed by the flying Druses; while, at the same time, their recovery would have been undertaken by Fuad Pasha with far less alacrity than at present, when it has become a point of honour with him to restore them.

I would further venture to remark that, in undertaking these pecuniary liabilities, I am anxious it should be understood by your Excellency, and by Her Majesty's Government, that I have simply indulged, on my own responsibility, a charitable sentiment. I neither expect, nor should I

desire, to be relieved of any of the chances which may be the result of what I am afraid may justly be considered a commercial imprudence. If I have brought the subject at all under your Excellency's attention, it is simply because I think it my duty to keep you informed of every circumstance, however trifling, which may help your Excellency to arrive at a correct appreciation of the successive phases which the Syrian question is assuming; and the only grace for which I could venture to apply on the present occasion would be, that your Excellency would favour me with an assurance that, in acting as I have done, I have not had the misfortune to meet your Excellency's disapproval.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 151.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received October* 10.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, September* 29, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a despatch dated yesterday, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte respecting the first meeting of the Commission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 151.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, September* 28, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that the first meeting of the Commission took place on Wednesday, the 26th instant, at 2 o'clock, at the house of M. Novikow, the Russian Commissioner.

A note was drawn up, signed, and sent to his Excellency Fuad Pasha, announcing the arrival of the Commissioners, and inviting his Excellency to permit us to have the advantage of commencing our proceedings under his auspices.

A copy of this note I have the honour to inclose.

No other business of importance was transacted at this meeting, except that an agreement was come to to take into our immediate consideration the condition of the Christian population at Damascus.

I have the honour to inclose, for your Excellency's information, copy of a letter I have addressed to Consul Brant relative to this subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 151.

Collective Note addressed by the European Commissioners to Fuad Pasha.

M. le Ministre, *Beyrout, le* 26 *Septembre*, 1860.

NOUS Soussignés, Commissaires de l'Autriche, de la France, de la Grande Bretagne, de la Prusse, et de la Russie, nous trouvant réunis à Beyrouth, avons l'honneur d'en donner avis à votre Excellence, afin qu'elle veuille bien prendre les dispositions nécessaires pour se mettre, aussitôt que possible, en rapport avec nous.

Une communication reçue de nos Missions respectives à Constantinople nous a informée de la participation que votre Excellence devait prendre à nos travaux, et de la qualité de Président qui lui était dévolue toutes les fois qu'elle assisterait aux séances de la Commission. Nous sommes prêts à nous rendre à la convocation qu'elle voudra bien nous

adresser en la dite qualité, et nous nous félicitons d'une circonstance qui nous paraît être la meilleure garantie du succès de l'œuvre à laquelle seront consacrés nos efforts communs.

Dans le cas où votre Excellence ne pourrait pas se rendre à Beyrouth en ce moment, elle jugerait sans doute à propos de nous en instruire et de déléguer la personne qui serait chargée par elle de venir siéger avec nous aux conditions stipulées à Constantinople entre la Porte Ottomane et les Représentants des Puissances intéressées.

Nous Soussignés, &c.

(Signé) WECKBECKER.
L. BECLARD.
DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.
REHFUES.
NOVIKOW.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre, *Beyrout, September* 26, 1860.

WE, the Undersigned, Commissioners of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, having assembled at Beyrout, have the honour to inform your Excellency of the fact, in order that you may take the necessary steps to place yourself as soon as possible in communication with us.

By a communication from our respective Missions at Constantinople, we are informed of the part to be taken by your Excellency in our labours, and of the rank of President which belongs to you whenever you are present at the sittings of the Commission. We are ready to obey any summons which your Excellency may address to us in the said character, and we congratulate ourselves on a circumstance which appears to us to be the best guarantee for the success of the work to which our united efforts shall be directed.

In case your Excellency should not be able to come to Beyrout at present, you will doubtless think fit to inform us of it, and to depute some person who shall be charged by you to discuss with us the conditions agreed upon at Constantinople between the Ottoman Porte and the Representatives of the Powers concerned.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) WECKBECKER.
L. BECLARD.
DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.
REHFUES.
NOVIKOW.

Inclosure 3 in No. 151.

Lord Dufferin to Consul Brant.

Sir, *Beyrout, September* 27, 1860.

I BEG to inform you that at the meeting of the European Commissioners, which took place for the first time yesterday, I ventured to suggest that each member should request the Consul of his nation at Damascus to furnish him with a report on the present state of that city, both as regards its sanitary condition and the general prospects of the Christian population.

This proposal having been agreed to, I have to request that you would be good enough to forward to me, at your earliest convenience, such information on the above points as you may think it desirable to submit to the consideration of the Commissioners, together with any suggestion you may have to make as to what still remains to be done by the authorities, in order to arrest the progress of disease, and restore the moral confidence of the Christian portion of the inhabitants.

It would be desirable that, before writing anything on the subject you should put yourself into communication with your colleagues in order that,

if possible, your report may be identic with theirs. Perhaps, even, it would be better still to send a joint report.

Major Fraser has written me word that a dreadful stench proceeds from the bodies which lie beneath the ruins of the Christian quarter.

An attempt to dig them out and bury them properly would only increase the danger of pestilence. The best remedy would be to level the walls which are now standing, and so cover the whole area with a thick and uniform stratum of débris.

The Christians certainly might object to this, as likely to impede the recovery of any treasure they may have concealed, but such a consideration must give way before the paramount necessity of taking precautions against the spread of infection.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 152.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received October* 11.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, September* 29, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of my despatch of this day's date, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, detailing some of the chief events of the past week.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 152.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, September* 29, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that two columns of French troops, numbering about 2,000 men each, under the immediate command of General de Beaufort, left Beyrout on the morning of Tuesday, the 25th instant.

On the 28th instant, intelligence reached us that one of these columns had arrived at Deir-el-Kamar.

I regret to be obliged to add, that some acts of great atrocity have been perpetrated on the march by certain Christians who accompanied the troops.

At Ain Anûb, about four hours from Beyrout, an old blind Druse of 80 years of age has been savagely murdered.

At a village called Bshetfin, a little beyond, a young Druse of 25 was shot.

The most savage act of violence, however, they have yet committed, was the murder of an unfortunate Druse woman, close to the French camp. Some boys followed her, shouting out to the troops: "A Druse woman! A Druse woman!" at the same time throwing stones at her until she fell down insensible. A Maronite woman then joined the party, and, calling vengeance on the head of the Druses, cut off her head.

The excuse urged for these acts of wickedness will be, that the Druses fired on the troops. I have reason to believe that this was not the case.

Having acquainted M. Béclard with these deplorable facts, he expressed the greatest indignation, and promised to write to the General requesting him to punish the perpetrators of such crimes.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 153.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received October* 14.)

My Lord, *Therapia, October* 1, 1860.

I HAD this day a public audience of the Sultan, by appointment, and delivered to him Her Majesty's letter.

He appealed to me as to the horror with which he had heard of the scenes in Syria, and of his desire that all persons found guilty with respect to that affair should be duly punished; and I told him that the measures taken by Fuad Pasha had been approved by Her Majesty's Ambassador, and would, I thought, be equally approved by Her Majesty's Government.

His Imperial Majesty asked after the health of the Queen, and I took my leave.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

No. 154.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received October* 16.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, September* 29, 1860.

I REGRET to have to inform your Lordship that I have just received authentic intelligence of the murder of twenty more Druses by the Maronites that accompany the French army.

I propose immediately bringing this subject under the notice of my colleagues.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 155.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received October* 11.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, September* 29, 1860.

WITH reference to my previous despatch of this day's date, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a note which I have felt it to be my duty to address to his Excellency Fuad Pasha respecting the late atrocities inflicted upon the Druses by the Maronite followers of the French army.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 155.

Lord Dufferin to Fuad Pasha.

Excellency, *Beyrout, September* 29, 1860.

I HAVE learnt, with feelings of horror and amazement, that several unarmed Druses, including a woman and a blind old man, have been murdered by the Maronites in the neighbourhood of Deir-el-Kamar, and at other places.

It seems to me a deplorable circumstance that the return of order and the installation of justice in the Mountain should be inaugurated under such sinister auspices.

I cannot think that the intervention of the authority of the Porte and of European influence ought to become the signal for a renewal of the

atrocities which have already deluged this country with blood. Instead of benefiting their co-religionists, the unhappy authors of these crimes will confuse the cause of justice, and irretrievably forfeit the sympathy their misfortunes have acquired for them. In the name of religion and of humanity, I have to entreat your Excellency to put a stop to such brutal excesses.

The urgency of the occasion must excuse my importunity in drawing your Excellency's attention to this painful subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 156.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 11.)

My Lord, *Damascus, September 27, 1860.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, copy of a despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have. &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure in No. 156.

Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Damascus, September 25, 1860.*

THE position of Syria is different from that of other parts of Turkey, inasmuch as a war between the hostile sects of Maronites and Druses has been raging, and an outbreak of fanaticism has occurred of which recent ages do not afford a parallel.

The Porte has sent its ablest man, with ample support and unlimited powers; and his Excellency Fuad Pasha has used these powers efficiently, and has in some degree restored confidence. But a very inadequate idea must have been formed of the cruelties perpetrated by the Mussulman fanatics, if it be supposed that the remembrance of such inexpressible horrors, such unexampled atrocities, can be obliterated by the imperfect satisfaction likely to be given. Indemnity might be made for material losses, but it is beyond the power of man to apply a remedy for the loss of husbands, wives, and children, by such indescribable, such fiendish cruelties.

It remains to be seen what compensation the Government will make for the ruin which has involved the whole Christian community. The plunder recovered is distributed to those Christians who apply for things they want; but an extravagant valuation is affixed. No indication is, however, given of the mode in which the account is to be settled. Influential people get the best things at fair prices, but the rates at which the almost worthless articles are offered to the poor unprotected persons are so enormous that although in the greatest want they decline to accept them. The equivocal conduct of those who preside over the distribution of the allowances accorded by the Government, and of the necessaries of bedding and clothing, does not satisfy the poor people, but, on the contrary, makes them imagine they are unfairly treated, and despair of obtaining justice.

It is, I am well aware, the object of the Sultan's allies to sustain His Majesty's Government; but the means of doing this are not very obvious. That Fuad Pasha will establish the authority of the Porte I have no doubt, but if afterwards the same mode of governing be continued by agents of the same stamp as formerly, no better result is probable.

Since the outbreak matters are so changed that it is not merely the introduction of improvements that will re-establish the Government on

a solid basis—a complete change of system is required, which must be the result of the serious consideration and inquiry of the Commissioners.

As to the financial system, there was none that I could ever discover, except that as much should be extracted from the people as they had to give, and that as much as possible of these exactions should remain in the hands of the employés in its passage to the Treasury. Such a system, if it can be so called, is not susceptible of improvement—it must be totally changed.

Fuad Pasha is considered by many not to have been prompt enough in executing criminals, and thus to have diminished the effect which would otherwise have been produced. A prompt punishment would have struck a degree of terror into the people which would have made a permanent and deep impression: the gradual executions have engendered rather a sulky feeling of wrong, a stronger enmity towards the Christians, and a fixed desire to avenge themselves; and thus the Mahometans and Christians are more inimical to each other than they were before.

There is also a strong feeling that the Ulema have been too leniently dealt with. Fuad Pasha says he cannot get positive evidence against some who are in arrest, but most people think the evidence would have sufficed to have hanged any other persons. The Sheikh Abdallah el Halebee, the Mufti, and Ghuzzee Effendi, are believed to have pushed on the Mussulmans to the excesses they committed. The first in particular is known to have been the chief instigator in the murder of the Christians. By common report I learn that evidence enough of guilt has been given against this man: his residence was full of plunder, but was not searched. He was assailed in his house by Moslem women wailing the execution of their husbands, and charging him with having caused their fate by his counsels.

Everybody believes that sufficient evidence could be found if it be wanted, and that to allow these men to escape the punishment of death will be a great wrong, and do more harm than the executions have done good.

There is no doubt that Mussulman fanaticism has been the occasion of all the troubles, and that to crush it is the best chance of future security.

After Fuad Pasha has re-established the Sultan's authority, a strong, honest, impartial Administration must replace that which has been so long bringing on the ruin of the country, and of which the massacres have been the natural consummation.

No. 157.

Sir M. Montefiore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 16.)

My Lord, *East Cliff Lodge, Ramsgate, October* 16, 1860.

WITH painful reluctance I submit to your Lordship the accompanying translation of a letter from the Heads of the Jewish community at Damascus.

There can be no doubt whatever that the Jewish body of that city is guiltless of any participation in the recent outbreak, and I venture to believe that your Lordship requires no argument to satisfy your mind on this point.

May I entreat your Lordship, as heretofore, to exercise the powerful influence of Her Majesty's Government to protect and save the Jews of Damascus from the perils to which they are so imminently exposed? As the affair is urgent, I venture personally to attend your Lordship with this letter and its inclosure.

I have, &c.

(Signed) MOSES MONTEFIORE.

Inclosure in No. 157.

The Heads of the Jewish Community at Damascus to Sir M. Montefiore.

Damascus, 7th Tishri, 5621 (*September* 23, 1860).

To Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., our benefactor and deliverer, whom may God long preserve, &c., &c.

WE commence by praying to God to grant you length of days and many years of prosperity, in which you may find grace in the sight of mighty kings, rulers, and princes, in whose days may Israel be saved, and Judah dwell in safety!

We had the honour to address you a letter in the course of last month, in which we spoke of the enmity of the Christians towards the Jews in Damascus, which has risen up in addition to all former hatred. Now a great, bitter, and intense jealousy fills their hearts, by reason that they have been murdered, plundered, and maltreated, whereas the children of Israel were left uninjured.

Our hearts were then moved by the apprehension lest, by reason of this bitter hatred and jealousy, false accusations should be brought against us. We therefore besought you to aid us by obtaining instructions from the English Government to the Consuls, Generals, and Commanders who come to Syria, also from the Turkish Government to his Highness Fuad Pasha, that he shall stand by us, and not be ready to receive malicious reports against the Jews, for his Excellency is a just and upright man.

Now we have to inform you that since the commencement of the month of Ellul (August) the Christians have been plotting against us and setting up false accusations against us; many have been thrown into prison and wrongly accused of having participated in the massacre. The Christians are believed in their statements: when they say "so and so killed some one," that person is immediately brought before the Tribunal. Testimony of honourable men among the Turks is not received, when they declare that the accused was in their house during the tumult. Even the evidence of Christians is not received when they bear witness to the Jews having been hidden with themselves, and not parted from each other during the whole time of the outbreak. Even should the accuser himself testify anything in favour of an accused Israelite, it is not attended to. A woman accused a certain Jew, who she thought had killed her husband; she was asked to swear according to her own faith that the accused was the man, she refused to swear, and she asked the Jew to swear by the law of Moses that he had not done it, so that he might go free. But the tribunal would not listen thereto. Even the testimony of our Chief Rabbi has been rejected. The Jews still are in prison, and one has since died in his dungeon from the effects of terror.

Oh, Sir! consider, only for a moment, how innocent and pious Jews, without sin, are being thrown into prison with murderers; and how all testimony and proof that they may bring forward will not aid them in their deliverance. We know not, therefore, what is to become of the people of Israel when the Christians see there is no hope for them, but their false accusations are listened to from the judgment-seat; but to the voice of Israel there is none to give ear, or to reply—none to pity or to compassionate.

Those who rose against the Christians and killed them are not judged according to the ordinary laws of the land, nor is evidence taken in the usual manner; but there is established what is termed an "extraordinary tribunal."

Now it appears that it is intended to judge the Jews also by this tribunal, and to condemn them to death upon the mere word of the Christians. This is, indeed, a great and bitter sorrow. How is it possible to compare the condition of the Jews with that of those who rose up against the Christians? Were the Jews themselves during that terrible time not in the greatest fear and danger? Surely there was "but a step betwixt us and death." Most of the Jews hid themselves in the houses of respectable Turks, in cellars, and in caves, and in company with Christians. Is it possible to suppose that one who was in momentary fear

for his own life should rise up to kill another? Reason and common sense testify against it. God forbid that such a thought could enter into the mind of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of England, or her Government, for whose prosperity, honour, and glory we, the congregation of Damascus, have prayed these twenty years.

In this trouble do we lay our supplications before her, beseeching her to have pity and compassion upon poor afflicted Israel in Damascus, who only desire her aid, support, and all-powerful influence, so that the captive Jews may have a fair trial before the ordinary tribunals, in accordance with the well-known custom of the country. For Israel, both young and old, are wholly guiltless in this matter, and free from the crime of shedding blood.

Truly, this is a time of great trouble and distress; for every Israelite dwelling in Damascus is in great dread lest he should be falsely accused: for there is none to say unto the Christians, Why do ye thus? It has been openly declared by some of them that they will grant Israel neither peace nor rest. Even already have they begun to conspire against the best, the most honourable, and esteemed of our community—the well-known Jacob Aboulaffia, and Solomon Farchi, son of Isaac Hyam Farchi (of whose hospitality you partook on your visit to Damascus), a youth 14 years of age, an only son of his father's house. A certain Christian declared that his father was killed between the two houses of the above-named parties. Were not the Lord on our side, what would become of us? The accused being under French protection, the French and Greek Consuls prevented this case being brought before the tribunal, but had it heard before the two Consuls. The Lord brought innocence to light.

And on what was the whole accusation based? If a man was found slain in the highway at the time of the rising of the mob, when all the streets of the Christians, as well as the streets of the Jews and Turks, which are near each other, were filled with the slain, was it in the power of man to prevent a murder being committed before his own house? Would the ruffians have had any regard? Who should tell them not to murder all who stood in their way? Were the Jews, then, secure of their own lives?

Wherefore, we beseech you to have compassion upon us, to hear our prayer, and to exert yourself to obtain the influence of the English Government, as well as that of the French and Turkish, with His Highness Fuad Pasha, who is an upright Judge; and that instructions may be sent to the English Consul in Damascus, so that the Jews may not be confounded with those who rose up in rebellion, and not be judged in the same tribunal.

You are our father! Hasten to help us! As you have been our former deliverer, so save us now, and be the instrument of terminating our endless troubles.

Attached are the signatures of the Rabbins, the Elders, and most worthy of the Congregation of Damascus, who anxiously await your answer.

(Signed) HYAM ROMANO.
DAVID HARPI.
MENAHEM FARCHI.
JACOB HALEVI.
JACOB PERETZ.
RAPHAEL HALEVI.
ISAAC MAIMON.
AARON JACOB.

No. 158.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, October* 18, 1860.

IN reply to your Lordship's despatch of the 29th September, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve of your intention to bring under the notice of your colleagues the fact of the murder of Druses by the Maronites who accompany the French army.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 159.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 19.)

My Lord, *Damascus, October* 5, 1860.

I REGRET that I cannot report any improvement in affairs here.

Since Fuad Pasha's departure matters have been slowly deteriorating, and they are beginning to look serious from the incompetency of the Vali Pasha, the effects of which become more apparent every day. I have been informed that his Excellency is in great alarm from the report that the Druses are assembling all the men they can in the Hauran, of their own people, of Koords, of those who have escaped from Damascus to avoid the punishment of their crimes, and all the Arabs and vagabonds who are willing to join them in an attack on the city. It is pretended that they will be able to collect between 7,000 and 8,000 men. How far these reports can be credited I cannot judge: no doubt they are greatly exaggerated, but they have created alarm throughout the country, which the behaviour of the Pasha tends to augment. A Governor of his character would be a misfortune at any time, but at such a moment he is a bar to every hope of improvement and the certain precursor of evil.

Since Fuad Pasha quitted Damascus, his own people have changed their conduct. They refuse to obey the Vali, considering themselves as amenable only to their own Chief, and it is generally asserted that, without a present, they will not do any act of justice.

In the matter of the recruits for the army a great deal has been extorted from persons who had no right to have paid anything, but who without paying could not obtain their rights. People unfit for military service from physical defects are continually harassed by being called up frequently to the Serai, and kept in suspense until they paid something to obtain a certificate, and through the same means others are exempted from performing duties which may be legitimately required.

In short, various practices are revived which were set aside while Fuad Pasha was here. In the distribution to the Christians of the returned plunder certain favoured persons are allowed to select what they please, although they never may have possessed such articles; what valuation may be placed on them I cannot ascertain, but I know that poor people are given articles inferior in quality or condition to those they have lost, while an exorbitant valuation is put upon them, and on complaining they are told that they may put a higher value than the real one on the things they lost. This mode of treating affairs looks too much like what has usually been practised to give satisfaction or promise of a better system; it occasions, therefore, people to look on the future gloomily, and prevents the return of confidence in the Government.

There is a great deal of sickness among the soldiers who are not yet seasoned to the climate, and indulge in the inordinate use of fruit. There are about 1,000 in hospital. About 2,800 conscripts have been taken for the army, and 200 more are required to complete the demand of the Government. They say that about 500 have volunteered, so that when the affair is complete, 3,500 will have been taken from the city.

Between 80 and 90 I am told have paid to the treasury 20,000 piastres each for exemption, although 300 tickets of exemption have been issued; the rest have got off by means of presents which are supposed not to have entered the chest of the treasury, but the pockets of those who are placed over the enrolment.

The allowance of money to the Christians is much in arrears—many have not received theirs for twenty days; this want of exactitude occasions great suffering among them. The excuse is that the public chest is empty, and it is possible that this may be the real cause.

The presence of Fuad Pasha is much required here, and probably as much so at Beyrout. His Excellency is going about among the Druses of the Lebanon, although I cannot obtain any certain knowledge of his movements or of his acts. I do not hear of any collision between the Druses and the Turkish troops.

The French division under General Beaufort is at or in the neighbourhood of Zahleh, but their movements and position are not exactly known. In fact, we are overwhelmed with reports of all kinds, but we get no information that we can depend upon, nor do the authorities seem better informed, or if they are they plead ignorance.

Yesterday Mussulman houses inhabited by Christians were marked with crosses; this spread alarm among them, and many of the principal are preparing to depart at once. Khaled Pasha was patrolling the town a great part of the night, and the Chiefs of the different quarters were assembled, and ordered to discover the authors of these new insults and marks of ill-will towards the Christians, but I cannot learn that any of the offenders were discovered.

I see now pretty much the same state of affairs as existed before the outbreak. A Vali with neither energy nor courage, possessed with imaginary fears of what may happen, but without the foresight or ability to take measures to apply a remedy. I see a soldiery whose hearts are not in their duty; a population of fanatics, cowed certainly, but sighing for revenge on the Christians. I see the chief instigators of the massacre, in prison it is true, but uncondemned, and who for the disgrace they have suffered on their account must be more excited against the infidels than before. Under such circumstances, were Fuad Pasha to be recalled from Syria, what but a worse calamity than we have already witnessed could be reasonably anticipated?

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

No. 160.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received October* 19.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, October* 8, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte upon various matters connected with my mission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 160.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, October* 1, 1860.

I HAVE the satisfaction to state that I have good reason to believe that, with one exception, every woman or child abducted by the Moslems

of Damascus during the late disturbances have been restored to their friends. After instituting the most searching inquiries among the various Christian sects in that city, I can discover but one individual to be missing, a little girl named Wardeh, the daughter of a certain Hannah-esh-Shus, a Maronite, from Deir-el-Kamar, who has himself unfortunately perished at the time of the outbreak. This child was a servant in the house of a Christian named Makhaîl-es-Summale. When the massacre began she escaped to the house of a Moslem called Ahmed Agha, who states, that wishing to save her, he conducted her to the gate of the citadel and left her there, but she has never been heard of since.

The principal priest of the Greek Catholics and some persons of that Communion think it possible that some of their women may remain secluded in villages near Damascus, but as they cannot give the name of any missing individual it is to be trusted that the conjecture is unfounded.

It is certainly possible that a family may have so utterly perished as that none of the elder members of it have survived to claim those whose youth or beauty may have preserved them from sharing the fate of their relations; but as far as I have been able to ascertain, so extreme a calamity can have scarcely overtaken any one house.

Having, therefore, caused inquiry to be made of the head of each individual family at Damascus whether any member of it who is not known to have perished in the massacre may be still missing, and being unable to discover the name of but one person, I think I may be justified in assuring your Excellency that but one individual, if she indeed survives, is still in the power of the Moslem. In consequence of the fruitless endeavours by her relations and the Consuls, I am afraid the recovery of this poor little creature will be impossible.

But one other consideration may diminish the satisfaction with which I make this announcement to your Excellency: it is just possible that some mother may have sought to conceal a loss which they would consider could never be repaired, except by discovering the dishonour it entailed.

A similar method of investigation is being applied to the refugees from Damascus at present at Beyrout, I only hope to be followed by the same results.

Inclosure 2 in No. 160.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, October* 5, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that this morning Abro Effendi called upon me, for the purpose of communicating a despatch he had just received from his Excellency Fuad Pasha.

According to the terms of this document, it would appear that Fuad Pasha, on quitting Sayda, marched, unopposed, across the Lebanon and the Plain of the Bekâa, the majority of the Druse nation having determined to remain submissively in their villages, and await the award of the Government.

On arriving at Hasbeya, his Excellency made some ineffectual attempts to surround and make prisoners of a considerable body of refugee Druse Sheiks and their adherents, who had taken refuge among the glens and fortresses of Jebel-esh-Sheikh; but having ascertained that these persons had eluded his grasp, and crossed over to the eastern side of the Mountain, Fuad Pasha contented himself with leaving the matter in the hands of the Seraskier of Damascus, and the officers in command of the troops at Saosa, while he himself returned to the Lebanon.

There is little doubt but that, in consequence of the inefficient disposition of their troops by the Turkish Commanders, all those fugitives will probably succeed in slipping to the Hauran. Indeed, so ineffectual have been the endeavours made to intercept them, that it might not be an improbable conjecture to suppose that the Turkish authorities had been desirous rather to favour than to hinder their escape.

On his return, Fuad Pasha met the French General at Jubb Jenin in the Bekâa, to which place the French column had descended, having marched from Beyrout in a direction parallel to the Turkish advance from Sayda.

Having explained to M. de Beaufort that adequate means had been already taken to disperse or capture the rebels still remaining in arms along the eastern slopes of Jebel-esh-Sheikh, Fuad Pasha invited M. de Beaufort to reascend the Lebanon with him—a requisition the French General has, I understand, very unwillingly complied with, and is at this moment in the neighbourhood of Zahleh, Fuad Pasha having fixed his own head-quarters at Mokhtarah.

I am happy to be able to state that both at Zahleh and at Deir-el-Kamar the French troops are doing their utmost to assist the Christian inhabitants to rebuild their ruined houses.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 160.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, October* 7, 1860.

I REGRET to have to inform your Excellency that I have received too indisputable confirmation of the statement I had the honour of conveying to you in my despatch to Lord John Russell of the 29th ultimo, relative to the atrocities committed by certain of the Christians who accompanied the French column on its march to Deir-el-Kamar and the Bekâa.

The following is an authentic list of unarmed and inoffensive persons who, it is certain, have been wantonly murdered. Many other deeds of a similar nature are said to have taken place; but I have confined myself to mentioning those only in proof of which trustworthy evidence has been adduced. Unprejudiced persons seem to think that about twenty persons have been killed in this abominable manner.

September 25.—An old blind bed-ridden Druse murdered at Aineb. Two other persons killed at same place.

September 27.—An old Druse woman, first stoned by Christian boys, and finally killed by a Christian woman.

September 29.—A man murdered.

September 30.—A man murdered. A Druse woman at the village of Nabrukh cruelly set upon and outraged by a number of men. If she survives the injuries she has sustained, which is doubtful, it will be solely owing to the interposition of Colonel Burnaby, who arrived on the spot just as a man was about to thrust her through with his yataghan.

At the same place a Druse woman had already been killed before Colonel Burnaby could interfere.

On this occasion, a Christian man who had attempted to defend this woman was also murdered.

A Druse killed at the village of Keferaya.

In addition to this list of murders, I might enumerate many instances of rape, pillage, and wanton destruction of property by the Christians.

P.S.—Immediately after receiving information of the above deplorable events, Lord Dufferin communicated with M. Béclard three different times, and urged upon him the propriety of his inviting M. de Beaufort to take the most stringent measures to put an end to these atrocities, to punish their authors, and furthermore to issue a notification, or an order of the day, assuring safety to all Druses remaining unarmed in their villages, especially to the women and children. M. Béclard was good enough to promise that he would request the General to adopt these steps. Lord Dufferin also requested Mr. Noel Moore to proceed immediately to Mokh-

târah, the present head-quarters of his Excellency Fuad Pasha, urging him to take some steps towards putting an end to the continuation of these barbarities.

Mr. Meade has just returned from Deir-el-Kamar, to which place he had gone on the 3rd instant. He learned at Ateieh that on the 27th ultimo ten Druses were murdered at the small village of Kefr Katra, about a mile from the line of march to Deir-el-Kamar, in the valley of the Damûr.

The murderers were Christian inhabitants of Deir-el-Kamar, and two of their victims had taken an active part in the massacre and destruction of that place, having been heard to boast that they had shot nine Christians through the head.

Mr. Meade was furnished with the names of the murdered men. The only Druse saved was the chief man of the village, named Hamûd Mahmûd, who was spared in consideration of his having been the means of preserving the life of an active Maronite partizan of Deir-el-Kamar, named Ghendûr Bek.

In consequence of indisposition, Lord Dufferin has requested Mr. Meade to subjoin the above postscript.

No. 161.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, October* 20, 1860.

WITH reference to your Lordship's report to Sir Henry Bulwer of the 29th of September, and to your despatch to me of the same date, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government feel the greatest indignation at the murders committed by Maronites.

The French Commander should arrest the murderers and send them to be tried at Beyrout.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 162.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.—(Received October 23.)

(Extract.) *Admiralty, October* 22, 1860.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a copy of a letter from Vice-Admiral Martin, dated the 7th instant, reporting the arrangements he has made for leaving a force of frigates and smaller vessels on the coast of Syria.

Inclosure in No. 162.

Vice-Admiral Martin to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Extract.) *"Marlborough," at Beyrout, October* 7, 1860.

THE squadron that will be left on the coast of Syria will consist of the ships named in the margin.*

* "Doris," "Liffey," "Racoon," "Greyhound," "Intrepid" (on her way from Naples), "Lapwing."

The senior officer, with three ships, will make St. George's Bay (Beyrout), his head-quarters after the 10th November, and the remaining three vessels will make the Island of Ruad their head-quarters, from which points the whole of the ports will be frequently visited, as I hope it will be unnecessary for the vessels to lie at the open roadsteads of the coast.

I shall take care to make it generally known that while withdrawing from this coast a portion of the force under my orders, Her Majesty's Government will not cease to watch the state of affairs in Syria, and to demand efficient protection for British subjects and interests.

No. 163.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received October* 25.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, October* 12, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of the *procès-verbaux* of the first and second *séances* of the Syrian Commission, held on the 5th and 9th instant respectively.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 163.

Protocol of the First Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, October 5, 1860.

CEJOURD'HUI, cinq Octobre, mil huit cent soixante, à deux heures de l'après-midi, M. de Weckbecker, Commissaire d'Autriche; M. Béclard, Commissaire de France; Lord Dufferin, Commissaire de Grande Bretagne; M. de Rehfues, Commissaire de Prusse; M. Novikow, Commissaire de Russie; Abro Efendi, Délégué de son Excellence Fuad Pacha, Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte, se sont réunis chez le Commissaire Français à l'effet de se constituer en Commission conformément à leurs instructions respectives dans le but, (1), de rechercher l'origine et les causes des événements dont la Syrie a été la théâtre, de déterminer la part de responsabilité des Chefs de l'insurrection, ainsi que celle des Agents de l'Administration, et de provoquer la punition des coupables; (2), d'apprécier l'étendue des désastres qui ont frappé les populations Chrétiennes et de combiner les moyens propres à soulager et à indemniser les victimes; (3), de prévenir le rétour de semblables calamités et d'assurer l'ordre et la sécurité en Syrie en indiquant les modifications qu'il convient d'apporter à l'organisation actuelle de la Montagne.

La présidence appartenante de droit à Fuad Pacha par suite d'une entente avec les Représentants des cinq Grandes Puissances à Constantinople, il a été décidé à l'unanimité que, en l'absence du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, chacun des Commissaires exercerait à tour de rôle et par rang d'âge les fonctions de Vice-Président pendant un mois. En suite de cette décision, le fauteuil a été occupé par M. de Weckbecker, Commissaire d'Autriche, qui a déclaré la séance ouverte. Le Président donne lecture de ses instructions, qui sont trouvées identiques à celles des autres Commissaires. Il invite la Commission à porter tout d'abord son attention sur le premier des points énoncés dans les dites instructions, à savoir, la recherche de l'origine et des causes des événements. Des documents en grand nombre étant adressé de tous côtés à chacun des Commissaires, et ces pièces pour la plupart ne différant pas les unes des autres, il propose de les réunir en un seul dépôt pour éviter la perte de temps qui résulterait d'un travail multiple de traductions.

Le Commissaire Prussien propose de continuer la marche suivie jusqu'à présent par Fuad Pacha en réclamant la production des procès-verbaux déjà dressés par les soins des Commissions Locales.

Le Commissaire Français, en répondant à la proposition du Président, dit que plusieurs établissements religieux, tels que ceux des Jésuits, des Lazaristes, et de Père de Terre Sainte, ayant eu à souffrir des meurtres et des dévastations commis dans ces derniers temps les réclamations qui lui sont adressés à ce sujet sont exclusivement de sa compétence et ne peuvent faire partie des archives de la Commission.

Le Commissaire Russe ajoute qu'il en est de même des pièces qui pourraient lui être adressées concernant la ruine du Vice-Consulat de Russie à Damas, le meurtre du drogman Russe, et les faits qui s'y rattachent.

Le Commissaire Prussien rappelle que dans une réunion préparatoire il avait été convenue d'adresser au Plénipotentiaire Ottoman des observations précises sur certains points déterminés.

Le Commissaire Français donne lecture d'une note rédigée par lui à ce sujet et dont copie se trouve annexée au présent procès-verbal. Une copie de la dite note est également remise par lui à Abro Efendi, qui déclare, à cette occasion, n'avoir pas reçu encore les instructions dont il doit être munis par Fuad Pacha, s'engageant d'ailleurs à transmettre au Plénipotentiaire Ottoman la pièce en question.

Abro Efendi se déclare en outre qu'il ne peut considérer cette réunion que comme une séance préparatoire, et qu'il n'accepte qu'à titre officieuse les communications de MM. les Commissaires.

M. Béclard demande si le Colonel Hosni Bek, membre du Tribunal chargé de juger Khurshid Pacha, est le même officier qui commandait la garrison de Baalbek.

Sur la réponse affirmative d'Abro Efendi, qui assure d'ailleurs n'avoir pas connaissance des antécédents de Hosni Bek, le Commissaire Français fait observer que la présence de cet officier, contre lequel il existe des charges très graves à propos de sa conduite à Baalbek, que sa présence, dit-il, dans le sein du tribunal extraordinaire de Beyrout est au moins étrange.

M. Béclard demande également comment il se fait que le Colonel Nuri Bek n'ait pas été mis en état d'arrestation. Sa participation au désastre de Zahleh motivait cependant cette mesure de rigueur à son egard.

Abro Efendi répond, quant à Hosni Bek, qu'il prendra les renseignements nécessaires, et quant à Nuri Bek que ce dernier se trouve à Beyrout dans l'impossibilité de quitter la ville, et que cette circonstance rend superflu son emprisonnement préventif; que d'ailleurs il sera interrogé à son tour et puni s'il y a lieu. Abro Efendi ajoute qu'il recevra avec reconnaissance toutes les informations que MM. les Commissaires jugeront à propos de lui fournir sur les diverses personnes inculpées.

M. Béclard s'étonne qu'on fait une différence en faveur de Nuri Bek, vu que d'après lui la responsabilité des événements pèse également sur chacun des agents de l'autorité, qui tous lui paraissent être en état de suspicion.

Le Commissaire Russe demande des explications sur la faculté laissée à Shakir Pacha de se rendre à Constantinople lors qu'il aurait dû être retenu à Damas, pour y rendre compte de sa conduite ; Abro Efendi ayant objecté qu'il n'avait aucune connaissance des griefs élevés contre Shakir Pacha, M. Novikow lui adresse une autre interpellation relativement à Khurshid Pacha, dont le procès avance, tandis qu'il lui était revenu que le tribunal chargé de l'instruction n'a entendu aucun des témoins qui eussent pu l'éclairer.

Abro Efendi répond que l'interrogatoire seul de Khurshid Pacha est terminé, et que quant aux témoignages il eût été bien difficile d'en admettre contre la première autorité de la province.

Le Commissaire Prussien pense que les Druses devraient être interrogés dans le cours de l'enquête sur les actes de Khurshid Pacha qui sont à leur connaissance. Abro Efendi se retranche derrière son manque d'instructions. Le Commissaire Français constate l'opinion repandue dans le public et d'après laquelle on se serait borné à recueillir les réponses de Khurshid Pacha sans faire comparaître aucun témoin. S'il

en est ainsi, l'enquête est incomplète. Bien que Khurshid Pacha ait été le premier fonctionnaire de la province, on ne doit pas moins chercher à se procurer sur ses actes tous les éclaircissements nécessaires.

Le Président fait remarquer que tout procès criminel se compose de deux parties bien distinctes — 1, l'instruction ; 2, la défense de l'accusé.

A son avis, la Commission n'a pas le droit s'immiscer dans la première partie du procès qui ne regarde que le Gouvernement Ottoman et ne peut intervenir que dans la seconde.

Un débat s'engage à cette occasion sur le droit d'intervention des Commissaires dans l'enquête, mais il y est mis fin par une observation de Lord Dufferin qui rappelle que ce droit a été formellement reconnu à Constantinople.

Le Commissaire Français, et après lui plusieurs autres membres de la Commission, présentent des observations sur le mode suivi par Fuad Pacha pour l'évaluation et la réparation des dommages soufferts par les habitants des villages Chrétiens.

Il résulte des explications données par Abro Efendi que six Comités composés d'hommes spéciaux auxquels sont adjoints des gens de la Montagne, ont été chargés de se transporter sur les lieux chacun dans une localité distincte et de dresser un état des frais que doivent entrainer les réparations les plus urgentes. Ces Comités du déhors sont placés sous le contrôle d'une Commission Centrale de Secours présidée par Abro Efendi. Sur le vu de l'état dressé par les Comités les intéressés reçoivent la somme allouée comme strictement nécessaire pour rendre leur maison habitable, et l'emploi des fonds est l'objet d'une surveillance toute particulière.

On ne s'occupe pas pour le moment des maisons des Emirs, qui sont les plus coûteuses, et en échange desquelles les propriétaires reçoivent provisoirement à Beyrout des logements ainsi que des secours proportionnées à leurs besoins.

Il ne s'agit également aujourd'hui que d'assurer aux habitants une assistance momentanée à l'aide des sommes fournies par Sa Majesté le Sultan. Plus tard on s'occupera de la question des indemnités.

Sur la demande de Lord Dufferin, dont la motion subit divers modifications, il est décidé que la Commission se fera représenter par des délégués dans le sein des six Comités dont il vient d'être fait mention. Le mode de cette délégation est indiqué dans un paragraphe ajouté après coup, au troisième point de la note annexée au présent procès-verbal.

Le Commissaire Français critique la composition d'une sorte de tribunal secondaire dont les attributions ne lui paraissent pas clairement définies, qui fonctionne à côté et sous la dépendance du tribunal extraordinaire à Beyrout. Abro Efendi donne quelques élaircissements sur la mission confiée à ce prétendu tribunal, qui n'est chargé, à titre de limite d'instruction du Tribunal Extraordinaire, que de l'examen des crimes ou délits commis à la faveur des derniers événements par des individus obscurs. Un seul Chrétien, il est vrai, fait partie de ce tribunal, mais c'est aussi le seul capable qu'on ait pu trouver jusqu'à ce jour.

Le Commissaire Prussien s'élève contre cette assertion, et dit que le choix de cet unique juge Chrétien n'est pas même justifié par l'impartialité de son caractère. Une conversation s'engage entre les membres de la Commission à l'effet de savoir s'il y a lieu de rétribuer, et sur quels fonds, les délégués adjoints par elle aux six Comités de la Montagne.

Lord Dufferin propose de faire appel à la munificence des Gouvernements respectifs : cette proposition n'est pas adoptée.

Le Commissaire Français pense qu'on pourrait cependant se mettre en rapport avec le Comité Européen de Secours établi à Beyrout et régler de concert avec le Comité le meilleur emploi à faire des sommes qu'il aura à sa disposition. M. Béclard donne ensuite lecture d'une requête qui lui a été adressé par la famille Bedran Tabet de Deir-el-Kamar.

Cette famille se plaint de ce que le Tribunal de Beyrout lui opposant un principe de la loi Musulmane, ait exigé la nomination d'un procureur légal pour représenter les orphelins mineurs. Il en résultait que jusqu'à

leur majorité les dits mineurs seraient privés du droit de poursuivre les assassins de leurs parents.

Abro Efendi s'empresse de déclarer que le principe lui paraît inapplicable à Beyrout, attendu qu'on ne l'a pas invoqué à Damas.

La séance est levée à cinq heures, et il est décidé que la séance suivante, fixée au Lundi, 8 Octobre, aura lieu chez le Commissaire Anglais, qui a offert de mettre un local spécial à la disposition de la Commission.

(Signé) WECKBECKER, *Vice-Président.*
L. BECLARD.
DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.
REHFUES.
NOVIKOW.
ABRO.

Annexe.

1. Damas.—La Commission demande communication des dossiers relatifs à la procédure suivie contre les coupables ou accusés; cette communication doit lui servir à se former une opinion sur la question de savoir s'il y a lieu d'exercer de nouvelles poursuites.

La Commission est d'avis que le désarmement général de la population de Damas est une mesure d'urgence que le Gouvernement ne doit pas hésiter à prendre.

2. Beyrout.—La Commission demande des éclaircissements sur la nature de l'enquête commencée contre Khoorshid Pacha et les autres autorités. Son droit d'intervention dans cette enquête est évident. La Commission est disposée à l'exercer dès à présent soit personnellement, soit par ses Délégués. Même demande en ce qui concerne l'enquête projetée ou commencée contre les Druses.

3. Les Chrétiens.—Il importe de les faire rentrer chez eux le plus-tôt possible. Pour cela il faut d'abord aviser à l'ensevelissement des cadavres et la reconstruction des maisons, puis subvenir aux besoins des nécessiteux, et pourvoir à la sécurité de tous.

L'administration locale ayant déjà chargé six Comités distincts de procéder dans les différents localités à l'évaluation des dommages, la Commission est d'avis de désigner six personnes de son choix qui pourront être adjointes à chacun des six Comités, ou se réunir entre elles de façon à former un Comité distinct. Ces six personnes délégués par la Commission exerceront un contrôle direct sur les actes des Comités auxquels elles seront adjointes.

4. Suppression provisoire de la Caimacamie Druse.—La Commission a besoin de quelques explications sur cette mesure dans le cas même où la nécessité en serait démontrée, attendu qu'aucun changement, même provisoire, dans l'organisation administrative du Liban ne saurait avoir lieu sans la participation ou l'acquiescement des Grandes Puissances.

Inclosure 2 in No. 163.

Protocol of the Second Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, October 9, 1860.

CEJOURD'HUI, neuf Octobre, mil huit cent soixante, les Commissaires des cinq Grandes Puissances, et Abro Efendi, délégué de son Excellence Fuad Pacha, Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Porte, se sont réunis à Beyrout chez le Commissaire de Sa Majesté Britannique. La séance est ouverte à deux heures de l'après-midi, sous la présidence de M. de Weckbecker.

Le procès-verbal de la séance précédente est lu et adopté, après avoir subi quelques modifications. Abro Efendi n'ayant pas reçu encore les instructions qui doivent lui être adressées par Fuad Pacha ne croit pas pouvoir signer ce procès-verbal : un débat s'engage à ce propos.

Le Commissaire Russe donne lecture des instructions que Fuad Pacha lui-même a dû recevoir de son Gouvernement et dont le texte définitif a été communiqué aux Représentants des Puissances intéressés. Sur l'observation qui lui est faite que sa signature ne doit avoir pour effet que de constater sa présence et l'exactitude du compte-rendu, Abro Efendi se décide à signer avec tous les Commissaires le procès-verbal de la première séance.

Il renouvelle à cette occasion la réserve déjà faite par lui et déclare que les informations qu'il a fournies ne sauraient, en l'absence d'instructions de la part de Fuad Pacha, avoir aucun caractère officiel.

Lord Dufferin interpelle Abro Efendi sur un fait des plus graves à la charge de Hassan Efendi, Gouverneur de Hasbeya, et de Mustafa Pacha, Commandant des troupes dans le village de Mûnis.

Le premier aurait donné l'ordre de relâcher des prisonniers Druses, et le second, après s'être fait livrer ces prisonniers, les aurait mises en liberté.

Abro Efendi n'a aucune connaissance de cet incident, sur lequel il promet de faire des recherches.

Plusieurs des Commissaires prennent successivement la parole au sujet du droit d'intervention que possède la Commission, sans avoir pu obtenir encore la faculté de l'exercer pour ce qui regarde le procès de Khurshid Pacha, et celui des autres personnes traduites devant le tribunal extraordinaire de Beirût.

En ce qui concerne les témoignages qu'il importe de recueillir, M. de Weckbecker est d'avis que la Commission ne pourrait faire comparaître directement devant elle, en l'absence de Fuad Pacha, les personnes qui offriraient de fournir des renseignements.

Il pense qu'en agissant ainsi la Commission outrepassait son droit.

Cette opinion est combattue par les Commissaires de Prusse et de France. Abro Efendi aborde dans le sens du Commissaire Autrichien. La Commission doit éviter, dit-il, tout ce qui pourrait porter atteinte à l'autorité souveraine du Sultan et affaiblir son prestige. Le Gouvernement fait tout ce qu'il peut. Des actes de sévérité ont eu lieu à Damas. En ce moment Fuad Pacha est dans le Liban occupé à punir les coupables, et à soulager les Chrétiens.

Le Commissaire Prussien revient au procès de Khurshid Pacha, sur lequel la Commission manque toujours d'éclaircissement.

M. Novikow regrette également que la Commission n'ait reçu du Gouvernement aucune communication, bien qu'elle ait manifesté le désir d'exercer son droit d'investigation sur la totalité des faits qui se sont produits dans ces derniers mois.

Ce droit, dit-il, a été confirmé par l'admission formelle de la Porte au principe de l'enquête collective—admission exprimée clairement dans les instructions qu'elle a adresseés à son Commissaire Extraordinaire ; et la Commission envisage l'exercice de ce droit comme ayant commencé pour elle depuis le moment où elle en a formulé la seconde par écrit à son Excellence Fuad Pacha par l'entremise d'Abro Efendi.

Abro Efendi fait observer qu'on doit d'abord laisser à Fuad Pacha le temps de répondre à la note dans laquelle les Commissaires lui ont fait part de leurs intentions.

Le Commissaire Français appuie la réclamation de MM. de Rehfues et Novikow. Il attend avec impatience le moment où la Commission pourra intervenir dans l'enquête.

Le Délégué Ottoman s'étonne qu'on veuille entraver la liberté d'action de Fuad Pacha. M. de Rehfues dit que les instructions des Commissaires ne leur prescrivent pas de commencer leurs travaux que lorsque Fuad Pacha aura terminé sa tâche.

Le Commissaire Français croit s'apercevoir que Fuad Pacha n'éprouve pas aussi vivement que les autres membres de la Commission le désir d'exercer une action commune, tandis que ceux-ci sont prêts à s'entendre avec lui.

Abro Efendi ne partage pas cette opinion.

Le Président propose à la Commission de se transporter à Mokhtarah, où Fuad Pacha se trouve en ce moment.

M. Béclard n'est pas de cet avis. Il eut été charmé que Fuad Pacha fût présent à Beirût, pour y prendre part aux travaux de la Commission; mais il croit que ce n'est pas à la Commission d'aller rejoindre le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman à Mokhtarah. Dans son opinion les Commissaires des cinq Puissances devraient plutôt se transporter à Damas. Les nouvelles reçues en dernier lieu de cette ville lui paraissent fort graves. Par sa présence, la Commission parviendrait, non seulement à rassurer la population Chrétienne en intimidant les auteurs de troubles, mais à déterminer le châtiment des vrais coupables qui jusqu'à présent n'ont pas été atteints.

Il faut que la justice suspendue en quelque sorte depuis le départ de Fuad Pacha reprenne son cours. Toutefois la Commission ne devait pas quitter Beirût avant d'avoir pris les mesures convenables pour imprimer une impulsion rigoureuse à la procédure criminelle entamée contre Khurshid Pacha et ses complices.

M. de Weckbecker est d'accord avec le préopinant sur l'utilité d'un voyage à Damas, mais la Commission pourrait se rendre dans cette ville après être allée d'abord se concerter avec Fuad Pacha à Mokhtârah.

Le Commissaire Prussien dit qu'on ne pourra s'occuper du procès de Khoorshid Pasha que lorsqu'on aura reçu la réponse du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman. Quant aux dangers qui peuvent menacer la population Chrétienne de Damas, il ne s'en rend pas bien compte.

M. Novikow s'en range à l'opinion de M. Béclard sur l'opportunité d'un voyage de la Commission à Damas, tout en admettant la réserve indiqué par M. de Rehfues, c'est-à-dire, qu'on ne doit aller à Damas qu'après avoir pris une part active à l'enquête judiciaire qui se poursuit à Beirût.

Le Commissaire Prussien pense que la crainte éprouvée par les Musulmans de Damas de voir leur ville occupée par les troupes Françaises, doit être une cause de sécurité pour les Chrétiens.

Le Commissaire Français croit aussi que pour les Musulmans de Damas, l'occupation Française serait une profanation, mais il tient grand compte des haines religieuses, qui sont plus profondes que jamais. Déjà on sait que les meneurs sont en relation avec les Druses du Hauran. En frappant la tête du complôt, on pourrait arrêter le mouvement qui se prépare. A l'appui de son opinion, M. Béclard donne lecture de plusieurs passages d'un rapport officiel et d'une lettre particulière dans lesquels le Consul de France à Damas présente la situation comme s'étant modifiée dans un sens très fâcheux.

M. Béclard donne aussi lecture de quelques fragments d'une lettre du Général de Beaufort qui sembleraient prouver que la présence de Fuad Pacha et de ses troupes dans le sud des districts mixtes n'a produit jusqu'à ce jour aucun résultat sérieux. Les Druses ont pu gagner le Haurân en traversant les défilés confiés à la garde de l'armée Turque, ou former des rassemblements sans être inquiétés.

Quant aux Chrétiens, leur misère est affreuse. Ils manquent de tout, et sont exposés à mourir de faim. Le Commissaire Français propose de venir à leur secours le plus tôt possible, soit au moyen des fonds que possèdent les Comités de Beyrout, soit même au moyen d'un emprunt. Il termine en annonçant la prochaine arrivée du Général de Beaufort, qui serait bien aise, durant son séjour à Beyrout, de se mettre en rapport avec les Commissaires.

M. de Weckbecker recommande pour venir en aide aux Chrétiens la formation d'un Comité Central de Secours. Cette proposition est généralement appuyée, même par Lord Dufferin, qui fait observer, toutefois, que le Comité Anglo-Américain n'est pas libre de se fondre dans le sein des autres Comités. Revenant sur quelques uns des points articulés dans la lettre du Général de Beaufort, M. Béclard parle du séquestre mis sur les grains à Baalbek. Le séquestre s'applique aux grains des Chrétiens comme à ceux des Druses.

M. de Rehfues cite à l'appui du passage relatif aux Druses, un fait

qui est venu à sa connaissance. C'est qu'ils rentrent de tous côtés dans le Liban, et que, partout où ils paraissent, les soldats Turcs les protègent.

Le Commissaire Français fait observer que les massacres n'ont eu lieu, lors des derniers événements, que dans les localités où il se trouvait des garnisons Turcs. Il invoque sur ce point le témoignage de M. de Weckbecker, qui reconnaît l'exactitude de cette assertion. Abro Efendi croit pouvoir affirmer que les Druses qui rentrent dans le Liban sont ceux qui ont été rassurés par la proclamation de Fuad Pacha. Lorsqu'ils trouvent des Chrétiens installés chez eux, ils les expulsent. Interpellé par Lord Dufferin sur la question de savoir quelle mesure Fuad Pacha prenait à Mokhtârah pour mettre la main sur les Druses coupables, Abro Efendi répond, les mesures sont en voie d'exécution. Fuad Pacha ne peut pas tout faire à la fois, et la Commission doit attendre la communication des résultats obtenus avant d'émettre une opinion sur ses actes.

Le Président invite la Commission de se prononcer tant sur son proposition que sur celle du Commissaire Français.

M. Béclard insiste sur la nécessité de transférer le siége de la Commission à Damas.

Le Commissaire Prussien croit qu'on peut par d'autres moyens rendre la sécurité à la population Chrétienne de Damas tandis qu'il est urgent d'intervenir dans les procès qui s'instruisent à Beirût.

Abro Efendi ne peut, dit-il, faire aucune communication relativement à ce procès avant d'y avoir été autorisé par ses instructions.

Le Président fait observer que la Commission ne peut agir que de concert avec Fuad Pacha.

Abro Efendi demande si les investigations de la Commission doivent s'exercer pendant le cours de la procédure ou après l'achèvement du procès.

Il lui est répondu que dans le dernier cas les investigations le plus souvent seraient illusoires. Sur l'insistance du Président, qui juge nécessaire pour la Commission de se rendre à Mokhtârah, afin d'entrer en rapport direct avec Fuad Pacha, le Commissaire Prussien exprime l'opinion qu'après ce qui s'est passé, une telle démarche serait contraire à la dignité des Commissaires. Cette opinion est partagée par le Commissaire Français, mais combattue par Abro Efendi, qui trouve que la question d'humanité doit passer avant tout.

Le Commissaire Russe insiste sur la nécessité de sortir de l'inaction dans laquelle la Commission se trouve. Il veut qu'on intervienne sans retard dans l'enquête ouverte à Beirût.

Tous les Commissaires reconnaissent qu'il y a lieu pour eux de se rendre à Damas, mais l'époque de ce voyage, tout en devant être prochaine, n'est pas définitivement arrêtée.

Le Commissaire Français dépose sur le bureau une requête des habitants Chrétiens du Haurân, qui se plaignent de l'affreuse situation à laquelle ils sont réduits.

Il est décidé, sur la proposition du Président, que cette question sera examinée dans la séance suivante.

Il est également décidé que M. de Weckbecker se mettra en rapport avec les Présidents des Comités de Secours institués à Beirût, et les invitera à se rendre dans le sein de la Commission.

La séance est levée à cinq heures et demie.

(Suivent les signatures.)

No. 164.

Lord J. Russell to Consul Brant.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, October 25, 1860.*

I HAVE received from Sir Moses Montefiore the letter of which, and of the petition inclosed in it, I herewith transmit to you copies,* from which it would appear that the Christians at Damascus are endeavouring

* No. 157 and Inclosure.

to raise an outcry against the Jews of that place as having taken part with the Mussulmans in the late atrocities committed upon the Christian population.

I have seen nothing in the correspondence of Her Majesty's servants in Syria to justify such an imputation, and, indeed, the communication from Sir Moses Montefiore was the first information on the subject which has reached me; and I need not say that, while it is impossible to believe that the charge brought against the Jews rests upon any foundation, the fact of its being made reflects little credit upon the Christians, who should have been taught by their own sufferings to refrain from all attempts to involve others equally innocent with themselves in such grievous calamities as those of which Damascus has lately been the theatre.

I have to instruct you to pay immediate attention to this matter, and to use your utmost endeavours to preserve the Jewish population of Damascus from becoming the victims of such monstrous calumny. You will state to the Governor of Damascus that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has been instructed to call the attention of the Porte to this charge against the Jews, and to require that they should be protected from wrong in consequence thereof; and you will warn the Governor that his conduct in this respect will be most closely scrutinized, and that Her Majesty's Government will use their utmost influence with the Porte to cause any harsh and unmerited treatment which may be inflicted on Jews by Turkish authorities to be visited on those authorities with the same severity as would be wrongs done to Christians.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 165.

Lord J. Russell to Consul-General Moore.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 25, 1860.

I TRANSMIT to you, under flying seal, a despatch which I have addressed to Mr. Consul Brant respecting the apprehensions of the Jews of Damascus in consequence of their having been charged by the Christians with having taken part with the Mussulmans in the late massacres.*

You will forward my despatch to Mr. Brant, showing it in the first instance to Lord Dufferin, if he is still at Beyrout; and you will hold to Fuad Pasha, and to any of the high Turkish authorities with whom you may be in communication, the same language on this subject as that which I have prescribed to Mr. Brant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 166.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 25, 1860.

I ACQUAINTED you, by my telegram of the 20th instant, with the apprehensions felt by the Jews at Damascus in consequence of the charges brought against them by the Christians of having instigated the late massacres, and I instructed you to call the attention of the Porte to the subject, and to direct Her Majesty's Consuls at Damascus and Beyrout to interpose for the protection of the Jews.

I now inclose, for your Excellency's information, copies of a letter from Sir Moses Montefiore and of the petition from the Jews inclosed in it, on which my telegram was founded, and also a copy of an instruction which I have addressed to Mr. Consul Brant.†

Your Excellency will learn from these papers as well the details of

* No. 164. † Nos. 157 and 164.

the representation which has been made to Her Majesty's Government as the view that they have taken of it; and I have to instruct you to use every effort to induce the Porte to take the most effectual measures to preserve the Jews from becoming victims of the unfounded charges which have been brought against them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 167.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 25, 1860.

I HAVE received from Her Majesty's Consul at Damascus a despatch dated the 5th instant,* identic with a despatch which he has addressed to your Excellency, and I have to call your attention to the state of things at that place, as reported by Mr. Brant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 168.

Mr. Meade to Mr. Hammond.—(Received November 1.)

Sir, *Beyrout, October* 22, 1860.

OWING to Lord Dufferin's temporary absence through indisposition, I transmit herewith copy of the Protocol of the Third Sitting of the Syrian Commission, copy of which has been sent to Constantinople to-day.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT H. MEADE.

Inclosure in No. 168.

Protocol of the Third Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, October 11, 1860.

CEJOURD'HUI, Jeudi, onze Octobre, mil huit cent soixante, à deux heures de l'après-midi, la Commission Internationale, assistée d'Abro Efendi, Délégué Ottoman, s'est réunie à Beyrout sous la présidence de M. de Weckbecker. MM. Moore, Consul-Général de Sa Majésté Britannique, Canaris, Consul de Sa Majesté Hellénique, et le Comte de Perthius, tous trois Présidents des Comités de Secours institués à Beyrout, sont introduits. Le Commissaire Autrichien prenant la parole invite ces messieurs à se mettre en rapport avec la Commission, et sur leur adhésion il est décidé que les trois Présidents des Comités de Secours, auxquels s'adjoindra ultérieurement M. de Weckbecker lui-même comme Président d'un Comité Autrichien en voie de formation, constitueront un Comité Directeur qui recevra de la Commission Internationale son impulsion, pour répartition et l'emploi des sommes fournies par la charité publique. A la demande de M. Novikow, il est pareillement décidé qu'une place sera réservée dans le Comité Directeur au Président du Comité Russe qui doit être formé lors de l'arrivée des fonds recueillis en Russie.

MM. Moore, Canaris, et de Perthius s'étant retirés, le Président déclare la séance ouverte. Il est donné lecture du procès-verbal, qui après quelques modifications est signé par les Commissaires et par le Délégué Ottoman.

Le Commissaire Français donne communication de la requête adressée

* No. 159.

à la Commission Internationale par les Chrétiens du Haurân et dont l'examen avait été ajourné.

Lord Dufferin s'adressant à Abro Efendi demande s'il est vrai que le procès de Said Bey Jumblât soit déjà commencé.

Réponse affirmative d'Abro Efendi. Lord Dufferin : " Depuis quand ?" Abro Efendi : " Depuis que le Tribunal Extraordinaire a été institué." Lord Dufferin : " Je désire connaître non pas la date de son arrestation, mais celle du jour où Said Bey Jumblât a comparu pour la première fois devant ses juges." Abro Effendi : " Le procès de Said Bey Jumblât a commencé peu de jours après son arrestation."

Le Président croit devoir faire observer à la Commission qu'il importe avant tout de savoir dans quelle mesure elle peut exercer son droit d'intervention dans la procédure suivie contre les inculpés ; or, suivant l'opinion déjà exprimée par lui, cette procédure se compose de deux parties distincts : l'instruction, à laquelle les Commissaires doivent rester étrangers, et la défense, à laquelle ils peuvent assister. Mais encore faut-il savoir quand finit l'instruction et quand commence la défense. Quant au procès de Said Bey Jumblât, on doit supposer qu'il est déjà instruit, puisque cet accusé est en présence de ses juges. Abro Efendi reconnaît que le Tribunal est saisi de l'affaire. Le Président en conclut que la Commission peut intervenir dans le procès.

M. de Rehfues demande si le Délégué Ottoman a reçu des instructions.

Abro Efendi déclare les avoir reçues et donne lecture d'une pièce rédigée par Fuad Pacha en réponse au Mémorandum annexé au procès-verbal de la première séance.

Il est décidé qu'une copie de cette réponse sera jointe au présent Protocole.

Abro Efendi fait également connaître les principales dispositions d'un réglement provisoire élaboré par Fuad Pacha pour la partie mixte du Liban, momentanément divisée en quatre cercles.

La Commission se réserve d'examiner ce réglement lorsqu'il aura été traduit, et une discussion s'élève sur l'opinion émise par Fuad Pacha dans la réponse au deuxième point du Mémorandum, à savoir, sur les difficultés qu'il oppose à l'intervention immédiate et directe de la Commission dans la procédure pendante devant le tribunal extraordinaire de Beyrout contre Khurshid Pacha et les autres inculpés.

Les membres de la Commission prennent tour à tour la parole et expriment unanimement l'opinion qu'ils ne font que réclamer l'exercice d'un droit incontestable en demandant à assister, personnellement ou par des délégués, aux audiences du Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrout. La distinction établie par Fuad Pacha entre l'enquête générale, pour laquelle il reconnaît la compétence des Commissaires, et l'enquête judiciaire, dont il prétend les exclure, est combattue avec force par tous les orateurs. Tous maintiennent expressément leur droit et invitent Abro Efendi à provoquer de la part du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman une nouvelle décision plus conforme aux instructions identiques dont ils sont munis, comme à ses propres instructions. Cette discussion, qui remplit la majeure partie de la séance, n'est suspendue qu'à de rares intervalles, pendant l'un desquels Abro Efendi communique à la Commission une lettre de Fuad Pacha relative à un engagement qu'a eu lieu à Medjdel Champs entre un parti de Druses et les troupes commandées par Mustapha Pacha. Dans cette rencontre, sur laquelle on manque encore des détails, les Druses ont été complétement battus. Fuad Pacha annonce également à Abro Effendi son départ pour Damas.

Le Délégué Ottoman s'efforce de soutenir l'opinion de Fuad Pacha sur le rôle assigné aux Commissaires, mais son argumentation ne peut prévaloir, et il déclare qu'il en référera au Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte.

Tous les membres de la Commission déclarent de leur côté qu'ils entendent exercer leur droit dans toute sa plénitude en assistant à l'enquête judiciaire partout où une pareille enquête est ouverte.

Cette enquête est pour eux un des éléments essentiels de l'enquête générale, à laquelle ils doivent se livrer. Sur leur invitation réitérée Abro

Efendi s'engage à transmettre à Fuad Pacha l'expression du vœu formellement émis par la Commission. La réponse à cette notification sera communiquée dans la séance suivante.

Le Commissaire Russe soumet à la Commission les renseignements qui lui sont parvenus sur l'état précaire des Chrétiens du Haurân. Il faut observer d'abord que, pendant les massacres, les Sheikhs Druses paraissent avoir généralement suivi le système de porter le meurtre et le pillage dans les districts voisins, tout en épargnant, plus ou moins, les Chrétiens de leurs propres districts, dans le but de s'en prévaloir après pour obtenir leur grâce. Le même système a été suivi par le fameux brigand Ishmaïl Attrash, Sheikh Druse du Haurân, qui a dirigé les massacres de Rasheya. Or, d'après les informations parvenues à M. Novikow, ce Sheikh, ayant rendu quelques services aux Chrétiens des villages avoisinant sa résidence de Noura, obligerait maintenant ces mêmes Chrétiens à intercéder en sa faveur auprès du Gouvernement en les menaçant de sa vengeance s'ils ne le faisaient pas. Les forces considérables dont il dispose depuis l'arrivée dans le Haurân des Druses émigrés du Liban et sa férocité connue rendraient l'exécution de ses menaces fatale aux Chrétiens de sa province.

La Commission décide que cet incident sera porté à la connaissance de Fuad Pacha.

La séance est levée à cinq heures trois-quarts.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Annexe 1.

1. Damas.—La Commission demande communication des dossiers relatifs à la procédure suivie contre les coupables ou accusés. Cette communication doit lui servir à se former une opinion sur la question de savoir s'il y a lieu d'exercer de nouvelles poursuites. La Commission est d'avis que le désarmement général de la population de Damas est une mesure d'urgence que le Gouvernement ne doit pas hésiter à prendre.

2. Beyrouth. — La Commission demande des éclaircissements sur la nature de l'enquête commencée contre Khurshid Pacha et les autres autorités. Son droit d'intervention dans cette enquête est évident ; la Commission est disposée à l'exercer dès à présent, ou personnellement, ou par des délégués.

Même demande en ce qui concerne l'enquête projetée ou commencée contre les Druses.

1. Damas.—On s'empressera de satisfaire la demande de la Commission concernant la communication des dossiers relatifs à la procédure suivie contre les coupables et les accusés. Fuad Pacha donnera, immédiatement, ordre au Tribunal Extraordinaire ainsi qu'au Conseil de Guerre qu'il avait institués d'office qu'ils communiquent à la Commission les dossiers de tous les procès.

Quant à l'avis de la Commission sur le désarmement de la population de Damas, cette mesure a été arrêtée par l'autorité dans le but de rendre stable le tranquillité de cette ville, mais d'autres mesures plus urgentes l'avaient obligée d'en ajourner l'exécution. Fuad Pacha déclare qu'aussitôt que les circonstances lui permettront de retourner encore à Damas et de prendre ses dispositions, il mettra immédiatement en exécution cette mesure, déjà arrêtée en principe.

2. Beyrouth.—Le Tribunal Extraordinaire nommé d'office par Fuad Pacha, et qui siège à Beyrouth, sera chargé de donner à la Commission tous les éclaircissements sur la nature de l'enquête commencée contre Khurshid Pacha et les autres autorités.

On n'hésite pas à reconnaître la participation de la Commission à l'enquête, mais les instructions de la Porte élaborées avec les Représentants des Puissances à Constanti-

nople établissent une distinction entre l'enquête générale et les procès qui s'ensuivront contre les accusés sujets du Sultan. L'intervention de la Commission personnellement ou par délégation dans l'enquête, en participant aux travaux du tribunal qui est appelé à juger les accusés et à condamner les coupables, changera les dispositions de ces instructions. Il faut conserver cette distinction entre l'enquête générale et la procédure de ceux qui seront accusés individuellement par suite de cette enquête même.

Fuad Pacha est d'avis que la Commission doit s'occuper d'abord d'une enquête générale sur les derniers évènements du Liban, récueillir des informations sur la nature de la guerre civile qui a éclatée entre les Chrétiens et les Druses. Ce sera un procès entre les deux populations qui établira en premier lieu la cause de ces évènements, la culpabilité générale, pour ainsi dire, des Druses et celle des autorités qui n'ont pas fait leurs devoirs. Cette enquête générale mettra la Commission à même de désigner à l'autorité d'autres individus qui ne sont pas encore entre les mains de la justice, et le Tribunal Extraordinaire établi à Beyrouth communiquera à la Commission les dossiers de tous les procès pour montrer comment il a rempli son mandat; elle servira aussi comme un point de départ dans la question des indemnités en établissant la nature de ce grand conflit entre les deux peuplades de la Montagne. Les autorités locales ainsi que le Tribunal Extraordinaire seront appelés à donner par l'entremise du Délégué Ottoman toutes les informations, et à communiquer les pièces que la Commission sera dans le cas de demander; la Commission donnera son avis, par la même entremise, au Tribunal sur les différents procès dont il s'occupera. Si la Commission admet cette manière de procéder le Délégué Ottoman s'empressera de mettre à l'exécution ces derniers points.

3. Les Chrétiens.—Il importe de les faire rentrer chez eux le plus tôt possible. Pour cela il faut d'abord aviser à l'ensevelissement des cadavres et à la reconstruction des maisons, puis subvenir aux besoins des nécessiteux et pourvoir à la sécurité de tous.

3. Les Chrétiens.—L'autorité s'occupe assidument du rétablissement des Chrétiens dans leurs foyurs. Partout les cadavres ont été ensevelis; il n'en restait qu'à Deir-el-Kamar qui ont tous été aussi entièrement inhumés. L'autorité a pris les mesures nécessaires pour la recon-

L'administration locale ayant déjà chargé six Comités distincts de procéder dans les différentes localités à l'évaluation des dommages, la Commission est d'avis de désigner six personnes de son choix qui pourront être adjointes à chacun des six Comités ou se réunir entre elles de façon à former un Comité distinct. Les six personnes déléguées par la Commission exercera un contrôle direct sur les actes des Comités auxquels il seront adjoints.

struction des maisons brûlées. On a déjà commencé à donner des secours aux habitants des villages qui se trouvent aux environs de Beyrouth. Fuad Pacha a envoyé un Commissaire *ad hoc* à Bekâa pour veiller à la reconstruction des maisons des villages situés sur le versant oriental de la Montagne et de la plaine, avec l'autorisation de faire couper dans les villages Musulmans et Druses le bois qui leur sera nécessaire, et dans les districts de Djezzin et d'autres où on peut se procurer du bois on procédera de la même manière. Quant à Deir-el-Kamar, dépourvu de bois et obligé d'en faire venir de Beyrouth, un secours en argent a été assigné à ses habitants comme à compte sur les indemnités données pour la construction des maisons.

Les grains qui appartenaient aux chefs Druses et qui ont été trouvés dans le Bekâa et dans la Montagne seront destinés à nourrir les Chrétiens qui se rétablissent dans leurs villages : deux petits convois ont été déjà envoyés à Deir-el-Kamar et à Zahlé.

Fuad Pacha s'occupe en ce moment-çi de l'affaire de la restitution des objets pillés par les Druses ; pour recouvrer surtout des lits et des couvertures qui sont d'une absolue nécessité aux Chrétiens, et qui leur seront délivrés. Les Commissions mobiles parcourent les villages Druses et obtiennent, quoique peu, des objets qui serviront à ce but.

La terreur a amené le calme dans la Montagne ; mais après une si grande agitation il faut quelque temps pour y rendre la sécurité absolue. Les dispositions sont prises pour couvrir les Chrétiens qui rentrent chez eux, et pour empêcher les conflits partiels qui peuvent se produire entre les deux populations, qui se trouvent aujourd'hui en force, l'une accusative et l'autre accusée.

Les six Comités institués par l'Administration Locale n'ont d'autre mission que de faire des évaluations sur les dépenses de reconstruction des maisons, évaluations qui servivont de base aux secours qu'on doit donner aux Chrétiens pour leur rétablissement. L'estimation des dommages est une autre question, pour laquelle on doit établir d'abord une base et un principe ; l'enquête générale servira, comme il est dit plus haut, comme un point de départ pour l'estimation de ces dommages. Une

fois que ce principe sera établi, la Commission suggérera à l'autorité le meilleur moyen de procéder à l'évaluation des dommages. Fuad Pacha est d'avis que le meilleur mode de procéder aux estimations sera la nomination par l'autorité de Commissions composées de jurés qui seront choisis par le Conseil de la province, et auxquelles seront admis deux délégués de chaque district dont les habitants ont éprouvé des dommages. Un Comité arbitre, qui sera nommé et choisi de la même manière, siégera à Beyrouth pour décider en dernier ressort sur les réclamations qui peuvent s'élever contre l'estimation des Commissaires. Quant aux dommages éprouvés par des étrangers des Commissions *ad hoc* seront nommées, et dans lesquelles les Consulats respectifs seront représentés par des délégués.

4. Suppression provisoire de la Caimacamie Druse.—La Commission a besoin de quelques explications sur cette mesure, dans le cas même où la nécessité en serait démontrée, attendu qu'aucun changement, même provisoire, dans l'organisation administrative du Liban ne saurait avoir lieu sans la participation et l'acquiescement des Grandes Puissances.

4. Suppression provisoire de la Caimacamie Druse.—L'arrestation préventive du Caimacam des Druses, et de quelques-uns des Moukatadjis, et la fuite des autres, qui sont déchus de leurs charges et droits d'après l'arrêté promulgué par Fuad Pacha, a laissé la Montagne Druse sans une administration régulière; elle se trouve actuellement sous le régime militaire en attendant la nouvelle organisation de la Montagne qui se fera après entente avec les Grandes Puissances. On a dû, pour empêcher l'anarchie, et pour créer une autorité qui pourra veiller à la sécurité du pays, et surtout aux besoins des Chrétiens qui se réinstallent chez eux, établir une administration provisoire. Comme on ne pourrait en ce moment-ci songer à nommer un Caimacam choisi parmi les Druses, et sous-administrateurs des Moukatadjis, Fuad Pacha a décidé de partager cette Caimacamie en quatre cercles, d'établir dans chacun une administration municipal, et de mettre à leur tête un Mudir nommé par l'autorité; et il était à la veille de communiquer ces dispositions provisoires, contenues dans un réglement, dont le Délégué Ottoman est chargé de communiquer une copie à la Commission. Fuad Pacha s'occupe en ce moment-ci du choix des personnes qui seront nommées Mudirs; aussitôt qu'il aura choisi ces personnes il mettra en exécution ce réglement.

Annexe 2.

(Traduction.)

Réglement spécial établi provisoirement par le Commissaire Extraordinaire délégué pour organiser les affaires de Syrie. Ce réglement est destinée à être mis en vigueur dans le Caimacamie Druse dans les circonstances actuelles, comme sauvegarde des intérêts de l'Empire et des sujets jusqu'à ce que des dispositions générales, étudiées sous toutes leurs faces, aient été définitivement prises à l'effet d'assurer une parfaite tranquillité, à l'ombre de la justice de Sa Majesté, à tous les sujets de la Sublime Porte qui habitent la Montagne des Druses.

Article 1. La Caimacamie Druse, à laquelle on a adjoint seulement Deir-el-Kamar, a été divisée en quatre cercles : le premier se composant de Djebel-el-Rihan, du district de Djezzin, pour chef-lieu ; le deuxième, du Chouf Haity, du Chouf Souweidjany, et du district d'El Kharrout—chef-lieu Mokhtârah ; le troisième de l'Arkoub, du Djeurd, et du Menassif—chef-lieu Deir-el-Kamar ; et le quatrième du Chahhur, du Haut et du Bas Gharb—chef-lieu Abeih. Chacun de ces cercles contient les Mokataa dont les noms et le nombre (de villages) sont inscrits dans le registre arrêté (du tems de Chekib Efendi).

Art. 2. Chaque cercle aura un Mudir nommé par l'autorité.

Art. 3. Il sera nommée auprès de chaque Mudir cinq adjoints ("Meawen") qui seront, sous la présidence de ce Mudir, les membres du Medjlis du cercle.

Art. 4. Cette Caimacamie renferme des habitants appartenant à quatre religions différentes—Musulmans, Chrétiens, Metualis, et Druses. Quand l'un des cercles renfermera des populations des quatre communautés, le nombre de l'une d'elles étant nécessairement supérieur aux autres, il sera choisi deux adjoints dans la communauté la plus nombreuse et trois dans les autres inférieures en nombre. Si dans l'un des cercles il n'y a que trois communautés au lieu de quatre, trois adjoints seront choisi dans la plus nombreuse et chacune des deux autres en formera un. Le cercle se compose-t-il de deux communautés seulement, la plus nombreuse fournira trois adjoints et l'autre deux. Si enfin le cercle ne renferme qu'une seule communauté les cinq adjoints seront puis dans son sein.

Art. 5. L'élection des adjoints de chaque communauté se fera au moyen des Sheikhs (doyens) des villages appartenant à la dite communauté, c'est-à-dire, que les Sheikhs des villages d'une même communauté se réuniront en Conseil (Medjlis) et éliront les adjoints chargés de représenter leur communauté. Ces adjoints pourront être aussi bien des habitants du chef-lieu que des gens des villages. Les personnes à élire devront être honnêtes, dignes de confiance, et surtout ne s'être mêlées en aucune façon, soit aux derniers événements de la Montagne, soit à d'autres.

Art. 6. Le Medjlis du cercle ainsi composé aura pour mission de s'occuper des intérêts du pays, et il lui est accordé la faculté de juger les procès au même degré qu'un Medjlis de Cadha (sous-district).

Art. 7. Suivant l'importance des communautés de chacun des villages du cercle, il y aura un Sheikh pour chacune d'elles, et chaque Sheikh aura à son tour deux Moukhtars (Chefs de Quartier). Ces Sheikhs et Moukhtars auront à s'occuper ensemble des intérêts de leur communauté en arrangeant les affaires et les différences qui pourraient survenir entre leurs co-religionnaires.

Dans les villages dont la population est mixte, si une question d'un intérêt général pour le village venait à surgir, les Sheikhs et les Moukhtars de ce village auraient à se réunir pour s'occuper de la vider à l'amiable.

Tous les Sheikhs des communautés ainsi que les Moukhtars devront être choisi parmi les personnes qui ne se sont en aucune manière compromises ni dans les derniers événements ni dans tout autre.

Le Mudir délivrera à chacun d'eux un teskéré (diplôme) de "memour" (fonctionnaire).

Art. 8. Outre les troupes Impériales qu'il est indispensable d'établir sur les points de la Montagne jugés convenables dans le but de maintenir la tranquillité générale il sera employé dans chaque cercle suivant le besoin des soldats irréguliers qui seront au service des Mudirs respectifs. La

moitié au moins de ces soldats sera prise parmi les habitants du cercle. Chaque communauté fournira son contingent en proportion de son importance.

No. 169.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 2.)

(Extract.) *Damascus, October 8, 1860.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that since my despatch of the 5th instant matters here have not improved, but, on the contrary, the panic has gained a great hold on the Christians. Some of the principal, who wished to quit the city, were refused permission by the Government, and left clandestinely on the 6th instant.

The military Commander, Khaled Pasha, for some nights past has patrolled the streets, and last night ordered lanterns to be hung up before the houses at short distances. He has also ordered the gates separating the different quarters to be repaired, and the entrances of the city are carefully closed and guarded. Only half the troops pass the night in bed, the other half patrolling from sunset to sunrise. The guards are supplied with ball-cartridge, and are ordered, on the least symptom of a rising, to fire on the mob. The Artillery are always in readiness for action, and Colonel Gessler (a Prussian instructor of Artillery in the Turkish service) admits that no officer could do his duty better than Khaled Pasha.

Last night, however, houses inhabited by Christians were again marked with crosses; and this, with the measures of precaution taken, has renewed the panic to such an extent that a number of Christians came to the Consulate, this morning, to beg me to procure from the Government mules for them to quit, stating that their fears were so overwhelming that they may be said to be dying of them daily, for they cannot sleep or take any repose, being always harassed by the dread of a new massacre.

I used every argument I could to give them courage, but it was in vain: they said the men and women could walk, but the children could not; they required animals only for them. Finally, they declared that, if nothing could be obtained, the men would go, leaving the women and children, the old and the sick, behind. People who, even under the worst circumstances, can decide on such a resolve, deserve but little consideration. I believe that there is no immediate danger.

I am informed that Sheik Abdallah el Halebee is allowed to receive any visitors he pleases in the room where he is detained, and consequently can carry on his machinations as well as if he were at liberty. His execution I consider to be a measure indispensable to the public security.

The conduct of Ibrahim Bey Karami, a Christian employé left here by Fuad Pasha to superintend the affairs of the Christians, but who pretends to be his Excellency's representative, is most infamous, and he should be immediately removed. He will not be controlled by the Vali Pasha, and liberates prisoners on his own responsibility. He is known to receive money as bribes to a large extent, and without a bribe justice cannot be obtained. In the matter of the recruiting, he issued 300 tickets of exemption at 20,000 piastres (or about 165*l.*) per head. Out of this number only about 80 or 90 are paid into the Treasury; the holders of the remaining tickets paying smaller sums, which are supposed to have gone into Ibrahim Bey's pocket.

The Jewish Rabbis have applied to me in respect to some Jews arrested on suspicion, and who have been detained in prison for nearly two months; one having already died there. The Rabbis demand that they should be brought to trial, and the Chief Rabbi offered to Ibrahim Karami his testimony that one of the prisoners was, all the time of the outbreak, in his house; to which Ibrahim Bey replied, "Your testimony is valueless, as they will all be condemned to death."

No. 170.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 2.)

My Lord, *Damascus, October* 15, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of a despatch which I addressed on the 11th instant to his Excellency Sir Henry L. Bulwer, reporting the particulars of my interview with his Excellency Fuad Pasha on the previous day.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure in No. 170.

Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Damascus, October* 11, 1860.

IN reference to my despatch of the 8th instant, identic with that of the same date to Lord John Russell, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that at 9 o'clock yesterday morning a salute announced the arrival of Fuad Pasha. His Excellency came direct from Mokhtarah and took every one by surprise. I wrote immediately to congratulate his Excellency and to express my satisfaction at his opportune arrival, at the same time requesting to know when it would be convenient for him to receive me; 4 P.M. was appointed. I went over every point of my despatch above referred to, and will now give his Excellency's explanations.

He admitted the existence of the panic, but could not see the least ground for it; he suspected it was the effect of intrigues working on the fears of the people, who had been so illtreated that he could not wonder at their entertaining fears, nor could he blame them.

His Excellency suspected the crosses were the work of Christians who wanted to prevent the return of the Damascus refugees now at Beyrout, by propagating a panic here.

His Excellency could not believe that the Mussulmans of Damascus would attempt a new émeute, or if they were bold enough, that it would be on the old plan.

He thought Khaled Pasha had taken up the matter too seriously; however, he did not blame him, as the error, if any, was on the side of excessive caution: still he considered that it had rather tended to increase the alarm.

I said that I could not but approve of Khaled Pasha's conduct, as the whole responsibility fell on him, the Vali being a complete nullity. Soon after M. Outrey came in.

Fuad Pasha repeated to M. Outrey what he had said to me. We both spoke of Ibrahim Bey Karami; the Pasha said he had already determined on dismissing him, as he had heard a bad report of him, and his conduct should be inquired into.

To-day I hear that Ibrahim Bey has been put under arrest.

We both also spoke about the Jews; his Excellency said that two had been condemned, the others should be liberated. The French Consul observed that the evidence had not been fairly given; it was entirely Christian, and that of others had been refused. The Rabbis requested that evidence in their favour should be received.

His Excellency said that he had been for about twenty-four days marching about the Lebanon, trying to get hold of the chief Druses, but many were in inaccessible retreats among the rocks, but they would be forced to quit their hiding-places when the weather became severe, and then his Excellency expected to get them all into his power.

I begged that the arrears of the Government allowance due to the Christians might be paid up. This his Excellency said he would attend to.

I am happy to say that his Excellency's presence has spread a perfect calm over the previously troubled minds of the Christians.

No. 171.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, November* 2, 1860.

IT appears from the 3rd Protocol of the International Commission in Syria, that the Commissioners have insisted upon their right personally to assist at the judicial inquiry into the conduct of the persons charged with having been parties to the late massacres, and have resisted the pretension of Fuad Pasha to exclude them; and I have to state to your Lordship that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the course thus followed by the Commissioners.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 172.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, November* 7, 1860.

THE Marquis de Chateaurenard read to me a few days ago a despatch on the subject of Syria. M. Thouvenel in this despatch adverted to the escape of the Druse criminals, and pointed out the facility with which they might return from the Hauran to commit fresh murders.

There appear to Her Majesty's Government to be insuperable objections to a prolonged occupation of Syria by European troops. These troops were sent to Syria in consequence of frightful massacres which filled all Europe with horror. They went to support the Sultan's authorities in their task of restoring order, and punishing the principal criminals. By the activity of Fuad Pasha, and the energy of General Beaufort, this work of humanity and justice has been in great part accomplished. To keep the European troops there in order to hunt out other criminals in the caves and recesses of the mountains would be an endless, and indeed a hopeless work. To augment the European force, and maintain them in Syria with a view to prevent fresh outrages, would be to alter entirely the original purpose which the Sultan and the Five Powers had in view. What limit, either of numbers or of time, could be placed to such an occupation? It would soon degenerate into a transfer of the local Government of Syria to the Five Powers, and thus, instead of giving a useful example, well fitted to terrify the Mahometan fanatics, the European occupation would be a precedent for other occupations in Bulgaria, in Bosnia, and other Provinces, and thus lead the way to a partition of the Turkish Empire.

Her Majesty's Government would prefer, as a choice of evils, to see the Government of Syria restored to authorities named by or connected with the Porte, in the manner which the Mixed Commission shall consider most favourable to the future peace of Syria. The responsibility would then be left with the Porte, and to those who will derive their right to rule from the acknowledged Government of the country. No security, it is true, would be thus obtained against a recurrence of the conflicts of Druses and Christians; but so long as the two races exist in the country, no permanent security can be obtained.

No. 173.

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 8.)

(Extract.) *Damascus, October* 20, 1860.

I VERY much regret that my communications to your Lordship have been interrupted by a severe illness of nearly a month's duration, induced by the unwholesome climate of Damascus at this season, and

prolonged from the want of medical attendance. I am glad to be able to state that I am now nearly well, although still very weak.

Mr. Consul Brant quitted Damascus four days ago, for the purpose of joining Lord Dufferin at Beyrout, and I find that he has reported so fully to your Lordship on recent events that I can add little to his communications. Fuad Pasha is still in the city, and his presence has caused a total cessation of the recent panic among the Christians, These, however, notwithstanding a great improvement in their condition, continue to leave for Beyrout daily, selling their bedding, cooking utensils, and anything they possess, to procure the means of hiring an animal for the journey. They seem in many instances totally unable to recover from the effects of their intense terror and anxiety during the massacre, and neither assurances nor encouragement seem to influence them. Others are induced to leave by the Greek Consular Agent here; while others give as the cause of their alarm the release of so many prisoners by Fuad Pasha, although charged with the crime of murder, his Excellency stating in explanation that although these persons were imprisoned on such a charge, yet as their original accusers have never come forward again, he cannot keep them for ever in prison. The Christians also allege as another reason for alarm the apparent collusion between the Government and the Druses, and the evident determination of Fuad Pasha not to punish the Druse murderers; that they, therefore, can feel no security under a Government which screens those by whom they have so cruelly suffered, and from whom, therefore, they have so much to fear for the future.

The field force recently employed in the Anti-Lebanon, near Hasbeya and Rasheya, for the ostensible purpose of cutting off the Druses from communication between the Lebanon and Hauran, have returned without, so far as I can learn, having taken a single prisoner. The troops are now quartered in villages in the neighbourhood of Damascus, and the Commander-in-chief (Helim Pasha) in the city.

In the meantime the Druses pass freely back from the Hauran to Lebanon; 300 horsemen under Milhem-el-Amad retureed to their haunts in that range a few days ago, while upwards of 1,000 footmen were seen two days since also on their way back to Lebanon.

I have learned to-day that ten persons of position, some of whom were members of the late Great Council at the period of the outbreak, have been sent this morning to Beyrout under a guard. Having communicated with Fuad Pasha during the day, requesting to be favoured with information on the subject, I have at a late hour received the inclosed reply. Time will only permit me to remark upon this communication, to which I propose hereafter to revert, that Sheikh Abdallah-el-Halebi is viewed, by both Europeans and native Christians, as the chief instigator of the massacre at Damascus, and therefore deserving of death, and that the Mufti comes much under the same category.

Inclosure 1 in No. 173.

Fuad Pasha to Major Fraser.

M. le Major, *Damas, le* 20 *Octobre,* 1860.

LES personnes qui ont été envoyées ce matin à Beyrout appartiennent à la notabilité de cette ville, et quelques uns étaient membres du Conseil Provincial. Ils avaient été arrêtés il y a plus d'un mois sous la prévention d'avoir stimulé ou dirigé la population Mussulmane lors des derniers évènements. L'instruction de leur procès a duré assez longtemps, le Tribunal Extraordinaire cherchant a trouver des preuves réelles de leur culpabilité pouvant entrainer le maximum des peines portées par la loi et pour éclairer si les tristes scènes passées étaient le fruit d'un complot. Aucune preuve ne venant peser à leur charge jusqu'à présent j'ai cependant condamné les uns à la détention perpétuelle ou à temps dans une citadelle, et les autres à un exil à temps. J'ai fait aussi arrêter toute dernièrement quelques notables qui ont été aussi condamnés pour n'avoir pas

fait leurs devoirs de citoyens, n'ayant pas usés de leur influence sur le peuple pour arrêter le soulèvement contre les Chrétiens.

Je les ai envoyés à Beyrout et de là ceux qui ont été condamnés à la détention seront dirigés à l'Ile de Chypre, pour qu'ils soient à ma portée, et pour que je les fasse revenir pour leur infliger une punition plus forte si l'on parvient à découvrir qu'ils ont été pour quelque chose dans ces évènements. Je vous envoie ci-joint une liste relatant les noms de ces personnes, et le genre et la durée de leurs condamnations.

Veuillez, &c

(Signed) FUAD.

(Translation.)

M. le Major, *Damascus, October* 20, 1860.

THE persons sent this morning to Beyrout belong to the upper classes of this town, and some of them were members of the Provincial Council. They were arrested more than a month ago on the charge of having instigated or directed the Mussulman population at the time of the late occurrences. Their examination has been protracted, the Extraordinary Tribunal endeavouring to find sufficient proof of their guilt to involve the highest punishment that could be awarded by the law and to find out whether the melancholy events that have taken place were the result of a conspiracy. No proof having as yet been obtained, I have condemned some of them to imprisonment in a fortress for life or for a certain time, and others to temporary exile. I have also lately caused the arrest of some influential persons, and they have also been punished for not having done their duty as citizens, and for not having used their influence over the populace in order to prevent the rising against the Christians.

I have sent them to Beyrout, and from thence those who have been condemned to imprisonment will be sent to the Island of Cyprus, so that they may be within my reach, and that I may recall them to punish them more severely if we happen to discover that they have been in any way concerned in these events. I inclose you a list comprising the names of these persons, and the nature and duration of their punishment.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) FUAD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 173.

List.

Sheikh Abdullah Halebi, condamné à la détention perpétuelle dans une citadelle. Sa famille et ses proches ont été bannis de la ville.

Nassouh Pacha Zadi Abdallah Bey, Hassebi Zadi Achmet Efendi, Admè Zadi Mohammed Bey, à quinze ans de détention dans une citadelle.

Mufti Tahir Efendi et Khaze Zadi Eumer Efendi, à dix ans de détention dans une citadelle.

Azmi Zadi Abdallah Bey, Ali Bey son fils, Achmet Efendi Nakib, et Farrouk Zadi Abdoul Hadé Efendi, à trois ans d'exil.

Les biens des détenus sont séquestrés par l'Etat, en attendant les ordres du Sultan.

(Translation.)

Sheikh Abdullah Halebi, condemned to imprisonment for life in a fortress; his family and kinsmen have been sent out of the town.

Nassouh Pacha Zadi Abdallah Bey, Hassebi Zadi Achmet Efendi, Admé Zadi Mohammed Bey, to fifteen years' imprisonment in a fortress.

Mufti Tahir Efendi and Khaze Zadi Eumer Efendi to ten years' imprisonment in a fortress.

Azmi Zadi Abdallah Bey, Ali Bey, his son, Achmet Efendi Nakib, and Farrouk Zadi Abdoul Hadé Efendi, to three years' exile.

The property of the prisoners is sequestrated by the State, pending the orders of the Sultan.

No. 174.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 8, 1860.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency, for your information, a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris,* explaining the opinion of Her Majesty's Government with regard to a prolongation of the period fixed for the stay of French troops in Syria.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 175.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 8.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, October* 26, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 175.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, October* 26, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that immediately upon being informed that the right of assisting at the proceedings of the Extraordinary Tribunal erected at Beyrout had been conceded to us by the Porte, the Commission at once requested Abro Efendi, Fuad Pasha's delegate, and a member of the Court to favour them or their representatives with an order of admission.

To this demand Abro Efendi declined to accede until he should have referred the matter to Fuad Pasha, then at Damascus. At the next meeting of the Commission we were informed that his Excellency considered that our right of participation was confined to what he called "l'enquête générale," and did not extend to any judicial investigation. This view was vehemently combatted by all the Commissioners, and I ventured to state to Abro Efendi that having received authority to attend the trials, I should consider it necessary formally to present myself at the doors of the Court-house, in order that the responsibility of refusing me admission might manifestly rest with the Turkish authorities. This intimation I was induced to make in consequence of information I had received as to the scandalous manner in which the trial of Said Bek Jumblat and the other prisoners was being conducted. I subsequently took occasion to press upon Abro Efendi the futility of Fuad Pasha's denying us a right the Porte had already conceded, and requested him to submit without delay to his Excellency the representation I had ventured to make upon the subject.

I am happy to be able to inform your Excellency that the remonstrances forwarded by the Commission were not without effect. The next Damascus mail brought us word that Fuad Pasha had consented to admit the Commissioners or their delegates as spectators of the proceedings of the Court, and I have accordingly requested Mr. Noel Moore to attend its sittings on my behalf, and have furnished him with instructions, a copy of which I have the honour to transmit for your Excellency's information.

In order, however, to render our intervention in these judicial proceedings really useful and effectual it would seem necessary that our

* No. 172.

delegates should have the privilege of suggesting to the Court whatever supplementary questions it may appear to them desirable should be addressed to the prisoner or the witnesses. As the members of the Tribunal will be prepared to quash any evidence at all discreditable to the Turkish Government, and even refuse to the prisoner whatever benefit he might derive from being able to prove he acted under instructions, the exigencies of justice would seem to require some such precaution being taken.

Inclosure 2 in No. 175.

Lord Dufferin to Vice-Consul Moore.

Sir, *Beyrout, October* 15, 1860.

THE members of the Syrian Commission having been authorized by his Excellency Fuad Pasha to send Delegates to watch the proceedings of the Extraordinary Tribunal established at Beyrout, I have to request you to attend its sittings on my behalf.

You will present yourself on the occasion when it next assembles, and you will be careful to be present from the commencement to the close of each succeeding sitting until the trials shall be terminated.

You will take accurate and independent notes of everything which passes, which you will have the kindness to forward to me at the close of each day's proceedings. Should you remark any irregularities or partiality in the procedure of the Court, whether in a sense favourable or inimical to the accused, you will subjoin a memorandum on the subject at the foot of your daily report. Should the impropriety which attracts your notice be of a nature to admit of correction on the spot, you will hand to the President of the Court a private communication calling his attention to the circumstance; but in the exercise of this function you will be careful not to transgress the bounds of due discretion. You will require copies of all documents handed into Court, whether by the prisoner or by the witnesses, to be communicated to you; and you will take every other measure your prudence can suggest to ensure the report you are commissioned to compose, being an ample and accurate representation of what takes place.

In conclusion, I would beg you to remember that you and your colleagues are admitted into Court for the express purpose of affording a guarantee to Europe that the judicial investigation with which the Tribunal is charged shall be conducted in such a way as to secure the accomplishment of the ends of justice. You will therefore apply the most searching scrutiny to the minutest details of its proceedings. You will follow the thread of the investigation with scrupulous vigilance; and you will note, for my information, any points which would tend, in your opinion, if more fully examined, to throw light on the causes which may have given rise to the late disturbances.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 175.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, October* 26, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Excellency copy of a report I have received from Mr. Noel Moore, relative to the gross irregularity with which the trial of Said Bek Jumblat is being conducted by the Extraordinary Tribunal, before which he has been arraigned on the charge of high treason.

At the same time I also forward copy of a note I have addressed to his Excellency Fuad Pasha on the subject of Mr. Moore's complaints

I trust that your Excellency will consider that in submitting to his

Excellency so earnest a remonstrance, I have done no more than the exigencies of justice would seem to require. According to Mr. N. Moore's statement, confirmed as it has been by the report of Colonel Burnaby, copy of which I also inclose, it would seem that, guilty or not guilty, the members of the Court are determined on the prisoner's speedy ruin. This indecent precipitation on their part may be attributed to two motives.

In the first place, Said Bek Jumblat is a person of immense possessions, and the confiscation of his property would be an acceptable accession to the military chest; while, on the other hand, it is probable that if adequate facilities were given him, Said Bek would be in a position to make disclosures likely to compromise to a greater degree than ever the Turkish system and the Turkish authorities.

Although he certainly did not himself take part in any of the massacres, I cannot but believe that Said Bek was privy to all that occurred, and, had he chosen, might have prevented, or at all events have mitigated, the horror of what happened. Past experience shows that the Druses never act except under the inspiration of their Chiefs. Of these Chiefs, Said Bek was known to be the richest and the most influential. A letter has been produced, addressed to him by Ismail-el-Atrash, who led the Hauranese to Hasbeya and to the Bekâa, announcing his arrival and requesting instructions; and it is admitted that Said Bek received and entertained this same El Atrash for several days in his palace at Mokhtarah, when he returned red-handed from the slaughter of the Christians.

On the other hand, Said Bek, I am informed, would prove, if liberty were allowed him, that he rescued and sheltered many Christians, and was even heard to remonstrate with his followers against the outrages they were committing. It might indeed be questioned whether the one was not a piece of acting, and the other a politic precaution; but be this as it may, the man ought to have an impartial trial, and the verdict should be in accordance with the nature of the evidence which can be adduced against him.

By a reference to my despatch of the 23rd ultimo, your Excellency will perceive that the securities for the administration of impartial justice for which I am now contending in reference to Said Bek's case I had already suggested should be accorded without distinction to all the prisoners awaiting their trial. Even then it had become evident that the Turks were prepared to throw Europe as many heads as she required. But if these precautions seemed so necessary in the case of Khoorshid Pasha—one of themselves, a member of the Government, and a Moslem—how much more ought they to be insisted upon in reference to Said Bek and his fellows, aliens alike in race and in religion to those by whom they are to be judged.

I am happy to be able to inform your Excellency that I have received from Fuad Pasha a verbal intimation that the sitting of the Court shall be at once adjourned; that Said Bek shall be furnished with the *procès-verbaux* of each day's proceedings, with liberty to supply any omissions he may detect in them, as well as to state in writing what ever complaint he may have to make against the mode in which his case is being conducted; while, for the future, greater care will be taken to secure him and his witnesses an impartial hearing.

The case of Husni Bek, who is allowed to act as Judge, when his prope. place would be the dock, having been already taken up by the Commission, I thought it prudent to reserve until our next meeting, which has been delayed for a couple of days at Fuad Pasha's request.

Inclosure 4 in No. 175.

Vice-Consul Moore to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Beyrout, October* 23, 1860.

I DEEM it my duty to inform your Lordship that the trial of Said Bek Jumblat by the Extraordinary Commission is not conducted in a

spirit of impartiality. Points in the evidence of witnesses favourable to the accused are not inserted in the minutes of the proceedings; much of what he himself states in his defence is likewise omitted. He is not allowed sufficient time to challenge the allegations of the witnesses; whilst every statement made by him reflecting upon the conduct of the Ottoman functionaries is harshly, though indirectly, repressed.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Said Bek should to-day, at a certain stage of the proceedings, have risen, and loudly complaining of the manner generally in which the inquiry was conducted, announced his firm resolve to answer no more questions, or appear again before the Commission, who, he said, might henceforward act and decide as they thought fit.

Whilst Said Bek was still speaking, the arrival of his Excellency Fuad Pasha was announced to the members of the Commission, and the sitting abruptly terminated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NOEL T. MOORE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 175.

Extract from a Report addressed by Lieutenant-Colonel Burnaby to Lord Dufferin.

October 23, 1860.

1. IN the event of a witness failing to give his evidence, or answer a question in a manner suitable to the evidence required to be adduced to the Court to convict the prisoner;

2. Or in the event of such evidence implicating or reflecting upon the officials of the Porte during the late massacres;

3. Or in the event of such evidence, or answer not being sufficiently strong in language against the prisoner; the following modes are then pursued by the Court to carry out their object—

(A.) The witness is conversed with until he is made to understand what evidence the Court desire of him; in some instances the witness will thus become induced to state diametrically opposite to what he had originally stated.

(B.) Or in the event of a witness adhering to his original statement which will occur, then the official scribe, will, in taking down the answer or evidence, pursue one of the three following modes:

(*a.*) Either he will cause the question and answer to be omitted altogether from the proceedings;

(*b.*) Or he will cause only a portion of the answer or evidence to be entered in the proceedings;

(*c.*) Or he will cause an entirely different construction to be put upon the sense at variance with what the witness had testified.

4. In the event of any evidence tending to exculpate the prisoner, it is almost invariably omitted from being inserted in the proceedings.

5. Sometimes several witnesses are in court, under examination at the same time.

6. All favourable testimony has been almost invariably excluded from the depositions.

7. The prisoner is excluded from Court while the witnesses are examined, and although on his return the depositions are handed to him for perusal, the above-mentioned manner of taking the depositions greatly tends to diminish the benefit he would otherwise have derived by cross-examination.

8. The prisoner has no Counsel or Representative in Court to watch the proceedings on his behalf while so excluded.

9. The animus of the Court is patent to all observers and especially that of one of its members, Colonel Hosni Bek, late Commander of the Imperial troops at Baalbek.

Inclosure 6 in No. 175.

Lord Dufferin to Fuad Pasha.

Excellency, *Beyrout, October* 25, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Excellency's information, copy of a report I have received from Mr. Noel Moore, Her Britannic Majesty's Vice-Consul, and my delegate to your Excellency's tribunal of Beyrout, relative to the unsatisfactory manner in which the trial of Said Bek Jumblat is being conducted, and I most earnestly request your Excellency to give to the statements it contains your attentive consideration.

If the proceedings continue to be carried on in the manner described by Mr. Moore, the sentence of the Court, whatever it may be, will be vitiated by a method of procedure so flagrantly opposed to what a sense of impartial justice would dictate.

I need not add that in submitting this remonstrance to your Excellency's consideration I am actuated by no desire to screen Said Bek Jumblat. If it should be proved that he is guilty of the crimes imputed to his charge, I should be the last person to urge your Excellency to use towards him an ill-timed lenity; but I would venture to observe that the graver the offence and the severer the penalty attached to it, the more scrupulous ought the tribunal to be to conduct its investigation with the most absolute impartiality.

The force of this consideration is enhanced a hundredfold when, as on the present occasion, the prisoner is allowed no advocate. If, indeed, I might venture to hazard a suggestion in reference to this point, I should be inclined to say that the ends of justice would be best secured by the accused being allowed to select a Representative or Riaza to conduct his case for him.

This privilege is accorded even to prisoners tried by courts-martial, whose procedure is the most summary of any known to European law.

Although I am sure your Excellency will agree with me in thinking that it would be superfluous I should corroborate the accuracy of the facts stated in so formal a manner by Mr. Moore, I have thought it as well to inclose for your Excellency's further information a statement with which I have been furnished by Colonel Burnaby, completely confirmatory of everything reported by Mr. Moore.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 7 in No. 175.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, October* 26, 1860.

WITH reference to my previous despatch of the 1st instant, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that, after having caused a most careful inquiry to be made among the Damascene families now resident in Beyrout, I cannot discover that a single woman, girl, or child is missing.

The investigation has been conducted by means of the most trustworthy agents I could procure, and I have been assisted in my researches by the priests of the various sects, as well as by the Sheiks of the different trades and quarters. The close intimacy which subsists in the East between all the families composing a religious denomination, as well as the gossiping habits of Orientals, renders the search after any individual a far easier matter than it would be in a European town, where the habits of domestic privacy are more jealously maintained; consequently I have no doubt whatever but that had a member of any family been missing, the method of inquiry which has been adopted would have brought the fact to my knowledge.

I think, therefore, your Excellency may rest assured that, with the

exception of the one little child whose case I have already brought under your notice, no Damascene woman, girl, or boy remains within the power of the Moslem.

Inclosure 8 in No. 175.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, October* 26, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Excellency's information, copy of instructions I have addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Burnaby and Mr. Jules Ferrette relative to their duties as members of two of the Mixed Commissions appointed by Fuad Pasha to superintend the reconstruction of the burnt villages of the Lebanon.

In explanation of the above I have to state that immediately on his arrival in the Mountain Fuad Pasha divided the pillaged districts into eight circles, to each of which he appointed a native Commission, whose duty it was to adjudicate on the amount of money which each householder could claim as necessary for the re-building of his dwelling.

Great complaints were made to the European Commissioners of the indolence, partiality, and injustice with which these functionaries executed their task. I therefore proposed that each of us should designate a representative, who should be nominated by the courtesy of Fuad Pasha, to serve respectively on each of these Commissions.

The project was unanimously adopted, but, I regret to say, has not been acted upon with the energy that was to be desired. Great difficulties were discovered in finding fit persons to represent the Commissioners, and an inadequate idea seemed to be entertained as to the urgency of the occasion.

The consequence has been that at this moment scarcely anything has been done towards providing against the rigours of the winter. Already the nights in the Mountain are becoming intensely cold. Women and children, suffering from fever and insufficiently clad, are obliged to sleep in the open air. Sickness is everywhere increasing, and the prospect for the next four months is very lamentable.

Under these circumstances, I have determined to request the two gentlemen above-mentioned, who have kindly volunteered their services, to commence operations at once in the two districts which Fuad Pasha has assigned to them, and I am in great hopes that their exertions and intelligence will avert, at all events over a certain area, the pernicious results of such ill-timed delay.

At the same time I have no hesitation in saying that the approaching crisis is equal in gravity, though, of course, not in proportion, to that which overtook Ireland in the winter of 1846-47.

The recipients of relief on the lists of the Anglo-American Committee have increased during the last three weeks from 19,000 to 25,000. The villages are uninhabitable ; no preparations are being made for the harvest of next year.

This miserable prospect I have brought under the notice of Fuad Pasha in the most energetic language I could command. But the truth is, his Excellency is powerless. He has neither money nor agents. He cannot pay for wood nor labour. He cannot find an individual to whom he can safely entrust a sixpence for distribution.

Under these circumstances I do not know what is to be done. If a loan could be guaranteed by England and France to be applied under the supervision of a European Commission of Control to the immediate requirements of the Christian population of Syria, the difficulties of the situation might be overcome ; but this is a suggestion beyond my province to make.

I will simply content myself with drawing your Excellency's attention to the condition of our affairs.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 9 in No. 175.

Lord Dufferin to Colonel Burnaby and the Rev. Jules Ferrette.

Sir, *Beyrout, October* 24, 1860.

HIS Excellency Fuad Pasha having consented to the request of the Commissioners that a European Delegate designated by themselves should serve on each of the Native Commissions appointed by the Porte to superintend the reconstruction of the burnt villages of the Lebanon, I would venture to request that in accordance with the offer of service you have been good enough to volunteer, you should at once put yourself into communication with Abro Effendi, and enter upon the discharge of your duties as an adlatus to whichever of the above-mentioned Commissions it should be considered advisable to appoint you.

I have further the honour to inform you that your expenses while serving on the above Commission will be paid.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 10 in No. 175.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, October* 26, 1860.

SINCE the 4th of October more than 1,200 souls have quitted Damascus, in spite of all that has been done to induce them to remain.

Every day fresh drafts of refugees are arriving, and Mr. Brant informs me that, on the morning he left the city, he was informed that persons almost destitute had paid a greater price for mules than he himself, in order to effect their escape without delay.

It is to be observed, moreover, that this desire to remove from Damascus continues in spite of Fuad Pasha's unexpected return to the city, and the arrest of 230 persons, among whom is to be numbered Abdallah Bey el Halebi, a most influential Moslem, and other rich and notorious individuals.

It is stated that if the Government would commence the payment of a sufficient indemnity a restoration of confidence might be the result. This remedy, however, cannot be applied, inasmuch as Fuad Pasha is absolutely penniless, and whatever sums he can scrape together would be insufficient even to roof the villages of the Lebanon.

I myself am convinced that, for the present, the Christians of Damascus may consider their personal safety as secured. I cannot believe that there is any danger of a second outbreak as long as Fuad Pasha and his troops remain in the country.

The enmity of the Moslem to the Christian is probably greater than ever, but it is impossible to imagine that, childishly reckless as is the Syrian population, a repetition of the past should take place under the nose of the "Father of the Cord," as his Excellency Fuad Pasha has been lately christened.

If, indeed, we were dealing with reasonable beings, some dependence might be placed on the influences which usually determine the conduct of mankind; but the stupidity of Turkish officials, and the unthinking folly of these Orientals, are such disturbing elements in the calculation, that nothing can be predicted with any certainty when the two are to be brought into combination.

In despite of reason it is impossible even now not to look forward with anxiety to the few weeks of winter, when the snow will cut Damascus off from regular communication with the coast. I should not have the slightest hesitation, were it necessary, in shutting myself up in the city during that period: at the same time, I am convinced that even Fuad Pasha will feel relieved when the road shall be re-opened, and he hears that nothing has happened during the interim.

Inclosure 11 in No. 175.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, October* 26, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the procès-verbal, with its inclosures, of the fourth sitting of the Syrian Commisssion, held on the 15th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 12 in No. 175.

Protocol of the Fourth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, October 15, 1860.

CEJOURD'HUI Lundi, quinze Octobre, mil huit cent soixante, la Commission Internationale, assistée d'Abro Efendi, délégué Ottoman, s'est réunie à Beyrout sous la présidence de M. de Weckbecker, Commissaire d'Autriche.

La séance ayant été ouverte à deux heures moins un quart, le procès-verbal est lu et adopté. A l'occasion du paragraphe relatif à la formation d'un Comité directeur chargé de diriger l'action des divers Comités de Secours, la Commission prend acte de ce qu'un Comité Russe vient d'être constitué et de ce que le Comte Bentivoglio a été invité par son Gouvernement à présider le Comité Français.

M. de Rehfues rappelle que la Commission a décidé que ses délégués seraient adjoints par elle aux Comités d'Evaluation envoyés par le Gouvernement dans les divers districts de la Montagne.

Abro Efendi répond que ces Comités ont été formés, non pour régler la question des indemnités, mais pour faire en sorte que les Chrétiens puissent être réinstallés chez eux le plus tôt possible. Quant aux délégués de la Commission ils ne pourraient être admis dans les Comités qu'à titre officieux : désignés par la Commission ils seraient nommés par le Gouvernement.

Lord Dufferin désirait savoir combien de personnes ont été secourues jusqu'à présent, combien de maisons relevées, combien de villages reconstruits. Abro Efendi promet, pour la séance suivante, des renseignements précis à ce sujet.

M. Novikow demande si des mesures ont été prises pour la réinstallation des Chrétiens de l'Anti-Liban. Il doute que, vu la saison avancée, et le peu de sécurité de leur pays, ces Chrétiens puissent être réintégrés dans leurs foyers dans le courant de cette année.

Abro Efendi répond qu'on va s'en occuper, et que, en attendant, les Chrétiens dont il s'agit sont réfugiés à Beyrout, à Saida, et à Sûr. En réponse à de nouvelles interpellations de M. de Rehfues et de Lord Dufferin, Abro Efendi assure que les secours distribués par le Gouvernement n'ont jamais été suspendus ; ces secours sont accordés aux habitants de Rasheya, Hasbeya, Deir-el-Kamar, et Damas, La dépense qui en résulte s'élève à environ 500,000 ou 600,000 piastres par mois, indépendamment des autres frais.

Lord Dufferin exprime le désir qu'à l'ouverture de chaque séance il soit rendu compte à la Commission, tant par le Gouvernement que par le Comité Directeur récemment formé, des secours distribués de part et d'autre, ainsi que des mesures prises pour rétablir les Chrétiens dans leurs villages.

M. de Rehfues appelle de nouveau l'attention de ses collègues sur les Comités d'Evaluation. Il pense que les personnes adjointes à ces Comités auront au moins le droit de faire valoir les réclamations qui leur seront présentées.

Abro Efendi répond que ces personnes auront les mêmes droits que les autres membres des Comités.

Il entre ensuite dans de nouvelles explications sur la mission confiée aux Comités, composés d'hommes spéciaux, qui ne s'occupent en aucune

façon du réglement des indemnités. Que si, ajoute-t-il, la Commission veut bien lui désigner six personnes de son choix, il s'empressera de les faire nommer.

Il est décidé que cette désignation aura lieu dans la séance suivante.

M. Novikow demande si à l'approche de l'époque où l'on a coûtume de récolter les olives, l'autorité a pris des mesures pour assurer cette récolte aux environs de Hasbeya.

Abro Efendi croit qu'en effet des mesures ont été prises à cet égard.

Le Délégué Ottoman dépose sur le bureau (1) une copie de la lettre qui lui a été adressée de Damas par Fuad Pacha; (2) une note reproduisant *in extenso* les paroles prononcées par lui dans la troisième séance pour annoncer le départ de Fuad Pacha.

Il est décidé, sur sa demande, que ces deux documents seront annexés au présent procès-verbal.

Abro Efendi déclare, en outre, être prêt à répondre à diverses interpellations qui lui ont été adressées dans les séances précédentes.

Relativement à Shakir Pacha, auquel M. Novikow regrettait qu'on eut laissé la faculté de se rendre à Constantinople, Abro Efendi, d'après les informations officielles qu'il a reçues, fait savoir que cet officier a été acquitté, à Damas, par le même Conseil de Guerre qui a prononcé la condamnation à mort de l'ex-Mushir Ahmed Agha. La communication des dossiers éclairera la Commission sur les détails de l'acquittement de Shakir Pacha.

Quant à Nûri Bek, sur lequel le Commissaire Français avait appelé la sévérité du Gouvernement, Abro Efendi croit pouvoir répéter ce qu'il avait déjà dit, à savoir, que cet officier avait été mandé à Beyrout en vertu d'une décision du Tribunal Extraordinaire.

L'interrogatoire subi depuis lors par Nûri Bek n'ayant pas satisfait le tribunal, il a été mis en état d'arrestation.

En ce qui concerne Hosni Bek, aucune accusation n'a jamais été élevée contre cet officier, qui s'étant conduit avec honneur et droiture dans le procès des officiers à Damas, a été appelé à siéger dans le Conseil Extraordinaire de Beyrout. Toutefois M. Béclard est prié de faire connaître les charges qui péseraient sur lui, afin que si elles étaient fondées le tribunal en fût immédiatement saisi.

Pour ce qui est des assertions de M. Béclard touchant la nécessité d'atteindre les vrais coupables à Damas et de faire en sorte que la justice reprenne son cours, Abro Efendi se dit en mesure d'informer la Commission que le Tribunal Extraordinaire siégeant à Damas n'a pas un moment ralenti ses travaux, et qu'il les continue sans relâche en étendant ses poursuites aux individus qui lui sont dénoncés par les Chrétiens, ou dont la culpabilité résulte des déclarations faites par les autres accusés. Plusieurs exécutions même ont eu lieu pendant l'absence de Fuad Pacha. Les personnes auxquelles M. Béclard faisait sans doute allusion, à savoir, les membres du Conseil, ainsi que la plupart des notables du pays, ont éét arrêtés dans le temps et mises en accusation; mais jusqu'à présent, et malgré les récherches les plus minutieuses, aucune preuve n'a pu être fournie contre elles.

A défaut de preuves sufficientes pour leur condamnation, on les expulsera de Damas à perpétuité.

Abro Efendi est également autorisé à annoncer que Fuad Pacha, tout en réservant l'opinion de son Gouvernement, ne s'oppose pas à ce que les membres de la Commission ou leurs délégués assistent aux audiences du Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrout. Les étrangers de distinction pourront même y être admis et se convaincre, comme les Commissaires eux-mêmes, de la régularité avec laquelle procède le tribunal.

La Commission accepte le bénéfice de cette solution, tout en réservant à son tour la question de principe.

Il est convenu que, dès le lendemain, les Commissaires ou leurs délégués pourront assister à l'audience: s'ils ont quelques observations à faire sur la marche de la procédure, ils présenteront ces observations dans le sein de la Commission, soit au Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte, soit à son délégué.

Le Commissaire Français dit avoir reçu du Consul de France à Damas un rapport en réponse aux questions qu'il lui avait posées après s'être concerté à ce sujet avec ses collègues. Il donne lecture de quelques passages de ce rapport dans lequel M. Outrey après avoir dépeint l'état toujours précaire de la population Chrétienne, signale les méfaits d'un certain Ibrahim Karami, accorde des louanges à l'activité du Commandant militaire Khaled Pacha, et critique l'application intelligente de la mesure relative au rachat du service militaire moyennant une contribution de 20,000 piastres.

Abro Efendi fait observer qu'Ibrahim Karami vient d'être mis en état d'arrestation par ordre de Fuad Pacha.

Il annonce également à la Commission que le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman doit arriver prochainement à Beyrout, où il aura l'honneur de présider l'une des séances suivantes. D'après les nouvelles les plus récentes, la situation de Damas serait aussi satisfaisante que possible. Toutes les mesures sont prises pour calmer l'inquiétude des Chrétiens et pour abattre les Druses.

M. Novikow demande quelle suite a été donnéé au projet de désarmement général.

Abro Efendi pense que Fuad Pacha est fermement décidé à le mettre à exécution.

A la demande de M. Béclard, le délégué Ottoman entre ensuite dans quelques détails sur le procès de Khurshid Pacha et sur celui de deux autres principaux inculpés, Vasfi Efendi et Ahmed Efendi.

La séance est levée à trois heures un quart.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Annexe 1.

Le paragraphe suivant devait figurer dans le Protocole de la troisième séance :—

"FUAD PACHA ayant appris qu'une panique s'était emparée des Chrétiens de Damas, a décidé de partir pour cette ville, et je crois qu'il y est à l'heure qu'il est.

"Quoique le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan ait reçu des autorités militaires et civiles de Damas les assurances les plus positives sur le maintien de la tranquillité, assurances qui s'appuient d'une part sur la force suffisante qui se trouve dans la ville, et sur la présence d'autre part de Halim Pacha à quatre heures de distance de Damas, a néanmoins désiré de s'y rendre en personne dans le seul but de tranquilliser par sa présence les esprits qui s'étaient alarmés à son grand étonnement.

"Son désir de donner de plus près une direction à la poursuite des coupables Druses récélés du côté du Haurân n'est pas étranger à son départ pour Damas."

Annexe 2.

Fuad Pasha to Abro Effendi.

Mon cher Abro, *Damas, le* 10 *Octobre*, 1860.

COMME je vous le disais dans ma première lettre je suis parti de Mokhtârah hier dans la matinée, et après une course de vingt-quatre heures je suis arrivé à Damas. J'ai trouvé la ville dans un état de tranquillité aussi satisfaisant que lorsque je l'ai quitté.

Les rumeurs et les bruits que l'on a fait courir sur une soi-disant fermentation de la population ne sont que le résultat des intrigues. Un bon nombre de Chrétiens que j'ai questionné m'ont avoué que les signes de croix que l'on avait fait sur les maisons des Chrétiens, au lieu de provenir des Musulmans, sont plutôt l'œuvre de quelques uns des leurs qui désirent partir pour Beyrout ou qui voudraient y retenir leurs proches et leurs amis, et qui font des machinations pour répondre la terreur parmi leurs co-religionnaires et les entraîner à l'émigration.

Veuillez donner tous ces détails à MM. les Commissaires et aux personnes qui vous entourent, et ajoutez, s'il vous plait, que j'ai été réellement si satisfait du calme qui règne dans la ville que j'ai reconnu l'inutilité et la superfluité de certaines mesures militaires, un peu sevères, qui ont été adoptées.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) FUAD.

No. 176.

Acting Consul Wrench to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 9.)

(Extract.) *Damascus, October 20, 1860.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship, that since the departure of Mr. Consul Brant on the 17th ultimo, the Christians continue to leave Damascus for Beyrout in great numbers.

As reported in Mr. Brant's despatches of the 5th and 8th instant the late panic made all wish to quit the city; and now that the Government has begun to pay up the arrears of their allowance, the money is used to hire animals.

It is generally believed that the fears of the Christians are worked upon by intriguers at Beyrout. The fact of a number of prisoners having been lately released by the Government has also tended to increase their alarm.

Khaled Pasha has replaced the Mushir as Commandant of the army in the field, and is now at the village of Katana, about four hours to the west of the city. The Mushir remains in Damascus.

Shukri Pasha, the new Rais of the troops, arrived here on the 15th ultimo.

Two brothers—Assaad and Fares Amer—Druses of the Ledjah, the former of whom has lately been employed by Fuad Pasha on the recommendation of the French Consul, have been decorated by his Excellency with the Order of the Medjidié.

Last night Abdallah Bey el Adam, Nakeeb Efendi, Abd el Kader Bey, and Abd el Hadi Efendi el Omari, members of the Great Medjlis, who had been let out of confinement on parole, were again taken. These, with the Mufti, Ghuzzee Efendi, Hassibi Efendi, Ali Bey el Adam, Abdullah Bey, son of Nassouh Pasha, all of the Great Medjlis, and Sheikh Abdullah el Halebee, were sent this morning to Beyrout, under a guard of soldiers, on their way to Cyprus, where they are to be imprisoned. A few days before Mr. Brant's departure Fuad Pasha informed him that this sentence was on the point of being carried into effect. The trials of these persons having taken place in private, it is not generally known of what they were found guilty.

No. 177.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, November 10, 1860.*

I HAVE received from Lord Dufferin a copy of his despatch to your Excellency of the 26th of October, and I have to state that the Porte would do well to call upon Fuad Pasha to state his views as to the course which should be taken to remedy the unsatisfactory state of things at Damascus, and as to the measures which should be taken hereafter for the safety of the Christians in Syria when the foreign forces are withdrawn.

No. 178.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.—(*Received November* 10.)

Sir, *Admiralty, November* 8, 1860.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a copy of a letter from Vice-Admiral Martin, dated the 18th ultimo, with extracts of the orders he has given to Captain Heathcote, of Her Majesty's ship "Doris," the senior officer of Her Majesty's ships and vessels left on the coast of Syria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) C. PAGET.

Inclosure 1 in No. 178.

Vice-Admiral Martin to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

My Lord, *"Marlborough," Island of Candia, October* 18, 1860.

AS it may be desirable that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty should be acquainted with the instructions under which the senior officer on the coast of Syria is acting, I have the honour to transmit a copy, to be laid before their Lordships.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. F. MARTIN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 178.

Orders addressed to Captain Heathcote.

By William Fanshawe Martin, Esq., M.P., &c.

BEING about to proceed to Corfu with the ships-of-the-line here assembled, you will be left as senior officer on the coast of Syria, with the ships named in the margin* under your orders, and upon my parting company you will take them under your command accordingly.

The objects of a British squadron being on this coast are, the protection of the lives and property of Christians, and also British interests and commerce.

With the above in view, you will place yourself in friendly communication with Her Majesty's Consul-General, Mr. Niven Moore, from whom you will generally obtain the latest information from the interior and from the coast; and every attention should be paid to any requisitions you may receive from Mr. Moore for the above-named objects.

It will be right, also, that you take an opportunity of visiting Achmet Pasha, the Governor-General of this Pashalic; and when calling at the outports the respective Governors should be visited, and the importance should be pointed out to them of checking with firmness and vigour any disposition to commit excesses on the part of the Moslems or others, for it seems to be established that, wherever the Governors show energy and decision, they are well able to prevent a rising among the people.

Inquiry should also be made of the authorities and the Consular Agents whether all needful steps are being taken for the amelioration of the condition of the Christian refugees from the interior.

With reference to my quitting the coast with the ships-of-the-line during the winter months, no pains should be spared to impress upon all parties that, in withdrawing a portion of the force under my orders, Her Majesty's Government will not cease to watch with anxiety the state of affairs in Syria, and to demand efficient protection for British subjects and interests.

* "Doris," "Liffey," "Racoon," "Intrepid" (on arrival from Naples), "Lapwing," "Greyhound."

You will take advantage of the vessels being together to visit, in force, Jaffa, Caiffa, Acre, Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, Latakia, and Lanarca, leaving one vessel here during your absence, or sending the ships under the second officer in command, while you remain at Beyrout in the "Doris;" but by the 10th November, at the latest, you should take up your anchorage at St. George's Bay, with three vessels, and send the remaining three, under the orders of Captain Preedy, to the Gulf of Iskanderoon, where they will find a safe anchorage, either at Alexandretta or Ayas. If it should be found that the climate there proves pernicious to the health of the crews, Lanarca may then be resorted to.

The vessels in the Gulf of Iskanderoon are frequently to visit the ports to the northward of Beyrout, and those to the southward are to be visited by the vessels with you at such times as the appearance of the weather and the barometer may seem to make it prudent; but captains should be cautioned to be ready at all times to put to sea at the shortest notice, and the ships should frequently weigh, for exercise.

Any information you may obtain with regard to the political condition of the outports is to be freely communicated to Lord Dufferin, Her Majesty's Commissioner, and to the Consul-General.

The frequent visits of Her Majesty's ships to the different ports will, I am sanguine, prove adequate protection to Christians from violence, and to British interests, although it is probable that some of the Vice-Consuls, warned by recent events, will be anxious to have vessels constantly stationed with them, and will write to you to that effect. In complying with any such requisition, you will be guided by your own judgment, aided by the counsels of the Consul-General and such information as he may himself have received from the Consular Agents.

As much excitement continues to prevail in the interior amongst the fanatical Moslem population, leave must not be given to the crews; and you are not to permit any extended absence on the part of the officers from their ships.

The "Firefly" is employed surveying on the coast, and is not in any way to be diverted from her duties.

Given on board the "Marlborough," at Beyrout the 10th of October, 1860.

(Signed) W. F. MARTIN.

To Edmund Heathcote, Esq.,
Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Doris."
By command, &c.
(Signed) G. P. MARTIN, *Secretary.*

No. 179.

Mr. Hammond to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 13, 1860.

I HAVE laid before Lord John Russell your letter of the 8th instant, transmitting for his Lordship's information extracts of the orders given by Vice-Admiral Martin to the senior officer of Her Majesty's ships and vessels stationed on the coast of Syria; and I am to request you to state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that Lord John Russell considers those orders to be entirely fit and proper in the present state of Syrian affairs.

I am, &c.
(Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 180.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 14.)

(Extract.) *Paris, November* 13, 1860.

WITH regard to a prolongation of the period of occupation, M. Thouvenel declared that he had formed no opinion, and would

form no opinion upon the subject until he should be in possession of the report of the Syrian Commission. His hope was that the troops might come away within the term settled by the Convention of the 5th of September, and it was but a few days ago that he had written to the French Commissioner, M. Béclard, desiring him not to lose sight of the fact that the moment was approaching when by the terms of the Convention the European occupation must cease, and requesting him to lose no time in urging the Commission to enter upon the discussion of the future government of the Lebanon.

He was free to confess that in his opinion it would be a sorry termination to the intervention of Europe in Syria if the day after the departure of the troops fresh massacres were to occur, and he was apprehensive that this would be the case unless before their departure some settled form of government should have been framed.

No. 181.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received November* 17.)

(Extract.) *Constantinople, November* 7, 1860.

HAVING addressed remonstrances to the Porte in conformity with those made by his Excellency Fuad Pasha against the state of affairs at Damascus, I have the satisfaction to announce that the Turkish Government has resolved to remove Mouhavver Pasha, the late Governor, and appoint Emin Pasha in his place.

No. 182.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received November* 19.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, November* 4, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of further despatches which I have this day dispatched to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 182.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Beyrout, October 30, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Mr. Wrench, Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Damascus, urging him to use every endeavour to put an end to the panic now existing among the Christians at that place.

In explanation of the last paragraph, I beg to state that the refugees at Beyrout are encouraging their fellow-citizens to join them here, on the plea that there is an ample supply of money, and nothing to do for it. The effect of such an invitation is very demoralizing. If the Committee were to make it known that, having organized a system of relief at Damascus, they would not be responsible for the support of those who chose to come to Beyrout, and were to carry such a regulation into effect, the report of the circumstances would quickly spread, and one of the least respectable motives for flight would be abolished.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 182.

Lord Dufferin to Acting Consul Wrench.

Sir, *Beyrout, October* 29, 1860.

I BEG to suggest that you should continue to use every exertion to put an end to the unreasonable panic which seems to prevail at Damascus among the Christian population, and that you should exert your influence to induce them to remain in their city.

Major Fraser has suggested to me that the Relief Committee should be invited to refuse relief to such refugees as persist in coming to Beyrout. To this excellent recommendation I have already attended.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 182.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, November* 1, 1860.

I NOW propose to give to your Excellency a slight sketch of the progress of events in this province during the last three weeks.

In my despatch of the 5th ultimo I had the honour of informing you that Fuad Pasha, in conjunction with General de Beaufort, having completed the military occupation of the Mountain, and having failed in his endeavour to intercept the column of fugitive Druses, had himself returned to Mokhtarah, while he invited M. de Beaufort to retire within the precincts of the Lebanon Proper.

My conversation with M. de Beaufort, which had been conducted in the most amicable spirit, concluded by his alluding to the inefficiency of Fuad Pasha's arrangements for the capture of the fugitive Chiefs.

I cannot but admit that there is great cause for dissatisfaction in this respect. Nevertheless, I acquit Fuad Pasha of all connivance at their escape. I am convinced that he desired no better than to have laid his hand on a string of prisoners in the act of flight, whom he might have sent in chains to Beyrout without further ceremony. If his intentions were not accomplished, it is to be attributed to the stupidity or indolence of those he had appointed to intercept them.

So strongly have I felt the gravity of the error committed in this respect, that I took upon myself to represent to Fuad Pasha that, up to this moment, no punishment whatever had been inflicted on the authors of the bloody massacres at Hasbeya, Rasheya, and Deir-el-Kamar; that not a single Druse had been executed; and that before he could hope to compose the troubles of the Mountain, some signal acts of justice must overtake the individuals who had shed the blood of their fellow-creatures in such lamentable profusion.

This painful duty once accomplished, he might publish an amnesty, from which the more notorious culprits would of course be excepted, and then proceed to a general pacification. Such timely severity would exempt him from the reproaches to which he was now exposed.

His Excellency replied, that he was only waiting for the Druses to return to their villages, and that then, in a single night, he would seize all those who had been concerned in the massacres.

While matters were proceeding in the above manner in the Mountain, accounts kept coming from Damascus of a very unsatisfactory character. We were told that the Christians were being threatened; that the Turkish troops were all in hospital; that the Druses of the Hauran were preparing to attack the city; that Moslems were chalking crosses on the doors of Christian houses; and that a second massacre was imminent.

Although I had an instinctive feeling that there must be something fictitious in all this, it was evident that Fuad Pasha's presence had become necessary at Damascus, and I sent a messenger to Mokhtarah, recom-

mending him to go. Before, however, he could receive my note, his Excellency had already started.

His first act after his arrival was to put in prison a certain Kerami, a Christian, whom he had left behind in a semi-official position. This man was completely unworthy of his Excellency's confidence, and had abused his trust in the most flagitious manner. He gave himself out as Fuad Pasha's Vicegerent; he frightened the Governor of the town into obedience; he extorted large sums of money from Christians and Mahometans; and practised in the vilest manner on the women who came to him as suppliants.

No incident could give your Excellency a better idea of the difficulties Fuad Pasha has to encounter from the dearth of trustworthy agents.

Having disposed of Kerami, Fuad Pasha then proceeded to lay hands on a fresh batch of notables, among whom was Abdallah Bey, one of the principal instigators of the late massacres, and a person enjoying the reputation of great sanctity among his co-religionists.

These individuals were sent to Beyrout, and subsequently to Cyprus, not on any particular charge, it being impossible to find any one to testify against them; but as persons whose presence at Damascus was incompatible with public tranquillity. Should any evidence be subsequently forthcoming, they will be brought back to Beyrout, and dealt with accordingly.

At the same time 230 lesser criminals were sent off to Constantinople.

Having administered this summary justice, his Excellency announced his intention of coming to Beyrout in order to take part in the deliberations of the Commission, and he sent us an assurance that the late panic had been organized by the Christians, and that the chalking of the doors was a device of their own by which they hoped to furnish themselves with the pretext of insecurity for removing to Beyrout.

I regret to say that the exodus from Damascus still goes on. Yesterday upwards of 1,000 refugees from that city arrived in Beyrout. If the stream of emigration continues unchecked none but the scanty dregs of the Christian population will remain. One of the great causes of their flight is the inefficient manner in which the Government provides them with the necessaries of life. Their daily allowance is suffered to fall into arrear, the rations with which they are furnished are bad and unwholesome, and nothing is done to convince them of the beneficent intentions of the authorities. This neglect and mismanagement on the part of the Government is, no doubt, involuntary, and to be attributed to the utter exhaustion of their finances.

Inclosure 4 in No. 182.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, October* 31, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Excellency copy of the Protocol of the fifth sitting of the Commission.

Inclosure 5 in No. 182.

Protocol of the Fifth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, October 23, 1860.

CEJOURD'HUI, Mardi, vingt-trois Octobre, mil huit cent soixante, à deux heures de l'après-midi, les Membres de la Commission Internationale, assistés d'Abro Efendi, Délégué Ottoman, se sont réunis à Beyrout sous a présidence de M. de Weckbecker, Commissaire d'Autriche.

Le procès-verbal de la séance précédente est lu et adopté.

Le Commissaire Prussien interpelle Abro Efendi sur la question de savoir pourquoi l'on exige des habitants de certaines localités des quittances définitives en échange des sommes qui leur sont allouées par les Comités d'Evaluation.

Abro Efendi répond que les sommes ainsi allouées ne sont pas même des à-comptes sur le montant des indemnités, mais seulement des secours.

Quant aux quittances exigées des habitants, il nie que ce soient des quittances définitives, et assure que ce sont de simples recépissés.

Une discussion s'engage à ce propos et les divers Membres de la Commission y prennent part. Lord Dufferin est d'avis que tous les doutes cesseraient si les Délégués de la Commission étaient adjoints aux Comités, ainsi que cela avait été précédemment décidé. On se demande qui rétribuera les Délégués, ou du moins qui leur remboursera leurs frais d'entretien et de déplacement. Abro Efendi déclare qu'ils recevront du Gouvernement la même rétribution que leurs collègues. Cet engagement n'est pas accepté par la Commission.

Abro Efendi fait savoir que les Comités sont actuellement au nombre de huit. Un seul est composé de cinq membres ; les autres n'en comptent que quatre ; total, trente-trois. Il y a dans chaque Comité un Musulman, un Chrétien, un menuisier, et un maître maçon montagnard.

Partis de Beyrout, ces Comités parcourent, en corps, les villages de la circonscription qui leur est assignée. Leurs travaux seront terminés dans une vingtaine de jours.

M. de Weckbecker pense que si les allocations actuelles ne sont délivrées qu'à titre de secours, la Commission ne pourrait envoyer ses Délégués que lorsqu'on s'occupera des évaluations définitives.

M. de Rehfues maintient son assertion relativement aux quittances exigées des habitants, et que ceux-ci souscrivent par ignorance de l'avenir et pour ne pas être frustrés d'une indemnité même insuffisante.

Abro Efendi demande les noms de ceux qui ont souscrit des pareilles quittances ; mais le Commissaire Prussien ne croit pas pour le moment devoir les faire connaître.

La question de l'adjonction des Délégués est encore réservée par la Commission jusqu'à plus ample information.

Abro Efendi donne lecture d'une lettre qu'il a reçu de Fuad Pacha en réponse aux allégations contenues dans un rapport du Consul de France à Damas, dont plusieurs passages ont été communiqués à la Commission par M. Béclard. Il demande que la lettre de Fuad Pacha soit annexée au présent procès-verbal.

Le Commissaire Français ne s'y oppose pas, mais il conteste les rectifications de Fuad Pacha ; il croit, au contraire, que toutes les informations de M. Outrey ont été puisées à bonne source et ne sont pas de nature à être démenties.

M. de Rehfues fait remarquer à la Commission que les personnes condamnées en dernier lieu à Damas, celles que Abdallah el Halebi et autres, sont arrivées à Beyrout en pompeux équipage, avec une suite nombreuse et dans des conditions de comfort qui contrastent avec le mode habituel de transport des condamnés.

Abro Efendi répond que les personnes en question ont été éloignées de Damas dans le but principal de calmer les inquiétudes des Chrétiens. Leur culpabilité n'a pu être établie par aucune preuve positive, et la seule charge qui pèse sur eux est de n'avoir pas empêché les désordres de Damas.

MM. Novikow et de Rehfues s'étonnent que la peine de la détention perpétuelle ou même à terme ait été ainsi prononcée, comme mesure administrative, contre des individus reputés innocents.

M. de Weckbecker trouve que la Commission a surtout à se plaindre de n'avoir reçu aucune communication relativement aux récentes condamnations. Jusqu'à ce que les dossiers aient été soumis à la Commission, il conviendrait que les condamnés fussent retenus à Beyrout.

M. Béclard annonce qu'il se propose d'appeler l'attention du Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Porte, dès que ce dernier sera de retour à Beyrout, sur les poursuites à exercer contre les auteurs des massacres à Saida. Ceux-ci jusqu'à présent sont restés impunis. Abro Efendi explique cette impunité par le fait que Fuad Pacha n'a pu faire à Saida qu'un séjour de courte durée ; mais il est convaincu qu'à Saida comme ailleurs les coupables recevront le châtiment qu'ils ont mérité.

Le Commissaire Prussien croit devoir présenter de nouvelles observations sur la réponse faite par Fuad Pacha au memorandum de la Commission en ce qui concerne la participation qu'elle peut prendre à

l'enquête. La distinction établie entre l'enquête générale et l'enquête judiciaire ne saurait être admise par la Commission qu'à la condition de maintenir rigoureusement pour celle-ci le droit qui lui appartient de rechercher, aux termes des instructions identiques, la part de responsabilité des chefs de l'insurrection et des agents de l'administration. Or, ce droit elle ne peut l'exercer sans intervenir dans le procès.

Abro Efendi fait observer que la Commission recevra communication des dossiers, et qu'après les avoir examinés elle pourra formuler son opinion.

Le Commissaire Russe n'admet pas qu'un jugement puisse être rendu ni exécuté sans que la Commission en ait eu connaissance.

Abro Efendi réserve sur ce point l'opinion de Fuad Pacha, qui doit arriver le jour même à Beyrout. Il dit que lorsque tous les procès seront suffisamment instruits on rendra des jugements en masse, mais il ne croit pas que les Commissaires aient le droit s'ériger en juges.

M. de Rehfues déclare protester contre tous les jugements qui seraient rendus ou exécutés avant que tous les dossiers aient été préalablement communiqués à la Commission.

Pour couvrir sa responsabilité il demande que sa protestation soit insérée au procès-verbal.

M. de Weckbecker rappelle des précédentes observations comme venant à l'appui de la protestation de M. de Rehfues. L'instruction préliminaire, a-t-il toujours dit, appartient aux tribunaux ; mais la Commission doit être présente et peut intervenir lorsque l'accusé comparaît devant ses juges. Telle est, à son point de vue, la mesure dans laquelle la Commission a le droit de concourir à l'enquête.

Un long débat s'engage à ce propos entre les Commissaires d'une part, qui veulent que leur intervention soit réelle et efficace, et le Délégué Ottoman d'autre part, qui soutient que cette intervention tend à priver les juges de leur indépendance.

La forme dans laquelle les accusés sont interrogés est soumise ensuite à diverses critiques ainsi que le peu de garanties dont la défense est entourée. Abro Efendi discute ces critiques et fait observer qu'on ne peut exiger d'un tribunal Turc l'observation de toutes les formes usitées en Europe.

Tous les membres de la Commission appuient successivement la protestation de M. de Rehfues.

M. Béclard y ajoute cependant cette réserve que, dans sa pensée la dite protestation ne doit pas avoir pour effet tempérer en quoi que ce soit la sévérité du tribunal.

M. de Rehfues déclare être d'accord sur ce point avec le Commissaire Français.

Le Président croit pouvoir formuler ainsi l'opinion de tous ses collègues :—

"La Commission prétend exercer une action collective quant à la recherche des causes et de l'origine des événements, ainsi que la culpabilité des chefs de l'insurrection et des agents de l'autorité."

Le Commissaire Français fait un nouvel appel à la sévérité dans la répression.

Il est d'avis qu'on doit frapper de grands coups et éviter de se perdre dans les détails de la procédure.

La séance est levée à quatre heures un quart.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Annexe.

Fuad Pasha to Abro Effendi.

Monsieur, *Damas, le* 13 *Octobre*, 1860.

AYANT vu dans une de vos lettres, par lesquelles vous m'avez rendu compte des séances de la Commission, que M. Béclard, Commissaire de Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français, avait donné lecture d'une lettre de

M. Outrey, Consul de France à Damas, à son Excellence M. Thouvenel, sur la situation de la ville, j'ai dû demander à M. Outrey certaines explications sur des faits qu'il avait avancés et qui me parurent d'une très grande importance, et il s'est empressé de faire des rectifications sur ce que je lui ai dit d'après le résumé que vous m'avez fait.

1. Comme appréciations générales, il avait parlé de certaines émotions et de frayeur qui s'étaient produites dernièrement dans la ville ; il n'a pas eu l'intention de dire que la ville courait un danger et qu'on était à la veille d'un second massacre.

2. En parlant des notables du pays qui sont détenus, il avait dit seulement qu'ils paraissaient avoir des relations dans la ville et qu'il n'a jamais voulu avancer qu'ils étaient en correspondance avec les bandes des Druses armées dana le but de les attirer sur Damas et faire massacrer les Chrétiens.

3. En parlant de Karâmi Efendi il avait voulu signaler la conduite de cet employé, qui compromettait le Tribunal Extraordinaire ; mais il n'avait pas voulu former une accusation contre ce Tribunal comme concessionnaire.

Pour le premier point, comme il s'agit d'une appréciation générale, je n'ai qu'à exprimer aussi mes impressions et ce que j'ai vu à mon arrivée ici. On avait répandu le bruit d'un prétendu rassemblement des Druses, dans le but de marcher sur Damas. Ce bruit, et quelques signes de croix qu'on avait faits sur les portes des maisons occupées par les Chrétiens, ont contribué à amener une certaine inquiétude dans la ville parmi les Chrétiens. Les notables Chrétiens n'hésitent pas à soupçonner aussi les leurs d'être les auteurs de cette alarme donnée à leurs co-religionnaires.

Les autorités militaires se trouvaient entre deux alternatives : ou de ne rien faire pour ne pas accréditer ce bruit et d'être alors taxées d'inaction et d'insouciance, ou de montrer plus d'activité et vigilance pour faire disparaître cette frayeur et être citées comme ayant elle-mêmes avoué l'existence d'un tel danger. Elle a préféré la première alternative, et on exprime pour sa conduite une très haute satisfaction, mais on l'appelle comme un témoignage sur la cause de cette alarme : on ne peut pas nier l'existence de cette frayeur, mais il n'y avait aucun danger pour la ville. La population Musulmane vit toujours sous l'impression de la terreur, et je puis même dire, sans lui faire grâce, qu'elle ressent aujourd'hui les remords de ce qu'elle a fait.

Pour le second point, après les explications données par M. Outrey j'ai une seule chose à dire : c'est que j'avais confié la garde de ces détenus à la même autorité militaire pour laquelle on montre une si haute opinion. J'ai pris des informations, et je suis sûr que sauf, peut-être, quelques petites fautes commises par les soldats qui les gardaient, ces gens, qui sont aujourd'hui plus sévèrement gardés, n'avaient aucune relation ni avec la ville ni avec le dehors.

Quant au troisième point la conduite de Karâmi Efendi avait failli compromettre non seulement le Tribunal Extraordinaire, mais aussi celui dont il se disait le représentant. Vous connaissez Karâmi, qui est le fils du vieux Pédros Karâmi, secrétaire de l'Emir Beshîr ; il était dans le bureau des traducteurs et quelques mois avant les événements de la Syrie il avait obtenu un congé pour aller vivre quelque tems à Saida, sa ville natale. A mon arrivée à Beyrout je l'ai pris auprès de moi comme Secrétaire Interprête pour l'Arabe.

A Damas je l'avais mis dans la Commission chargée de distribuer des secours aux Chrétiens ; mais, voyant que sa conduite blessait les Chrétiens qui étaient en rapports avec lui, je l'avais fait remplacer par Franco Efendi. Laissé à Damas sur sa demande pour cause de maladie, il s'est posé comme mon Délégué auprès des autorités et même auprès des Consuls. Sa conduite m'ayant été signalée par les autorités, et je la croyais bien loin de l'état où je l'ai trouvée, je lui avais donné l'ordre de retourner à Beyrout, et je suis arrivée ici avant son départ.

Dénoncée comme concussionnaire je l'ai fait arrêter immédiatement, et j'ai trouvé chez lui l'argent et les quelques objets qui pésent à sa charge. Comme il se montrait aux yeux du public plus que le Président du Tribunal

Extraordinaire c'est cette conduite incompréhensible qui avait failli compromettre ce Tribunal, dont tous les membres sont des hommes d'une honnêteté et d'une probité bien connues.

Je suis entré dans tous ces détails pour faire disparaître des soupçons qui pouvaient planer sur les hommes auxquels j'avais donné ma confiance; c'est pour cette raison que je m'estime très heureux d'avoir fait cette découverte, qui me donne l'occasion de montrer que la justice que je suis appelé à exercer peut atteindre les hommes qui se trouvent attachés même à ma mission.

Une de vos lettres me parle des Chrétiens du Hauran, sur la situation desquels la Commission a bien voulu appeler mon attention. J'ai reçu aussi une pétition de leur part et une délégation est venue me voir aujourd'hui.

Impossible de donner une garantie à Ismail-el-Atrash, qui s'est conduit d'une manière atroce lors des évènements de Hasbeya et de Rasheya. J'ai dû chercher un autre moyen pour assurer l'état des Chrétiens dans le cas où nos colonnes attaqueraient les Chefs Druses des Hauran, auxquels ceux du Liban se sont joints aujourd'hui. La famille de Amer pour laquelle les Chrétiens ont donné de très bons témoignages pouvant nous servir dans ce but, j'ai pris des dispositions pour les employer afin de créer un refuge chez eux pour les Chrétiens du Hauran, qui sont très peu nombreux d'après mes informations.

Halim Pacha est parti aujourd'hui pour Sasa, pour former les colonnes de poursuite à organiser. J'ai pu rassembler dans ce but une masse de Cavallerie Irrégulière d'environ 3,000 hommes.

Ce Général sera de retour Jeudi, et en le laissant ici j'espère partir le soir même pour être Vendredi ou Samedi à Beyrout.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) FUAD.

Inclosure 6 in No. 182.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, November* 3, 1860.

I PURPOSE in this despatch to submit to your Excellency's consideration a scheme for the settlement of this Province, which appears to me to afford a fair chance of success.

In attempting to resolve the difficulties of the Syrian question I am aware that I undertake a task of great difficulty; that the situation of affairs is sufficiently complicated to baffle the most subtle ingenuity, and that it will be impossible to reconcile all the conflicting interests at stake. If, therefore, the plan which I propose should seem liable to many just objections, I would ask your Excellency to remember that at the best we have before us but a choice of evils.

I will begin by stating that after due inquiry and observation I have come to the conclusion that, notwithstanding that Syria is inhabited by ten distinct and uncivilized races, and that these races are again split up into seventeen fanatical sects, the government of the country under certain conditions would be a matter of little difficulty. Submission to superior authority is the natural instinct of all these people. Many of the tribes, indeed, are lawless and unruly, but the Druses alone possess anything approaching to a spirit of independence. The Maronites are arrogant to the weak, but as servile as the rest of their countrymen to those they fear; while the bulk of the peasantry is industrious, patient, and submissive. The only thing necessary, therefore, to secure public tranquillity is, that a Government should be constituted of sufficient strength to make itself respected. If it is destitute of this essential quality, the elements of discord in existence are numerous enough to maintain a state of endless confusion. Consequently, in considering any arrangement for the future it will be necessary to ascertain the causes which have hitherto enfeebled or demoralized the energies of the local administration.

It is not, however, necessary that I should weary your Excellency with an enumeration of all those symptoms of infirmity (inseparable from

Mahometan institutions) which are equally common to every portion of the Empire. I will content myself with calling your attention to such as may be considered peculiarly incidental to the government of this Province.

In the first place, then, I would remark that, for years past, Syria has been looked upon by the Porte as an outlying Pashalic, from which, in addition to the revenues to be obtained through the legitimate process of taxation, a considerable profit might be extracted by farming the post of Governor to such persons as could be induced to bid the highest price for it. In order to reimburse himself for his outlay, each newly-appointed Mushir was compelled to inaugurate his arrival in the country by visiting its inhabitants with the most intolerable exaction.

The process of squeezing he himself had undergone at Constantinople was applied to the province as soon as he reached Damascus. As it was for the advantage of the corrupt officials at the seat of government that these operations should be repeated as frequently as possible, the instrument of their rapacity stood in constant dread of receiving his recall.

In order to secure the indulgence of his protectors, it became necessary to satisfy their impatience with repeated bribes. Even so the duration of his term of office rarely exceeded two years, and it was only by the most unscrupulous activity in the work of spoliation that he was enabled to obtain a profit on the capital he had sunk in the purchase of the appointment.

This system naturally resulted in the province becoming cursed with a succession of incapable Pro-Consuls, chosen without any regard to their qualifications, ruthless in their oppressions, corrupt administrators of justice, and utterly indifferent to the interests of the people.

In order to show that even the present crisis has not been sufficient to startle the Porte into a change of system, I may mention that the person they sent to succeed the late Ahmet Pasha at Damascus is so utterly incompetent that it has been found necessary to supersede him.

Another cause of weakness to which the Government of this province is peculiarly subject arises from its strategical isolation. In consequence of the poverty of the Empire, it is impossible to furnish its various Pashalics with an adequate supply of troops. Consequently, whenever an emergency arises in one part of the Sultan's dominions, other portions are denuded of their garrisons in order to meet it. The crisis passed, the contingents return to their former stations. But Syria being so remote, the vacuum remains unsupplied for a longer period than in any other province. It was during one of these intervals in the military occupation of the country that the late disturbance occurred.

A third fatal impediment to unembarrassed action on the part of even the least ill-intentioned Governor may be attributed to the fact that all the Turkish officials are totally ignorant of the language, habits, and mode of thought of those they are sent to rule. Each fresh Pasha is accompanied by a batch of dependents equally new to the country. He and they are obliged to put themselves in the hands of intriguing natives.

For the reasons I have already stated his sojourn in the country does not last long enough to emancipate him from the trammels in which his ignorance confines him, and even if undisgraced by malversation his administration is disfigured by blunders and mismanagement.

Were it necessary to pursue this train of reasoning, I might point to other circumstances which may be considered to place this province in a different category from the remaining constituent portions of the Empire; but I think I have said enough to lead your Excellency to divine in what direction the remedy for its present misgovernment may be found to lie.

In the first place the charge of ruling the Syrian population ought to be confided to a man whose position should be rendered independent of the baneful influences dominant at Constantinople. He should be relieved from the obligation of paying black-mail to those in power at home. He should feel himself sufficiently secure in his Government to be able to defy the intrigues of his colleagues at the capital, and the exacting tutelage of European Consuls in his Pashalic. His appointments, secured on the revenues of the province, should be on a scale sufficiently liberal to

obviate the temptations to which a needy official is exposed. His enjoyment of power should be secured to him for a term of years long enough to enable him to acquaint himself with the requirements of the country, and to inspire him with an interest in the welfare of the people. Above all things the selection of the individual should be made by the Porte in conjunction with the Great Powers, in order to secure the appointment of a person of talent and integrity.

At the same time that the future Administrator of the province is invested with this character of partial independence, the organization of its garrison ought to be placed on a footing somewhat different from that of the rest of the Imperial army. Although a very efficient local police might be created out of the native element, the submission of the province must always depend on the presence of Turkish Regulars. It would be, therefore, necessary to secure the constant presence of a certain number of these troops; but as the resources of the country if properly developed would be amply sufficient to maintain better equipped regiments than any in the army of the Sultan, precautions must be taken against their being borrowed by the Porte.

Finally, in order to give to the man whom Europe will hold responsible for the good government of the province liberty to carry out an improved policy in every Department of his Administration, a similar independence might be extended to the fiscal regulations of the Pashalic. The amount of tribute to be paid to the Porte once being ascertained, all other arrangements affecting the financial prosperity of the country should be determined by local considerations.

Such are the inexhaustible riches of its soil, the magnificent extent of its three great plains of Cœle-Syria, the Hauran, and Esdraelon, the facilities it possesses for the manufacture of silk, and, probably, for the growth of cotton, that it is to be expected, if only life and property were secure, the resources of the country would become second only to those of Egypt.

But this scheme, however plausible, must fall to the ground unless we be able to discover a man of sufficient intelligence, energy, and experience to serve as key-stone to the arch, and to command the suffrages of the European Powers.

In looking for such a person one's attention is naturally directed towards his Excellency Fuad Pasha. Though, undoubtedly, his conduct since arriving in the country may present many grave occasions for criticism, yet, on the whole, if we take into account the difficulties of his position, the unparalleled nature of the emergency he had to meet, and the utter absence of trustworthy assistants, it is impossible to deny that he has exhibited an amount of skill and prudence that might well qualify him for the post in question.

Nevertheless I am bound to add, that it is rather by a just appreciation of what it was necessary to do than by any great administrative ability that his Excellency's conduct has been distinguished; I might even be inclined to say, did not the deficiency of his resources plead in his favour, that he is not conspicuous for any great powers of organization, and that a person less talented, but with equal judgment and more pertinacity, would be better suited to the emergency. On the whole, however, perhaps, it would be difficult to find among Turkish Statesmen a man more fitted for the post.

It may be with justice objected to the above proposal, that to erect the Province of Syria into a single Pashalic, and to invest the Governor-General with such extraordinary privileges, might be considered to inaugurate the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. It is certainly impossible to deny that the plan involves the placing of the civil and military organization of the Province on a semi-independent footing, but it seems to me possible the transition from one condition to the other might be effected in a manner sufficiently imperceptible to escape the evil consequences attendant on any violent change of system.

Although it might be necessary to surround the position of the new Pasha with such circumstances of splendour as are wont to beguile the imagination of mankind, he would still remain the servant of the Sultan,

and the Governor, not the Viceroy, of the Province. It might even be stipulated that, at the expiration of a certain term, His Imperial Majesty should resume the direct administration of the country.

Should the scheme, however, be thus far considered unobjectionable, we are still distant from a solution of the difficulty. It is true we may have constructed our machinery; we may have even found a man capable of superintending it: but whence is the motive power to be derived that is to set it all in action? Where shall we discover the capital it will be necessary to sink in constituting an Administration, in equipping an army, in repairing the devastations which have paralyzed the energies of the population? A sum of three millions sterling would hardly be sufficient to cover these expenses.

If once security were established, and the resources of the country were developed, the surplus of the revenue would suffice to pay off a debt to the above amount in a very few years; but to create that security, and to develop these resources, we require what cannot be obtained unless they shall already have been called into existence. We are moving in a vicious circle. I do not know whether, under these circumstances, it might be considered advisable by the Governments of Europe to cut the Gordian knot with a golden sword, but at present such an expedient seems the only one capable of saving the country from complete disorganization.

Turning, however, from the consideration of this part of the question, I will now proceed to examine the constitution of the Lebanon, and the mode in which it could be worked up into the general plan. If we had before us a *tabula rasa,* I should be inclined to say that the simplest and most practical arrangement would be to assimilate the Mountain to the rest of the Pashalic, and entrust its administration to the Governor of the Province.

There can be little doubt but that the late massacres, and all the wars, quarrels, and disturbances which have agitated the Lebanon for the last fifteen years, may be attributed to the dissatisfaction of the Turkish Government with the partial autonomy it enjoyed. Their policy has been to prove the scheme adopted by the Great Powers in 1845 impossible. With this object in view, they stimulated, as occasion served, the chronic animosity existing between Maronites and Druses.

In proportion as foreign influences exalted the arrogance and fanaticism of the Christians, their independence became more insufferable to the Turks, and a determination was arrived at to inflict on them, through the instrumentality of the Druses, a severer measure of chastisement than they had yet received. What occurred at Hasbeya, Rasheya, and Deir-el-Kamar was an exaggeration of the plan. Khoorshid Pasha and his accomplices were incapable of carrying so subtle a policy into execution: the play was over-acted, and an "esclandre" took place.

As long, therefore, as the principle of Turkish rule in Syria continues to be accepted, their exclusion from the Mountain is incompatible with its tranquillity. By making it the interest of the Government to compel peace instead of to excite war, we shall obtain the best security for the maintenance of harmony between the hostile tribes.

Late events have demonstrated that the Christians must be no longer subjected to Druse supremacy. But the admission of this principle implies the assertion of its converse. If Druses cannot be suffered to govern Christians, certainly Christians must not govern Druses. The Mixed districts therefore, that is to say, the whole of the Lebanon south of the road leading from Beyrout to Damascus, must be handed over to the jurisdiction of some third party, and that party can only be the Turk. It would seem, then, that the best practical arrangement for the Lebanon would be to allow the Northern division, which is solely inhabited by Christians, to retain its Kaimakam, and to suffer the remainder of the Mountain to be governed by the same method as the rest of the province.

In order, however, to mitigate as much as possible the inconvenience of an *imperium in imperio,* I would recommend that the Kaimakam should be nominated by the Governor-General; the Christian Mookatas or heritable fiefs should be abolished; and that the feudal Sheikhs should be converted

into officers appointed during good behaviour. To these details, however, I should not wish to pledge myself.

It is very much to be feared that, no matter what is done, the Mountain will be always subject to intrigues. Every advantage will be taken of the shortcomings of the new Government to excite the sympathies of Europe in favour of an extension to all the Christians of the Lebanon of the privileges enjoyed by the Kesrouan. It is undoubtedly much to be lamented that any Christian community should be subject to Mahometan rule, but it is a principle accepted by Europe, and in this respect the Southern Lebanese will be no worse off than their co-religionists of Damascus, of Mount Hermon, and of the rest of the Empire.

If, therefore, the composition of the Mountain should be effected as I propose, it is to be hoped that the consenting Powers who exercise influence over its inhabitants will forbid their agents to countenance the intrigues of an interested and unscrupulous priesthood to disturb an arrangement which, with all its evils, is probably the best that can be devised.

I have thus, to the best of my ability, submitted to your Excellency a description of the arrangements I would venture to recommend should be adopted in reference to this country, together with some of the considerations which may be urged on their behalf. I only trust that I shall not be thought presumptuous in having done so. I am aware that my proposal may appear but a crude and undigested plan; but your own acquaintance with the subject will enable your Excellency to supply most of the deficiencies. If I should be thought to have exceeded my functions in suggesting the adoption of such a principle as is implied in the arrangements I propose, I would again venture to remind you that I have entered upon this question thus prematurely in order, as I have said before, to have the advantage of knowing your Excellency's opinion before the subject is discussed by the Commission. We are still occupied with the first portion of our task, and some time is likely to elapse before we take into our consideration the reorganization of the Lebanon.

Inclosure 7 in No. 182.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, November* 3, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the sixth sitting of the Syrian Commission, held on the 20th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 8 in No. 182.

Protocol of the Sixth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, October 26, 1860.

LE Vendredi, vingt-six Octobre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires se trouvant réunies à Beyrout, chez le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte, la séance est ouverte à deux heures et demie, sous la présidence de son Excellence Fuad Pacha.

Après la lecture et l'adoption du procès-verbal de la séance précédent le Président, prenant la parole, exprime la satisfaction qu'il éprouve en venant pour la première fois s'associer aux travaux de la Commission. Dans l'accomplissement de la tâche, à la fois honorable et pénible, qui lui a été confiée par son Gouvernement, il espère que les concours des Commissaires ne lui fera jamais défaut.

Quant à lui il réunit dans sa personne un double caractère, celui de fonctionnaire investi d'attributions exceptionnelles et exécutives, en vertu des pleins pouvoirs qui lui ont été conférés par son Souverain, et celui de membre de la Commission qu'il a l'honneur de présider.

La poursuite et le châtiment des coupables d'une part, en second lieu

les réparations dues aux victimes, enfin les mesures à prendre pour prévenir le retour de pareilles calamités, tels sont les principaux points qu'il a en vue et auxquels le Gouvernement du Sultan est plus intéressé encore que l'Europe elle-même. Or, rien ne pourra l'empêcher de mener à bonne fin cette entreprise, en ce qui concerne particulièrement la punition des coupables; ni leur nombre, ni leur qualité ne seront un obstacle à la réalisation de l'œuvre vengeresse dont il est chargé.

Fuad Pacha entre ensuite dans quelques explications sur les actes accomplis par lui tant à Damas que dans la Montagne: à Damas, où la justice a déjà frappé des criminels de tout rang; dans la Montagne, où il reste encore beaucoup à faire. Mû par un intérêt d'humanité, intérêt connu à toutes les Puissances représentées dans le sein de la Commission, le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman se flatte de n'être suspect d'aucune arrière-pensée, et de pouvoir, par conséquent, faire appel au bon vouloir de la Commission. Il comblera les lacunes qui lui seront signalées, mais tout en sollicitant les avis dont il a besoin, il désire que ses conseils soient exempts de tout esprit de censure. La censure engendre la discorde, tandis qu'une bienveillance réciproque ne peut que faciliter le résultat auquel tendent les efforts communs.

Le Commissaire d'Autriche, en réponse au discours de Fuad Pacha, fait observer que des deux qualités réunies dans la personne du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman la Commission ne doit se préoccuper que d'une seule, celle qui lui vaut l'avantage de le compter dans son sein comme collègue et comme Président. Il reconnaît pleinement la communauté d'intérêts qui existe entre tous les Commissaires, et il croit pouvoir promettre en leur nom le concours qui leur est demandé. Il ne doute pas non plus que justice se fasse, mais il pense que la justice proprement dite ne suffit pas: l'Europe attend autre chose du Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte. Les pleins pouvoirs dont il est armé lui permettent de déployer une extrême sévérité et de faire éclater ainsi l'indignation que les massacres de la Syrie ont dû causer à son Gouvernement. Il importe également que les Tribunaux soient animés d'un pareil esprit, surtout vis-à-vis des Chefs Druses, qui sont tous coupables, les uns pour avoir agi, les autres pour avoir laissé faire.

Fuad Pacha, répliquant à M. de Weckbecker, rappelle qu'en fait de sévérité il peut déjà citer des preuves. A Damas, en un seul jour des centaines de condamnations ont été prononcées. Un Mushir a payé de sa tête les griefs qui lui étaient imputés. Il est donc tout-à-fait d'accord avec le préopinant. A son avis ce n'est pas seulement parceque l'Europe les réclame qu'il est tenu d'accorder les satisfactions, mais parceque son Gouvernement le juge nécessaire, et qu'en cela il rencontre le sentiment général de l'Europe.

Le Commissaire d'Autriche, chargé par ses collègues d'adresser quelques interpellations au Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, lui soumet d'abord la question relative au Colonel Hosni Bek, dont la présence parmi les membres du Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrout cause un certain scandale, vu les charges qui paraissent peser sur lui, en sa qualité d'ancien Commandant de la garnison de Baalbek.

Fuad Pacha répond que cet officier s'est bien comporté dans les premiers procès de Damas; il fournit à ce sujet quelques détails sur la composition du jury militaire qu'il a cru devoir instituer. Le Colonel Hosni Bek en faisait partie comme ayant été designé par le régiment. Néanmoins, et bien qu'aucune accusation formelle n'ait été dirigée contre lui jusqu'à ce jour, sa conduite sera soumise à une enquête minutieuse. Il sera d'abord éloigné provisoirement du tribunal.

Le Commissaire Français explique les motifs qui l'ont déterminé à appeler le premier l'attention de ses collègues sur les bruits auxquels donnaient lieu les antécédents du Colonel Hosni Bek. La plupart des officiers de l'armée Ottomane étaient plus ou moins compromis, mais rien ne les signalait particulièrement à l'animadversion publique, tandis que le Colonel Hosni Bek, en raison de la position exceptionnelle qu'il occupait dans le Tribunal de Beyrout, avait dû soulever plus d'animosité et rendre l'opinion plus sévère sur la part de responsabilité qui lui est attribuée dans les événements de Baalbek.

Le Commissaire Prussien, et après lui M. de Weckbecker, fournissent quelques indications sur la nature de la culpabilité qu'on impute au Colonel Hosni Bek, lequel semble d'ailleurs moins gravement compromis qu'Hassan Yazeji, Commandant des Bashi-bozouk, et que divers membres de la famille Harfûsh.

Fuad Pacha dit que, à Damas, comme dans les autres localités qu'il a visitées, il a tout fait pour provoquer les dénonciations des Chrétiens. Il ne recherche que la vérité, bien loin de vouloir soustraire qui que ce soit aux poursuites de la justice. Aussi s'empressera-t-il de recueillir de nouvelles informations. Quant à la famille Harfûsh il rappelle que c'est une famille de brigands.

Le Commissaire Russe, en réponse aux explications fournies dans une séance précédente par Abro Efendi, sur la personne de Shakîr Pacha, ci-devant Chef du Medjlis Militaire de Damas, expose que la conduite de ce fonctionnaire lui avait été signalée par la voix publique comme ayant donné lieu à de graves soupçons. Pendant la première nuit de l'émeute se trouvant avec ses officiers dans le voisinage du quartier Chrétien, il aurait assisté en spectateur indifférent aux progrès de l'incendie et du pillage.

M. Novikow avait également pensé qu'un Chef d'Etat-Major, appelé par ses fonctions mêmes à être dans le secret de toutes les dispositions du Seraskier, devait porter une bonne part de la responsabilité de son Chef. Ayant appris, depuis, que Shakir Pacha avait été jugé et acquitté par un masbata, il réserve son appréciation définitive à ce sujet pour le moment où il aura pu prendre connaissance des dossiers.

Le Président donne des éclaircissements sur les circonstances dans lesquelles Shakir Pacha a été acquitté non par le tribunal de Damas, mais par le Conseil de Guerre. Le jury militaire assermenté qui s'est prononcé sur la culpabilité ou sur l'innocence des prévenus, comptait dans son sein un officier Prussien au service de la Porte. Tout s'est passé régulièrement. Non seulement il a été reconnu que Shakir Pacha avait fait son devoir, mais encore qu'il avait contribué à sauver un grand nombre de Chrétiens.

Le Commissaire Français, suivant l'engagement pris par lui dans la séance précédente, interpelle le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman à propos des massacres de Saida. Il rappelle qu'un nombre considérable de Chrétiens fugitifs ont été égorgés aux portes de Saida, lorsqu'ils venaient y chercher un asile. Les poursuites exercées jusqu'ici contre les auteurs de pareils forfaits lui semblent insuffisantes.

Fuad Pacha répond qu'il n'a passé que deux jours à Saida. Durant son séjour dans cette ville il s'est entouré de toutes les informations possibles. M. Krantz, Commandant du navire de guerre Français la "Sentinelle," M. Gaillardot, médecin Français, le Vice-Consul d'Espagne, et d'autres ont été interrogés par lui et n'ont fourni que des renseignements vagues.

Néanmoins plusieurs arrestations ont eu lieu, et bon nombre d'enrôlements forcés ont été opérés. Qu'on fasse des dénonciations et les accusés seront poursuivis.

Le Commissaire Français fait observer que les autorités Ottomanes civiles ou militaires, dans toutes les localités où se sont produites des scènes de meurtre ou de pillage, doivent être tenues pour responsables de ce qui s'est passé sous leurs yeux. C'est aux dépositaires de la force publique qu'on doit s'en prendre, soit pour avoir favorisé, soit pour n'avoir pas réprimé les désordres.

Cette remarque s'applique à Saida, comme aux autres points de la Syrie où le sang Chrétien a été versé.

Fuad Pacha promet, pour la séance suivante, un compte-rendu succinct de tout ce qu'il a fait jusqu'à présent. Il répète qu'il est prêt à combler les lacunes qui lui seront signalées, ainsi qu'à utiliser le concours et les lumières de ses collègues. Comme fonctionnaire Ottoman, il doit défendre l'indépendance et l'autonomie de son pays; en dehors de cette préoccupation il connaît trop bien le caractère de la mission dont il est chargé pour prétendre en retirer aucune gloire. C'est comme justicier qu'il a été envoyé en Syrie, et il saura remplir sa tâche jusqu'au bout.

M. Béclard croit être l'interprète fidèle de la Commission tout entière

en disant qu'il lui tarde de sortir de la phase si pénible de la répression, pour n'avoir plus à s'occuper que des travaux relatifs aux indemnités et à la réorganisation du Liban.

Lord Dufferin déclare qu'il trouve insuffisante la concession aux termes de laquelle les Commissaires peuvent assister, ou se faire représenter par des délégués, aux audiences du Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrout. Il réclame pour les délégués le droit de concourir à la recherche de la vérité, en suggérant au tribunal les questions qu'il leur paraissait nécessaire d'adresser, soit aux prévenus, soit aux témoins.

A ce propos et sur la demande de M. de Rehfues, Lord Dufferin explique un incident qui s'est produit dans le cours de l'une des dernières audiences. Le délégué Britannique a cru devoir interpeller le greffier sur la question de savoir s'il avait inscrit la déclaration d'un témoin à décharge. On s'est aperçu ainsi que cette déclaration n'avait pas été inscrite.

Le Commissaire d'Autriche appuie la motion de Lord Dufferin, mais en la modifiant; il pense que les délégués doivent assister aux audiences comme simple spectateurs, et que les Commissaires seuls, sur le rapport de leurs délégués, sont recevables à présenter des observations dans le sein de la Commission.

Lord Dufferin maintient son opinion, attendu, dit-il, que les délégués, en suivant pas à pas la marche du procès sont à même de suggérer des avis dont l'effet sera d'autant meilleur qu'il sera instantané.

MM. Béclard et Novikow partagent la manière de voir du Commissaire d'Autriche. Ils craignent que les délégués, par leur intervention personnelle, n'exercent une influence quelconque sur le tribunal, ou ne préjugent l'opinion des Commissaires eux-mêmes.

Fuad Pacha répond que, d'après ses instructions, le jugement est réservé à l'autorité locale; les délégués ne pourraient donc y participer sans porter atteinte aux formes prescrites. Il rappelle d'ailleurs que l'instruction une fois terminée, le procès-verbal est présenté à l'accusé, qui, avant de le signer, peut faire ses réserves. C'est pour lui un moyen de contrôle.

M. de Rehfues demande s'il ne serait pas possible que l'accusé fût assisté d'un défenseur ou vekîl.

Fuad Pacha ne nie pas que l'institution des défenseurs ne rendent de grands services dans les pays où elle a été adoptée. Mais, là où elle n'existe pas, une pareille institution ne peut être introduite du jour ou lendemain. Il fait valoir le manque d'hommes et la différence d'habitude pour prouver que la chose serait impraticable en Syrie.

Une longue discussion s'engage à ce propos. Lord Dufferin pense que l'isolément auquel le prévenu se trouve réduit le met dans l'impossibilité de préparer ses moyens de défense et de faire comparaître les témoins dont la déposition lui serait utile. Fuad Pacha lui répond que le prévenu n'a qu'à désigner ses témoins au Tribunal, qui ne manquera jamais de les convoquer. M. Béclard fait observer que si l'accusé est privé de défenseur, il n'a pas non plus vis-à-vis de lui l'accusateur public: l'une des deux lacunes est corrigée par l'autre. Fuad Pacha signale les abus qui ne manqueraient pas de se produire si le prévenu était autorisé à choisir un défenseur. Ce dernier pour se procurer des témoignages favorables serait trop disposé à recourir aux moyens les moins avouables.

M. Novikow revient sur la question de l'enquête judiciaire. La Commission, dit-il, ne peut remplir le mandat qui lui est tracé par ses instructions identiques qu'en étant admise à faire valoir auprès des Juges son opinion tant sur la marche que sur le résultat de toute enquête partielle; de son côté la Porte dans les instructions dont elle a muni son Plénipotentiaire assimile le grand procès mixte pendant devant les tribunaux Ottomans. La Commission se trouve investie par là d'un droit d'intervention exactement pareil à celui qu'exercent en Turquie les Missions et les Consulats, dans tout procès mixte jugé par les tribunaux du pays. Partant de ce point de vue le Commissaire Russe croit pouvoir résumer ainsi le vœu de la Commission: "Admise déjà à suivre la marche du procès, elle demande également qu'après que les interrogatoires auront été terminés, aucun arrêt définitif ne soit prononcé sans qu'elle ait eu la faculté de formuler préalablement son avis sur l'ensemble de l'enquête, et de suggérer, s'il y a lieu, à son Excellence Fuad Pacha les éléments d'un

interrogatoire supplémentaire qu'elle jugerait nécessaire pour éclairer sa conscience." Cette motion est appuyée par tous les Commissaires.

Fuad Pacha explique que les tribunaux extraordinaires institués par lui ne rendent pas de jugements proprement dits, mais se bornent à lui adresser des rapports dont les conclusions seraient sans effet si elles n'étaient confirmées par lui. D'après les lois Ottomanes, aucune sentence de mort ne peut être exécutée si elle n'est revêtue de la sanction souveraine. C'est donc en vertu de ses pleins pouvoirs qu'il convertit en sentences définitives les conclusions des rapports qui lui sont soumis. Il ne se refuse pas à communiquer dorénavant les susdits rapports à la Commission, qui pourra lui dire ce qu'elle en pense.

Cette proposition est acceptée à l'unanimité.

Fuad Pacha demande à présenter quelques observations sur le passage du dernier procès-verbal dans lequel il est question de l'arrivée à Beyrout des notables récemment condamnés. Le cortège qui les accompagnait n'était autre chose qu'une garde de sûreté. Quant aux litières qui servaient à transporter deux des condamneés, elles leur avaient été accordées pour cause de vieillesse et de maladie.

Le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman entre ensuite dans de longs détails sur les circonstances qui ont précédé la condamnation du Sheikh Abdallah-el-Halebi, et des autres membres du Grand Conseil. Il énumère les charges que l'opinion publique faisait peser sur eux, mais sans qu'aucune preuve eût été fournie à l'appui de ces accusations. Il rend compte des recherches auxquelles ils s'est livré à l'effet de résoudre la question de savoir s'il y avait eu réellement complot ; il cite enfin les différents Articles traduits du Code Français qu'on pouvait appliquer aux prévenus. Leur culpabilité en définitive résultait de ce qu'ils n'avaient pas pris les mesures nécessaires pour empêcher les désordres. L'un d'eux a été condamné à la réclusion perpétuelle dans une forteresse ; deux autres à quinze ans de prison ; trois, à dix ans de réclusion ; les cinq derniers à trois ans d'exil. Les dossiers relatifs à leur procès ne sont pas clos. Si de nouvelles charges s'élèvent contre eux, leur peine pourra être aggravée ; jusque là ils seront envoyés à proximité dans l'Ile de Chypre. Quant à cette dernière décision Fuad Pacha consulte cependant la Commission, qui déclare n'y trouver aucun inconvénient.

M. Béclard rappelle que dans le mémorandum adressé au Plénipotentiaire Ottoman dès le jour de la première réunion des Commissaires, il était parlé du désarmement générale de la population de Damas, comme d'une mesure indispensable. Il y ajoute le vœu qu'une contribution spéciale soit imposée à la population Musulmane au profit des Chrétiens.

Fuad Pacha répond que le désarmement s'opère en ce moment même et par son ordre. Il s'est également occupé au début de sa mission de la question relative à l'impôt qu'il s'agit de faire peser sur la population Musulmane, et ce projet n'est pas abandonné par lui.

Interpellé par M. de Rehfues à propos de la proclamation attribuée à Abdalla-el-Halebi, Fuad Pacha déclare sur l'honneur que personne ne lui en a jamais parlé à Damas ; aussi a-t-il été fort étonné d'apprendre que des copies de ce document avaient été circulé à Constantinople.

La discussion relative à la défense des accusés est reprise sur la demande de Lord Dufferin, qui donne lecture de différentes pièces tendant à établir que les interrogatoires judiciaires auxquels ont pu assister les délégués de la Commission n'ont pas été dirigés d'une manière équitable ; il réclame plus de garanties pour les accusés.

Fuad Pacha, en réponse à cette demande, signale de nouveau les difficultés qui s'opposent à ce que des changements soient introduits dans la procédure, ainsi que les inconvénients attachés à l'intervention directe des délégués.

M. de Weckbecker déclare qu'à son point de vue la Commission n'est pas investie du mandat que lui attribue Lord Dufferin. Elle est tenue seulement de provoquer la punition des coupables.

Les Commissaires d'Angleterre et de Prusse s'élèvent contre cette opinion ; ils pensent que la Commission est intéressée avant tout à la découverte de la vérité.

A des interpellations réitérées de Lord Dufferin et de M. de Rehfues,

Fuad Pacha répond que sans s'engager à permettre aux accusés de recourir à l'assistance de défenseurs, il recherchera avec soin les moyens d'entourer leur défense de toutes les garanties possibles. Il y est plus intéressé que personne, puisque c'est lui qui signe les sentences de mort, et qui en supporte la responsabilité.

M. Novikow exprime l'intention d'interpeller Fuad Pacha au sujet de la réinstallation des Chrétiens dans les villages de la Montagne; mais vû l'heure avancée, il est convenu, sur la proposition du Président, que cette question sera traitée à fond dans la séance suivante.

La réinstallation des Chrétiens et toutes les questions qui s'y rattachent sont donc mises à l'ordre du jour, et la séance est levée à six heures et quart.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 9 in No. 182.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, November* 3, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the seventh sitting of the Commission.

The subject proposed for our consideration was the reparation of the houses of the Christians, and the precautions to be taken against the exigencies of the winter.

An unanimous opinion was expressed by the European Commissioners as to the gravity of the emergency, and the necessity for immediate action, and no one could have accepted with greater alacrity than Fuad Pasha the various suggestions that were made as to the steps to be taken. Nevertheless, the sum total of our proceedings may be said to have consisted in a simple avowal of insolvency, and an appeal *ad misericordiam* on the part of his Excellency.

I cannot say how alarmed I am become at the aspect of affairs. In vain we have debated the various expedients by which money may be obtained—a fine on the city of Damascus; an impost on all the towns of Syria; a contribution levied on the Druses. No method has presented itself which seems likely to be productive of any very satisfactory result. His Excellency stated that he had enough money to carry the province through the winter; but I very much doubt if this can be the case. His army is six, twelve, twenty months, in arrear: no provision of fuel, corn, or forage, has been made, either for the soldiers or the refugees. The allowances distributed for the reconstruction of the villages is insufficient to provide each family with a single room; and people are already beginning to be picked up dying on the hill-side.

All the sums accruing from Customs and port dues, though already mortgaged at Constantinople, have been seized, and the destitution of the Government is daily illustrated by the petty shifts to which it condescends in order to make one piastre do the work of two.

In the meantime, the emigration still continues from Damascus, no more than 2,000 adults being now left within its walls. On the Mountain, Christians and Druses alike express their apprehensions of a famine; while the numbers on the lists of the Anglo-American Relief Committee have increased during the last week from 23,000 to 29,000 persons.

In fact, the disorganization in the Government is gradually leading to a decomposition of society.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 10 in No. 182.

Protocol of the Seventh Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, October 30, 1860.

LE Mardi, trente Octobre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout chez le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime

Porte, la séance est ouverte à deux heures et demie, sous la présidence de son Excellence Fuad Pacha.

Le procès-verbal ayant été lu et adopté, Fuad Pacha s'excuse de n'avoir pu encore, faute de temps, terminer le travail destiné à la Commission, dans lequel seront exposés les actes accomplis par lui depuis son arrivée en Syrie.

La question à l'ordre du jour, dit-il ensuite, est celle du rétablissement des Chrétiens dans leurs foyers. Ce sujet est étroitement lié à l'un des trois points dans lesquels se résume la tâche à l'accomplissement de laquelle la Commission doit concourir, savoir, la répression, la réparation, et la réorganisation. Pour le rétablissement des Chrétiens, on a fait jusqu'à présent tout ce qu'il était possible de faire avec des moyens bornés. A Damas, trois quartiers Musulmans ont été évacués pour y loger les Chrétiens, jusque là réfugiés dans la citadelle. Ce qu'on a pu retrouver des effets pillés, en fait de couvertures et autres objets de première nécessité, leur a été distribué, non à titre de restitution, mais à titre de secours. Il a été, en outre, alloué à chaque Chrétien une ration de pain et cinquante paras par jour. Ces distributions ont lieu sous la surveillance de divers Comités composés de notables Chrétiens. De là résulte une dépense de 500,000 à 600,000 piastres par mois. Les objets de literie n'ayant pas suffi, une requisition faite parmi les Musulmans a fourni 2,000 ou 3,000 matelas. Dans la Montagne avant que la Commission ne fût réunie à Beyrout, des Comités spéciaux parcouraient déjà les villages pour évaluer les dépenses de reconstruction, et, sur leur rapport, des à-comptes ont été repartis entre les ayant-droit. Depuis lors la Commission a demandé que ses délégués fussent admis à faire partie de ces Comités ; mais comme le travail d'évaluation tire à sa fin, la présence des délégués servira plutôt à assurer l'exécution des mesures arrêtées pour la reconstruction des villages. La grande difficulté consiste dans la question d'argent : le Gouvernement fait tous ses efforts pour s'en procurer ; y compris les paiements à effectuer sous peu de jours, la dépense s'élève déjà à environ 4,500,000 piastres. Or, cela ne suffit pas. Il importe de faire recouvrir une partie des maisons avant l'hiver. A cet effet tous les Druses et Musulmans ont été frappés de réquisitions pour des bois à fournir aux Chrétiens. On a également séquestré au profit de ces derniers les mulets appartenant aux Druses de la Bekâa. Enfin l'ordre a été donné de partager entre les Chrétiens une partie des denrées qui seront trouvées chez les Druses, sauf à en tenir compte ultérieurement à ceux-ci.

Le Commissaire Français dit avoir appris que dans certains villages Mixtes beaucoup de maisons se trouvaient vacantes par suite du départ des Druses qui ont fui vers le Hauran ; il demande que ces maisons soient assignées provisoirement aux Chrétiens. Il ajoute que, lors des derniers événements, les Chrétiens de la partie Mixte du Liban n'ayant pu faire leurs récoltes, ces récoltes ont été accaparées par les Druses qui les possèdent aujourd'hui en magasin. L'équité lui paraît exiger que la moitié au moins des grains en question soit attribué aux Chrétiens. Il réclame enfin pour les habitants de Zahlé qui travaillent à la reconstruction de leurs maisons, la faculté de couper des bois dans les forêts voisines. Cette faculté, dont ils ont toujours joui, paraît leur être refusée en ce moment, sans qu'on puisse s'expliquer le motif d'une pareille prohibition.

Fuad Pacha, en réponse à la première observation de M. Béclard, dit qu'à Deir-el-Kamar et dans les villages voisins on a déjà installé un certain nombre de Chrétiens dans les maisons des Druses. On agira de même toutes les fois que cette mesure sera praticable. Quant au dépôts de grains, on les met en réquisition partout où il en existe. Des ordres ont été donnés, à plusieurs reprises différentes, pour que les Chrétiens de Zahlé puissent couper dans les forêts de la plaine de Baalbek les bois de charpente dont ils ont besoin. Ces ordres seront renouvelés. Non seulement les Chrétiens ont la faculté de couper des bois dans le voisinage de Zahlé, mais ils usent de la permission qui leur est donnée en allant faire des coupes jusqu'aux environs de Damas.

Le Commissaire Français demande à présenter une dernière observation au sujet des Chrétiens de Baalbek, de Zahlé, et d'autres localités qui, au printemps de cette année, ont payé d'avance l'impôt du "miri." Placé

ensuite dans l'impossibilité de récolter les grains qui constituent leur unique ressource, les habitants dont il s'agit se voient plongés dans la plus profonde misère. C'est pourquoi le Commissaire Français pense qu'il serait juste, soit de leur restituer ce qu'ils ont payé par anticipation, soit de les exempter du payement de l'impôt de l'année prochaine.

Fuad Pacha répond que cette proposition sera examinée et prise, s'il y a lieu, en considération.

M. Novikow appuie la motion du Commissaire Français en ce qui concerne les maisons abandonnées par les Druses. Il voudrait même qu'en cas d'urgence on fit pour la Montagne ce qui a été fait à Damas.

Fuad Pacha fait observer que la mesure prise à Damas est d'une exécution moins facile dans le Liban, où il y a peu de maisons à proprement parler, mais seulement des cabanes à peine suffisantes pour l'habitation d'une famille entière. Les Chrétiens, d'ailleurs, préfèrent être chez eux et ne s'installent qu'avec répugnance dans des maisons qui ne leur appartiennent pas.

Le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman revient sur la question du numéraire. La difficulté qu'il éprouve à se procurer des fonds paralyse les bonnes intentions dont il est animé. Déjà les revenus de la douane de Beyrout sont affectés aux soulagements des besoins les plus pressants. Sur une somme de 2,500,000 piastres reçue de Constantinople et destinée à l'entretien des troupes Fuad Pacha dit avoir retenu 2,250,000 piastres pour la reconstruction des villages. Au surplus, il est en mesure de communiquer à la Commission un état exact des sommes déjà distribuées aux Chrétiens, tant en secours journaliers que pour les frais de bâtisse. Le total des dépenses, ainsi effectuées, s'élève à 1,289,933 piastres d'une part, et 1,531,344 piastres de l'autre. Il reste à payer dans un bref délai environ 2,350,000 piastres. (Voir les deux pièces annexées au présent procès-verbal.)

Le Commissaire Russe appelle l'attention du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman sur les mesures à prendre en faveur des Chrétiens de l'Anti-Liban, c'est-à-dire, des habitants de Hasbeya et de Rasheya, lesquels, au nombre de plusieurs milliers, sont refugiés à Beyrout, et dans les autres villes de la côte.

Fuad Pacha explique que les Chrétiens en question n'ont pas tous souffert, mais que ceux mêmes dont les maisons avaient été épargnées ont pris la fuite et sont descendus vers le littoral. L'autorité leur est venue en aide. Pour ceux qui peuvent dès à présent rentrer chez eux, il ne s'agit que de garantir leur sécurité. Deux bataillons occupent à cet effet Hasbeya et Rasheya. Une Commission spéciale surveille la récolte des olives. Ordre est donné de couper les bois appartenant aux Druses et de faire des réquisitions dans les villages voisins pour hâter les travaux de reconstruction.

M. Novikow trouve ces mesures tardives, vû la saison avancée. Il doute que les Chrétiens puissent rentrer dans leurs foyers avant le printemps. En ce cas, on devrait faire en sorte qu'ils trouvassent des ressources momentanées dans les villes du littoral. En outre, les Chrétiens paraissent conserver des craintes à l'égard des Druses, qui ont déjà reparu en grand nombre dans les villages Mixtes et sont tous armés. Vis-à-vis des Chrétiens désarmés, au contraire, les Druses doivent conserver tout leur orgueil, car la répression ne les a pas suffisamment atteints.

Fuad Pacha répond en ce qui concerne la répression exercée contre les Druses, que son intention, ainsi qu'il en a fait part au Général de Beaufort, a été plutôt de les rassurer et de les déterminer ainsi à rester dans leurs villages. Ceux qui s'étaient enfuis commencent en effet à rentrer, et bientôt, grâce aux dénonciations des Chrétiens, comme aux révélations de Sheikhs actuellement détenus à Beyrout, on pourra saisir simultanément les individus les plus compromis. Déjà on a mis la main sur plusieurs d'entre eux : quelques détachements parcourent le Hauran et font aussi des arrestations.

M. Béclard croit devoir signaler comme ayant pris part, dit-on, aux massacres de Deir-el-Kamar un certain Ali Riza récemment placé à la tête de l'un des quatre cercles, dont se compose provisoirement l'ancienne Caimacamie Druse.

Fuad Pacha annonce que déjà cet individu a été privé de son emploi et que ses antécédents seront soumis à une enquête.

Lord Dufferin présente divers documents émanés du Comité de Secours Anglo-Américain dans lesquels les besoins les plus pressants des Chrétiens sont indiqués à la Commission.

Cette communication est suivie d'une conversation générale à laquelle prennent part tous les Commissaires, et qui porte à la fois sur l'évaluation approximative des dommages soufferts par les Chrétiens tant à Damas que dans le Liban, sur les divers moyens dont le Gouvernement pourrait user pour se procurer des fonds, et sur la nature du concours que les Commissaires seraient en mesure de lui prêter.

La conclusion de cet entretien est que sans une somme considérable et immédiatement disponible, il est de toute impossibilité de prendre en faveur des Chrétiens les mesures indiquées par les circonstances et rendues urgentes par l'approche de l'hiver.

Fuad Pacha exprime le désir que cette conclusion soit soumise par les Commissaires à leurs Gouvernements respectifs. Quant à lui il s'engage à présenter dans une prochaine séance un aperçu des ressources de la province ainsi que des dépenses auxquelles il s'agit de faire face.

La question des indemnités est mise à l'ordre du jour, et la séance est levée à cinq heures et demie.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Annexe.

Note des Sommes distribuées aux Chrétiens victimes des derniers événements.

	Piastres.
Payé, dans le mois d'Août, aux réfugiés de Damas dont le nombre était de 5,536.	323,015
Payé, dans le mois d'Août, aux réfugiés de Deir-el-Kamar, Hasbeya, et Rasheya, dont le nombre était de 4,944	157,667
Moyenne des frais divers, y compris la dépense de l'Hospice Impérial, contenant de 1,200 à 2,000 personnes	209,251
Moyenne des sommes données aux Chrétiens de Damas	600,000
Total	1,289,933

No. 183.

Acting Consul Wrench to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 21.)

My Lord, *Damascus, November 5, 1860.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship copy of my despatch of this day's date to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, reporting on late occurrences in this Pashalic.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

Inclosure in No. 183.

Acting Consul Wrench to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Damascus, November 5, 1860.*

SINCE I had the honour to address your Excellency on the 20th ultimo, the Christians have daily continued to leave Damascus for Beyrout. The fact of a Custom-house officer having been deliberately shot at his post, just outside the gate of the city, tended much to confirm the idea of insecurity already entertained by the people. I

have endeavoured to restrain this universal flight, as also have the European Consuls here, but I fear it has been to little purpose. His Excellency Fuad Pasha some days ago issued a proclamation assuring the Christians of safety, and yesterday a second was read to the same effect, but which also announced that orders had been forwarded to the Vali of Damascus to prevent the Christians leaving without a teskeré from the Government. This order has been put into force.

Ibrahim Karami, after having undergone an examination here, the result of which is unknown, has been sent to Beyrout. His luggage on examination, by order of his Excellency Fuad Pasha, was found to contain a large sum of money, amounting it is said to about 130,000 piastres (upwards of 1,000*l.*).

Mahomed Said Bey, a Khoord, formerly Colonel in the Aunieh Irregular Horse, together with the Divan Efendi of the late Mushir, and several other prisoners, have left under guard for Beyrout; but, as their trials were conducted privately, I regret that I cannot yet report to your Excellency the sentences and destinations of the prisoners.

The authorities have commenced to disarm the population of Damascus. A notice was issued that all arms were to be brought by their possessors to a place appointed, and that a fine and six months' imprisonment would be inflicted on those who did not comply. As yet, however, the arms given up bear but a small proportion to those really possessed by the people, and the Mushir has informed me that he shall be obliged to resort to more stringent measures to secure the end desired.

The Christian portions of the towns of Hasbeya and Rasheya, and of the villages in this Pashalic which were destroyed during the late disturbances, have not yet been rebuilt; but as measures are being taken by Major Fraser, in conjunction with Lord Dufferin, it may be anticipated that the greater part of the work will be accomplished before the severe weather sets in.

Mustapha Pasha, late Commander of the troops in the Hauran, was a few days ago placed under arrest. As reported to your Excellency in Mr. Brant's despatch of the 30th June last, Mustapha Pasha was ordered by the late Mushir to proceed to Hasbeya on the attack of that town by the Druses. It is supposed that his arrest is in consequence of his neglect of this order.

It is currently reported that Shirwaneh Efendi, the Mufti who accompanied his Excellency Fuad Pasha from Constantinople, is temporarily to replace Mohammer Pasha as Vali. The change would be considered beneficial, as the present Vali does nothing. All the European Consuls complain of his Excellency's neglect of his duties.

No. 184.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 21.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, November* 8, 1860.

MR. CONSUL-GENERAL MOORE delivered me yesterday your Lordship's despatch of the 25th ultimo, inclosing Sir Moses Montefiore's letter, with the Memorial from the Rabbins and Elders of the Jews of Damascus dated 23rd September. There has been undoubtedly shameful misconduct on the part of the Christians in accusing Jews of complicity in the murders and plundering of Christians. The chief Rabbi called my attention to the case of five Jews detained in prison for several weeks on such an accusation; one of whom died in consequence. This occurred in the absence of Fuad Pasha, and the Turkish authorities refused to release them without his Excellency's permission, which could not be obtained as he was moving from place to place in the Lebanon, and no one could tell where to find him. His Excellency, however, arrived unexpectedly at Damascus; and on my visit to compliment him I called his attention to the subject of the Jews, and he promised to have the evidence of the witnesses before the Extraordinary Tribunal revised, and to see that no injustice were done; and in a few days all the detained Jews were released.

The chief Rabbi, when he first told me of the affair, said that he had offered to depose that one of the accused was in his house during the whole time the massacres continued: his testimony was refused; and a Christian, who claimed to be the authorised agent of Fuad Pasha, said that further testimony was useless, and the man had been on clear evidence condemned to death. This Christian, by name Ibrahim Karami, has since been deprived of his employment and sent into exile for the abuse of the authority he had usurped, and for extorting bribes on the representations of the Turkish authorities, as well as of the French Consul and myself, of his misdeeds to Fuad Pasha.

The case of the Farchis, mentioned in the Memorial, I heard of at the time; but as they were French protégés, I did not interfere,—they were soon released.

No Jew under British protection has been molested; and no one has signed the Memorial.

On my visit to Fuad Pasha alluded to, he related to me an instance of two Christians who went to a Jew's house and demanded 1,500 Turkish piastres under the threat of denouncing the owner as a murderer, and 400 Turkish piastres were actually given. I think it not improbable that other similar instances may have occurred, but I have no knowledge of more.

Soon after Fuad Pasha's first visit to Damascus, it was said that the Pasha was reported to have deposited a great deal with a rich Jew named Jacob Levy, an English-protected subject, who had given Ahmed Pasha bills on Constantinople. I observed to Fuad Pasha that I did not believe the report; that such accusations against rich Jews were common in all countries and ages, and ought not to be lightly entertained. I remarked to his Excellency the Jews were influential with all the Governments of Europe from their wealth, and, independently of the injustice of making them the innocent victims of the malicious, it was impolitic to accuse them falsely, as such conduct would bring great odium on the Sultan's Government, and danger likewise, for the Jews would find defenders in all the nations of Europe.

I told the individual the suspicion: he replied that for twenty years he had had no bill transactions with Constantinople, that he had never had any pecuniary dealings with Ahmed Pasha, except with respect to lending money to the Treasury, and that he had no objection to submit to my inspection all his books. I wrote to Fuad Pasha stating this reply, begging his Excellency to dismiss such an unfounded and dangerous accusation, which had not a shadow of probability, further than the civility shown to Jacob Levy by Ahmed Pasha, on account of loans made to the Treasury in a time of great need. I heard no more of the matter.

Accusations of the same nature were as often threatened against Mussulmans as against Jews by Christians, and both paid money rather than be thrown into prison, with the uncertainty when they might be released. Fuad Pasha complained that the prisons were full of persons against whom nobody appeared to substantiate the charges on which they had been arrested. I observed that the fault lay with the authorities, and the inconvenience would be easily obviated by taking a bond from an accuser that within a certain time he should substantiate the charge or forfeit his bond. His Excellency replied that he had proposed something of that nature to the Council.

I shall, with Lord Dufferin's permission, state to Fuad Pasha the feelings of Her Majesty's Government on this subject, and request an order from his Excellency to the authorities of Damascus to afford an equal decree of protection to Jew and Christian.

No. 185.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 22, 1860.

I HAVE stated to Lord Dufferin that his despatch of the 3rd instant to your Excellency, proposing a scheme for the settlement of Syria,

does credit to his judgment and sagacity, and I have authorized his Lordship, when the proper time comes, to propose to the Commission the plan of which he has given a sketch.

I have, however, to instruct your Excellency to tell the Grand Vizier that no plan of pacification for Syria will be effectual so long as the ashalic is sold to the highest bidder in the manner which Lord Dufferin Powell describes.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 186.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, November* 22, 1860.

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatch of the 4th instant, transmitting to me a copy of your despatch of the 3rd instant to Sir Henry Bulwer, in which you propose a scheme for the settlement of Syria, and I have to state to your Lordship that this paper does credit to your judgment and sagacity.

You are authorized, when the proper time comes, to propose to the Commission the plan of which you have given a sketch.

I have instructed Sir Henry Bulwer to tell the Grand Vizier that no plan of pacification for Syria will be effectual so long as the Pashalic is sold to the highest bidder in the manner you so well describe.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 187.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 3.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, November* 9, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 187.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, November* 9, 1860.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 3rd instant, I would beg to state that, in alluding to the unpaid condition of the Turkish troops, I intended my observations to apply to the army of Arabistân.

The regiments which have lately arrived from Constantinople were paid up, I believe, before quitting the capital.

I may, however, take this opportunity of mentioning that Fuad Pasha mentioned to me that it was only by diverting to the benefit of the Christians the moneys sent to him for the payment of his soldiers that he had been enabled to render them any assistance at all. His late remittance of 25,000*l.* sterling from the Porte is already nearly spent; and although another 25,000*l.* may be shortly expected, it will prove but barely sufficient to carry him through a couple of months more.

The inadequacy of such supplies to the exigencies of the occasion will be at once understood, when I mention that the expenses of the Anglo-American Relief Committee alone have mounted up to 2,000*l.* a-week.

In addition to the ordinary expenses of Government, Fuad Pasha has to sustain the whole of the Christian portion of the Damascene population, as well as to roof in the villages of the Lebanon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 188.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, November* 23, 1860.

I HAVE to state to yonr Lordship that Her Majesty's Government approve of the course which you followed at the fifth sitting of the Syrian Commission.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 189.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 26.)

(Extract.) *Constantinople, November* 12, 1860.

I HAVE called the attention of the Porte to the complaints of the Jewish population at Damascus, and received the communication that due orders should be given to Fuad Pasha on the subject. I will, moreover, see the new Pasha who is named as Governor, and talk to him myself thereupon.

No. 190.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 30.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, November* 17, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day dispatched to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 190.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, November* 13, 1860.

I HAVE the honour herewith to transmit to your Excellency copy of the substance of an "interpellation" I had the honour of addressing to his Excellency Fuad Pasha, at the last sitting of the Commission, relative to the complete immunity from punishment which has, up to this moment, been enjoyed by the great bulk of the Druse nation.

I was induced to take this important step by several very grave considerations, which your Excellency will find set forth in the above-mentioned paper.

His Excellency Fuad Pasha, I am happy to say, seems perfectly to understand the exigencies of the situation, and, before the discussion terminated, he informed me that he had hitherto delayed laying hands on the most compromised of the Druse nation, in order to effect their capture with the greater certainty, and that he himself would proceed to the Mountain to superintend the operation. As, however, he was anxious clearly to ascertain the views of his colleagues in regard to the manner in which the Druses should be dealt with, he proposed that before his departure another sitting of the Commission should be devoted to the consideration of that important subject.

Inclosure 2 in No. 190.

Substance of an Interpellation addressed by Lord Dufferin to Fuad Pasha, at the Eighth Sitting of the Syrian Commission, November 10, 1860.

LORD DUFFERIN asked permission to address an interpellation to Fuad Pasha which would be found to be not irrelevant to the demand made by M. Novikow. He regretted extremely that he should be obliged to undertake so painful a duty as that which he now felt himself called upon to discharge.

He had hoped from the assurances given to the Commission of his Excellency's desire to execute a severe and impartial justice on all implicated in the late horrible transactions, that he and his colleagues would have been spared the odium of still being compelled to invoke the punishment of the guilty. "To repeat an expression of M. Béclard's," continued the British Commissioner, "we long ('il nous tarde') to enter upon the more gracious portion of our task, and we look forward with impatience to the day when we may be allowed to busy ourselves with the work of reconciliation and of peace. But unhappily this satisfaction cannot be allowed us until the appointed measure of chastisement shall have been inflicted. It is a mockery to talk of peace while the perpetrators of such foul deeds as those which deluged the streets of Hasbeya, Rasheya, and Deir-el-Kamar with blood remain unmolested in their homes.

"Within the limits of the Lebanon 5,000 human beings have been put to the edge of the sword, 200 villages have been burned, and not a single individual concerned in these atrocious acts has suffered for his crimes. Yet for weeks have the Sultan's troops been in undisputed occupation of the Mountain, and months have elapsed since your Excellency's arrival in the province gave promise that the day of retribution was at hand. The occasion seems, therefore, to have occurred when, in pursuance of those instructions by which we are directed to provoke the punishment of the guilty, it becomes the painful duty of the Commission most respectfully to call your Excellency's attention to the unhappy consequences entailed by this delay.

"The mistrust of the Christians, too fearfully justified by past events, and only partially dissipated by the energetic measures adopted at Damascus, is again revived; the perpetrators of these butcheries begin to look forward to an entire immunity from punishment; and an intolerable state of social anarchy and confusion is indefinitely prolonged.

"It is obviously, therefore, in the interests of humanity and of the Government of the Porte that these intestine troubles should be composed with as great a despatch as possible. Delay but keeps the wound open, and maintains between those whom circumstances have destined to live in the closest proximity, that feeling of mutual hatred and mistrust which is engendered by a sense of unsatisfied animosity on the one part, and of unexpiated guilt on the other.

"Policy and justice alike require that punishment should be inflicted with the utmost celerity, in order that the process of conciliation may be begun the sooner.

"It is under these circumstances, therefore, that I would venture to urge your Excellency to take such measures as may lead to the immediate capture and punishment of such of the Druse nation as have been concerned in the late odious transactions.

"In taking upon himself, however, so dreadful a responsibility as that implied in the above requisition, the British Commissioner was anxious to guard himself against being supposed to desire the infliction of any excess of punishment as far as the bulk of the nation was concerned. For the more notorious offenders no degree of severity would be too great, but for the wretched peasantry, who blindly followed the leadership of their chiefs, some degree of mercy might be permitted. Moreover, due regard must be had to the circumstances under which these crimes were committed, and such considerations as it may be possible to urge in mitigation of their atrocity should not be altogether disregarded.

"With this view he considered strict equity would require a distinction

to be drawn between the relative culpability of the three classes of criminals who stand arraigned at the bar of Europe.

"Amongst these, the guilt of those Turkish magistrates and officers whose apathy or connivance intensified the horror of what it was their duty to have prevented must ever remain pre-eminent.

"The second place in the hierarchy of crime may safely be reserved for the Moslems of Damascus, who in cold blood, without cause of quarrel, and before one word of defiance had passed from one side or the other, rose up and slew within the walls of the town where they had been bred together, thousands of their unoffending fellow-citizens. A somewhat broader distinction, however, separates the case of the Druses from that of their associates: in the first place the excesses they committed proceeded out of a civil war into which they were provoked by their Christian antagonists very much against their will. A year ago Lord Dufferin happened to be in the country. At that time it was in its normal state. The affair of Beit Miri had just occurred. Public attention was directed to the relations existing between the Druses and the Maronites, and a general feeling prevailed that a determination existed upon the part of the latter to drive their enemies out of the Lebanon. Now civil war is at all times an abominable crime: in this country its wickedness is aggravated by the savage manner in which it is conducted. The Druses, therefore, are undoubtedly culpable for having engaged in it at all, but to this degree their guilt is shared, and even surpassed, by their antagonists. There is a point, however, at which the criminality of the Druses assumes such terrible proportions as renders it difficult for our indignation to consider the circumstances which provoked it. Even Justice may be excused if she recoils from the effort which it must cost her to examine what plea can be put forward in palliation of such unimaginable butcheries. Nevertheless considerations of some importance must still be permitted to arrest the descending scale of her balance. It is to be remembered that this is a country of vendettas; that in the war carried on between the barbarian tribes which inhabit it, usages prevail as horrible as those which disgraced the middle ages of Europe. It is a principle received and acted upon by all alike, that when the "deen" or blood feud exists it is allowable to slay your unarmed enemy, and every male belonging to his house, wherever you may find them. In fact, beneath the full blaze of modern civilization, we find in Syria habits of thought and practices prevailing for which the only historical parallel can be found in the books of Moses. "That the Christians are not to be exempted," continues the British Commissioner, "from the number of those subject to these savage influences cannot be pretended. A mere cursory perusal of the official accounts of the murders, feuds, and wars which have deluged the Mountain with blood during the last twenty-five years proves too lamentably how little influence their religion has had in mitigating the ferocity with which the traditional customs of the country have imbued them. The cruel manner in which they have taken advantage of the first opportunity afforded them to massacre old men, women, and children, even since we ourselves have been in the country, confirms, in only too melancholy a manner, this sinister conclusion.

"Truth, therefore, requires it to be recorded that even in committing such fearful enormities as have justly called down upon their heads the indignation of the civilized world, the Druses only carried out to an excessive degree that policy of extermination with which at the commencement of the quarrel they had been threatened by their victims.

"To what degree the punishment due to crimes themselves without excuse ought to be affected by the immunity sometimes required for them on the score of immemorial usage, is another question.

"In some of the most civilized countries of Europe, customs alike hateful to philosophy and religion remain unpunishable by law and uncensured by society; while so great is the allowance it is sometimes found necessary to make for the perversity of human nature that the soldiery of civilized States are occasionally suffered to inflict with impunity on the unoffending women of a city taken by assault, horrors equalling in brutality those committed by the Druses during the intoxication of triumph and revenge."

"Be that as it may, strict equity would seem to require that in estimating the moral guilt of these unhappy persons, the standard of European civilization is not altogether applicable. Some allowance must be made for the force of circumstances and of inveterate tradition. To what degree these considerations ought to influence his Excellency it is not for me to say.

"With him alone rests the responsibility of determining the point at which Mercy may be permitted to stay the sword of the avenger. I would merely observe that stern, speedy, impartial justice is oftentimes the most humane remedy which can be applied to troubles such as those with which we are called upon to deal, and that on this occasion such a signal example should be given as shall for ever convince these Lebanon tribes that from henceforth, neither the Sultan's Government nor Europe will permit a repetition of similar atrocities."

Lord Dufferin further remarked, in opposition to a proposal made by one of his colleagues, that it would be unsafe to allow ourselves to be guided, in the adjustment of the degree of chastisement to be exacted, by any political considerations.

"Que justice se fasse sans arrière-pensée."

Inclosure 3 in No. 190.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, November* 13, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the eighth sitting of the Syrian Commission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 190.

Protocol of the Eighth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, November 2, 1860.

LE Vendredi, deux Novembre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout, sous la présidence de son Excellence Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à trois heures. Le procès-verbal de la séance précédente est lu et adopté.

Avant d'entrer, conformément à l'ordre du jour, dans l'examen de la question des indemnités, le Président rappelle à la Commission le désir déjà exprimé par lui que des délégués soient désignés et envoyés sur les divers points de la Montagne, afin de veiller à l'exécution des mesures prises par le Gouvernement pour la reconstruction des villages. Dans quelques localités, les habitants emploient à d'autres dépenses l'argent qui leur a été distribué. Il importe de faire cesser ou de prévenir cet état de choses. Pour la ville de Zahleh notamment, Fuad Pacha se déclare prêt à ordonner le paiement de la somme qui a été fixée, mais il réclame le concours de la Commission à l'effet de contrôler l'emploi de la dite somme.

Il est décidé d'un commun accord, que pour les délégués qui n'ont pas encore été désignés par la Commission, celle-ci s'adressera au Général de Beaufort, par l'entremise de Fuad Pacha, afin de se faire représenter, en cas de besoin, par des officiers du corps expéditionnaire Français.

Le Commissaire Prussien croit devoir présenter quelques observations au sujet de la question traitée dans la précédente séance. Soumettre à l'Europe les exigences financières de la situation, suivant les indications du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, lui paraît être un moyen inefficace, de l'emploi duquel résulterait une grande perte de temps. Il s'agit de se procurer des fonds, sans le moindre retard, pour satisfaire à des nécessités urgentes. Ces fonds, on peut les trouver dans le pays. Damas est une ville riche qui

renferme beaucoup de capitaux ; plusieurs des Chefs Druses possèdent des fortunes considérables ; la ville de Saida ne doit pas non plus être épargnée. Qu'un impôt de 100,000,000 piastres soit levé sur Damas, Saida, et la Montagne Druse ; que le dit impôt soit convenablement reparti entre ces trois centres de population, et le Gouvernement aura à sa disposition la somme même que le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman jugerait nécessaire, non pour indemniser toutes les pertes, mais pour atténuer les maux des Chrétiens. Cette mesure, dont il reste à déterminer le mode d'exécution, aurait aussi l'avantage de faire découvrir, suivant toute apparence, une grande partie des objets volés.

Fuad Pacha répond que la ville de Damas, ainsi qu'il en a déjà donné l'assurance, sera frappée d'une contribution extraordinaire, mais il doit attendre de Constantinople la réponse à un rapport qu'il a adressé sur ce sujet à son Gouvernement. Les biens qui appartiennent aux condamnés et qui sont séquestrés devront être employés, avec les fonds résultant de la contribution extraordinaire, à indemniser les Chrétiens ; mais comme le principe de la confiscation est contraire à la régulation de l'Empire, il s'est trouvé, malgré l'étendue de ses pouvoirs, dans la nécessité de consulter son Gouvernement sur l'admission exceptionnelle de ce principe. Il attend la décision souveraine.

La difficulté, selon lui, serait de réaliser immédiatement les fonds nécessaires. Sans doute il y a des riches à Damas, mais leurs fortunes consistent en immeubles dont l'aliénation ne peut avoir lieu que lentement. Saida est une ville sans importance, à peu près denuée de capitaux. Quant à la Montagne Druse, presque toutes les propriétés y sont concentrées entre les mains des Chefs ; les habitants pour la plupart ne sont en quelque sorte que des tenanciers et ne possèdent à peu près rien. La mesure indiquée par le Commissaire Prussien serait donc difficilement applicable, et le montant de l'impôt, hors de proportion avec les ressources locales, ne pourrait être perçu que dans un long espace de temps.

Le Commissaire Français appuie la motion de M. de Rehfues. Il est d'avis que l'impôt à exiger de la ville de Damas peut être considéré comme une contribution de guerre, à percevoir dans un très court délai. Comparant Damas à une ville prise d'assaut, il ne doute pas qu'une bonne part de la contribution dont a parlé le Commissaire Prussien ne soit réunie sur le champ, si l'on emploie la contrainte. Un certain nombre d'ôtages, choisis parmi les habitants les plus riches et les plus influents, étant chargés, avec l'appuie de la force publique, d'exécuter eux-mêmes une mesure dont ils seraient responsables, parviendraient bientôt à fournir la somme demandée. En cas d'inexécution dans le terme prescrit, les biens des ôtages deviendrait la propriété de l'Etat, ou plutôt des Chrétiens qu'il s'agit d'indemniser.

Les Commissaires de Grande Bretagne, de Russie, et d'Autriche prennent successivement la parole, et s'expriment dans le même sens que le préopinant. Ils sont également favorables à la proposition de M. de Rehfues, et croient qu'il est possible de la mettre en pratique. M. de Weckbecker ajoute que les villages situés aux environs de Damas devraient être compris dans la mesure dont cette ville serait l'objet.

Fuad Pacha repète que sur le principe il est d'accord avec les Commissaires ; il ne diffère que sur le mode d'exécution. Les biens des principaux notables de Damas sont déjà saisis, en vertu des jugements récemment prononcés contre eux. Tous les membres de l'ancien Conseil ayant été envoyés en exil, un Comité d'Administration a été provisoirement formé, et se compose d'hommes sans influence, dont plusieurs ont rendu des services, ou sont étrangers à la ville. On ne pourrait donc pas se servir de ce Comité, ni à plus forte raison rendre responsables ceux qui en font partie. Les riches, à leur tour, pourraient être contraints à payer, mais ils se déclareraient impuissants à faire payer les autres.

Lord Dufferin dit que les Chefs de Quartier, connaissant les ressources de chacun, seraient à même de faire contribuer chaque famille suivant ses moyens.

M. Novikow est d'avis que les Commissions actuellement employées au désarmement pourraient aussi être chargées de la perception de l'impôt extraordinaire. Il voudrait en outre que la responsabilité fût

partagée entre les notables de tous les quartiers. D'accord avec M. de Rehfues, il pense que la contribution dont serait frappée la ville de Damas aurait pour effet de faire reparaître les objets volés, et notamment le produit du pillage des couvents et des églises. Il ajoute que cette découverte pourrait être facilité par les révélations des Chefs Druses actuellement emprisonnées à Beyrout.

Fuad Pacha renouvelle les objections de forme qu'il a déjà opposées aux divers membres de la Commission. Quant aux objets volés, dit-il, on en a déjà retrouvé un certain nombre, et plusieurs mosquées de Damas en sont remplies.

Dans l'intervalle des deux séances, il se propose de consulter quelques uns des anciens employés Chrétiens de l'administration financière de la province, afin de déterminer le mode de perception auquel il devra s'arrêter, et le résultat de ses recherches sera communiqué par lui à la Commission.

Lord Dufferin présente une motion relative à la fixation du chiffre des indemnités. Pour arriver à une juste appréciation des pertes subies par les Chrétiens, conformément au texte des instructions identiques, il propose à ses collègues d'etablir un Comité Européen, pour prononcer comme arbitre dans les réclamations présentées par les Chrétiens à la Porte. Comme c'est probable que ces réclamations seront très exagérées, il pense qu'il serait dans l'interêt du Gouvernement Turc de recourir à l'assistance d'un pareil corps. Dans les cas où les sentences rendues par lui ne contenteraient par les intéressés il serait nécessaire que les membres composant cette Commission fussent des hommes dont l'intégrité, le discernement, et l'habitude des affaires offrissent une garantie suffisante à une décision non seulement impartielle mais intelligente. Ils devraient se livrer à ce travail le plutôt possible avant que les traces des désastres n'eussent été effacés.

Cette proposition admise en thèse général par tous les Commissaires, donne lieu à une longue discussion quant aux détails qui s'y rattachent.

Fuad Pacha expose la combinaison suivante, comme devant, selon lui, simplifier le travail d'évaluation. Un Comité, nommé par le Gouvernement, mais dont une partie des membres auraient été désignés par les Chrétiens, serait chargé d'examiner les demandes d'indemnité. Il admet en principe l'institution d'une Commission d'Arbitrage pour rendre une décision définitive, dans le cas où il y aurait un désaccord entre les membres du Comité, ou entre le Comité et le réclamant. Mais il pense qu'avant de prendre une détermination sur le mode de participation de la Commission à la question des indemnités, on doit consulter les instructions collectives des Commissaires.

Fuad Pacha, invité par la Commission à rédiger un projet relatif au mode de fixation des indemnités, s'engage à présenter ce projet dans la Conférence suivante.

La séance est levée à cinq heures et demie.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 5 in No. 190.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, November* 14, 1860.

AS the disintegration of the Mixed districts would appear to those unacquainted with the country the most obvious mode of preventing a collision between the tribes that compose them, I would wish to take this opportunity of stating to your Excellency what are the reasons which render such a process quite inapplicable to the present occasion.

In the first place, I am decidedly of opinion that, as a general rule, when you have to deal with a large population, differing in their religious opinions, but perfectly assimilated in language, manners, and habits of thought, the principle of fusion rather than that of separation is the one to be adopted. Religious belief ought not to be converted into a geographical expression, and a wise Government would insist upon the various subject sects subordinating their polemical to their civil relations with

one another. But apart from these larger considerations are others which render the deportation of the Druses from the Mountain quite impracticable. In the first place, the operation could only be effected by force, and would entail an enormous amount of hardship and suffering. Should the Druses of the Lebanon be compelled to emigrate, they would naturally join their brethren in the Hauran, and the result would be, the concentration of a numerous and warlike tribe within a district that completely commands Damascus, and the plains, which not only supply that city but the Lebanon itself with corn. The Porte, therefore, would have every right to object to an arrangement which in its consequences would extend far beyond the limits within which our task of reorganization is to be conducted. If a more limited operation is resorted to, and the Druse and Christian inhabitants are invited to aggregate themselves into distinct bodies, the one towards the North the other towards the South, in ten years' time their mutual inclination to coalesce would probably result in as intimate an intermixture as that which exists at present.

In fact, before arriving at any conclusion on this subject, three things must be clearly understood: first, that the indisposition to assimilate between the Druses and Christians is not by any means so great as that between Christians and Moslems; secondly, that their feuds are not religious but tribe wars; and thirdly, that their social interests are identical.

It is the universal opinion of every person whose experience of the country entitles him to entertain one, that, if a tolerable Government existed, and no sinister influence were allowed to engender discord between them, the Druse and Christian populations would be inclined to live in perfect harmony.

Inclosure 6 in No. 190.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, November* 15, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the ninth sitting of the Syrian Commission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 7 in No. 190.

Protocol of the Ninth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, November 10, 1860.

LE Samedi, dix Novembre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout, sous la présidence de son Excellence Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à deux heures et demie.

Le procès-verbal est lu et adopté, après quelques modifications.

Le Commissaire Russe appelle l'attention de la Commission sur l'état actuel de Damas et des réfugiés Damascains. Cet état est loin d'être satisfaisant. Les mesures d'urgence décrétées en principe, telles que la levée, sur la ville de Damas, d'une contribution dont le montant serait affecté à la reconstruction des maisons Chrétiennes et au paiement d'un à-compte sur le montant des indemnités, restent en suspens. Le désarmenent semble trainer en longueur, et les villages des environs qui ont pris une part active aux massacres de Damas, paraissent n'avoir pas été compris dans l'exécution de cette mesure. L'ensemble de ces faits n'est pas de nature à rétablir la confiance parmi les Chrétiens: aussi le mouvement d'émigration, loin de se ralentir, augmente-t-il chaque jour. Les efforts persévérants de son Excellence Fuad Pacha ayant échoué jusqu'ici contre cette difficulté, il est du devoir de la Commission de lui venir en aide. Mais elle ne saurait le faire utilement, ni engager sa responsabilité à cet égard, avant d'avoir vu de ses propres yeux l'état actuel des choses à Damas.

Pour toutes ces raisons, M. Novikow croit devoir renouveler une motion déjà faite par le Commissaire Français, en proposant à la Commission de se transporter pour quelques jours à Damas. Elle pourrait ainsi constater l'étendue des désastres qui ont frappé tant les nationaux étrangers que les Chrétiens indigènes. Ce voyage permettrait également à la Commission de visiter, chemin faisant, une bonne partie de la Montagne, de consulter, sur les lieux mêmes, les besoins et les vœux des populations, de réunir enfin les éléments qui lui sont nécessaires pour l'élaboration du travail relatif à la réorganisation du Liban.

Avant de statuer sur la proposition de M. Novikow, Lord Dufferin demande la permission d'adresser à son Excellence Fuad Pacha une interpellation dont le sujet se rattache à la question du voyage de la Commission à Damas. Il faut que la Commission se mette à considérer un certain sujet bien pénible, avant de pouvoir détourner son attention du Liban. Il s'agit de la punition de ceux qui se sont rendus coupables des atrocités commises à Hasbeya, Rasheya, et Deir-el-Kamar.

Il nous est pénible de penser qu'après deux mois de séjour dans ce pays, nous nous trouvons encore occupés de la partie la plus odieuse de notre tâche. Il tarde à la Commission d'entrer en possession d'un devoir plus privilégié, d'inaugurer une époque de conciliation et de paix. Mais il est inutile de songer à la conciliation, tant que des misérables, aux mains encore rouges du sang de leurs semblables, jouissent d'une immunité entière de toute punition, Pas un seul Druse coupable des massacres des Chrétiens n'a encore subi la peine de mort.

Son Excellence a expliqué ce délai par la nécessité d'assurer l'arrestation de ceux qui étaient les plus compromis ; cette observation était juste, mais une hésitation plus prolongée dans l'exécution d'une punition complète et définitive, est tellement contraire aux intérêts de la justice et de l'humanité, qu'il importe à la Commission de prier son Excellence de vouloir bien nous accorder une explication de ses intentions. Des circonstances auxquelles nous ne pouvons pas toucher, avaient destinée ces deux tribus à vivre ensemble. Le délai, apporté à l'exécution des coupables ne fait qu'envénimer la blessure, en maintenant d'un côté une haine inassouvie, et de l'autre la conscience d'une culpabilité dont l'expiation n'est pas encore accomplie. Il est de la dernière importance que cet état ne se prolonge davantage. Mais en se chargeant d'une responsabilité si grave, où il s'agit d'une question de vie et de mort, le Commissaire Britannique ne voudrait pas être soupçonné de requérir une punition démésurée. Il désire surtout qu'on puisse poser certaines limites où la main vengeresse de la justice puisse s'arrêter. Dans cette vue, il admet une distinction entre les trois classes de criminels aujourd'hui inculpés au tribunal de la Chrétienté. De ces trois degrés de culpabilité, il faut assigner le premier rang aux officiers Turcs qui avaient prêté la main aux atrocités qu'ils auraient dû prévenir. Après ceux-ci viennent les Musulmans de Damas qui, sans querelle, sans provocation, se sont rués sur leurs concitoyens inoffensifs, et les ont passés au fil de l'épée.

Les crimes des Druses semblent entrer dans une catégorie différente. Leurs excès, quoique horribles, provenaient d'une guerre provoquée par les Chrétiens, et n'étaient que le fruit fatal des traditions de leur pays. En étudiant les rapports officiels des luttes sanglantes et meurtrières commises dans le Liban depus vingt-cinq ans, on ne peut éviter la conviction que les préceptes de leur religion ont apporté, chez les Chrétiens, bien peu d'adoucissement à ces usages barbares ; et d'après la connaissance personnelle du pays dans une époque antérieure à ces désastres, le Commissaire Britannique peut affirmer que cette politique d'extermination que les Druses ont adoptée, n'était que le développement d'un principe qu'au commencement de la querelle leurs victimes les avaient menacés de leur appliquer. Dans ces circonstances, ce serait de l'injustice de vouloir poser le type de la moralité Européenne, comme mesure de la culpabilité d'un corps de paysans ignorants qui n'ont fait qu'obéir aveuglement aux mandats de leurs Chefs. En Syrie l'esprit de guerre légitime, de l'avis de toutes ces tribus, Druse, Chrétienne et Arabe, ne peut trouver sa pareille que dans les livres de Moïse.

Il faut donc faire la part de ces circonstances traditionnelles, tout en

exécutant une justice ample et sévère pour pouvoir mettre un terme à la répétition de ces crimes.

Fuad Pacha, en réponse à l'interpellation de Lord Dufferin, renouvelle d'abord l'assurance déjà donnée par lui, que la répression sera aussi rigoureuse, aussi exemplaire que pénible. En ce qui concerne particulièrement les Druses, il n'a négligé aucune des mesures que les circonstances lui indiquaient. Lors de son arrivée en Syrie, il a dû d'abord se rendre à Damas, où la situation des Chrétiens réclamait impérieusement sa présence. De retour à Beyrout, il a pu s'occuper de la Montagne dont la pacification, résultant d'un prétendu Traité entre les parties belligérantes, n'avait pas été reconnue par lui. Une Proclamation adressée aux Chefs Druses les a invités à venir rendre compte de leur conduite. Quatorze d'entr'eux ont obéi à cette invitation. D'accord avec le Commandant-en-chef du Corps Expéditionnaire Français, il s'est ensuite décidé à parcourir militairement les Districts Mixtes. Cette opération avait un double but: elle se rattachait à l'œuvre de répression, mais elle était aussi destinée à favoriser le rétablissement des Chrétiens dans leurs villages. C'eût été compromettre ce dernier résultat que d'ouvrir les hostilités directes contre les Druses. Des arrestations isolées eussent eu également pour effet de mettre en fuite la plupart des coupables, et, vu la configuration du terrain, il eût été bien difficile de former un cordon pour les cerner. Le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman a donc préféré d'une part donner tous ses soins à la réintégration des Chrétiens, et d'autre part se réserver en temps opportun la possibilité de faire saisir, simultanément sur les divers points de la Montagne, tous les individus qui lui ont été ou lui seraient dénoncés. Il allait même, sans l'interpellation de Lord Dufferin, annoncer à la Commission que les Druses ayant reparu dans leurs villages, le moment lui paraissait venu de mettre son projet à exécution. Fuad Pacha ajoute que déjà il s'est entendu avec le Général de Beaufort, et qu'il compte se rendre personnellement dans la Montagne pour présider aux arrestations. Retenu à Beyrout par la nécessité de pourvoir au remplacement du Commandant des troupes dans le Liban, il a dû retarder son départ de quelques jours, mais il aura bientôt le regret de se séparer momentanément de ses collègues.

Quant aux fonctionnaires civils ou militaires qui ont manqué à leurs devoirs, tels que les Commandants des garnisons de Hasbeya et de Rasheya, ils ont été fusillés. Les autorités de Deir-el-Kamar n'ont pas encore subi la peine de mort, prononcée par le Conseil de Damas, parce que leurs relations avec les Druses devaient donner lieu à une instruction supplémentaire, qui a fait ajourner leur exécution. De plus Kourchid Pacha, Vasfy Efendi, Ahmed Efendi, Tahir Pacha, et autres, sont en prison, et leur procès est à peu près terminé. Outre les quatorze Chefs Druses dont il a déjà été parlé, une soixantaine d'arrestations ont été opérées dans ces derniers temps. Cent soixante-dix individus environ se trouvent détenus à Beyrout. Bientôt un certain nombre de jugements pourront être rendus, et le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman déploiera, à cette occasion, autant de sévérité qu'il l'a fait à Damas.

Puisque cette question a été soulevée, ajoute Fuad Pacha, il y a lieu pour la Commission de lui donner son avis sur un point important. Bien que plus de mille condamnations aient été déjà prononcées à Damas ; les dénonciations et les poursuites judiciaires n'ont pas cessé encore. Il résulte de cet état de choses une défiance et un antagonisme entre Chrétiens et Musulmans, qui empêchent le retour de la sécurité ; mais, avec l'appui de la force militaire, le Gouvernement peut répondre du maintien du bon ordre. Dans la Montagne la situation n'est pas la même. Si l'on parvient à y arrêter à la fois tous les individus contre lesquels il existe des dénonciations, et s'il est décidé que, dans un délai déterminé, pareilles dénonciations ne seront plus admises, on peut arriver bientôt au rétablissement de la tranquillité. C'est précisément à ce sujet qu'il croit devoir consulter ses collègues.

Le Commissaire Autrichien dit avoir compris que Lord Dufferin, dans son discours, prétendait établir une différence entre le crime de rébellion, résultant du fait de la guerre civile à laquelle auraient pris part les Maronites comme les Druses, et les atrocités commises par les Druses vainqueurs. De cette distinction même, résulte la nécessité de sévir

rigoureusement contre les Druses. A ses yeux, ceux-ci ne méritent plus le nom de nation, et ont perdu le droit d'exercer une part quelconque d'autorité.

Fuad Pacha est d'avis qu'en tout cas on ne peut assimiler l'affaire du Liban à celle de Damas. A Damas, il y a eu un assassinat en grande, commis par les Musulmans contre les Chrétiens. Dans la Montagne, on doit examiner s'il y a eu guerre civile ou soulèvement des Druses contre les Chrétiens. En cas de guerre civile, il reste à se demander quels ont été les agresseurs. Les Druses ne sauraient jamais être absous des excès dont ils se sont rendus coupables; mais le fait de provocation peut constituer soit contre eux, soit en leur faveur, une circonstance aggravante ou atténuante.

Une discussion s'élève à ce propos entre les divers membres de la Commission; il est généralement reconnu que le fait de provocation est une question sans importance, et à peu près insoluble, attendu qu'on différera toujours sur la date des premiers griefs.

M. de Weckbecker pense que le seul moyen efficace de pacification consiste à rendre le Gouvernement Ottoman aussi fort que possible sur toute l'étendue de son territoire, c'est-à-dire, dans la Montagne comme ailleurs.

Les Commissaires de France, de Prusse, et de Russie croient devoir faire des réserves contre cette opinion, qui d'ailleurs touche au travail de réorganisation, et n'est pas applicable à l'objet dont on traite actuellement.

M. Béclard, répondant au passage du discours de Lord Dufferin dans lequel il a été mentionné, dit qu'en effet ce n'est pas sans impatience qu'il attend le moment où la Commission pourra considérer comme close la phase des poursuites et des châtiments; c'est pourquoi il ne peut s'empêcher de déplorer le peu de promptitude et d'énergie qu'on remarque aujourd'hui dans la répression. En procédant tout autrement à Damas, le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte s'était attiré de justes louanges. Depuis lors son action semble ralentie. Suivant la remarque de Lord Dufferin, pas un Druse n'a encore été puni. L'enquête judiciaire ouverte à Beyrout traine en longueur, et a pris récemment un caractère tel qu'on ne saurait en prévoir la fin. Tout en motivant ainsi le vœu qu'il avait formulé, le Commissaire Français s'empresse de prendre acte de la communication faite par son Excellence Fuad Pacha relativement aux Druses. Puisque le temps est enfin venu de les frapper, il réclame une répression vigoureuse contre des assassins qui se sont mis hors la loi, c'est-à-dire, au ban des nations. Sur ce dernier point, il est heureux de se trouver d'accord avec le Commissaire d'Autriche. Mais il n'admet pas la distinction faite par Lord Dufferin. Les scènes de Deir-el-Kamar, pas plus que celles de Damas, ne peuvent s'appeler une guerre civile. Ce sont de véritables boucheries.

M. Novikow rappelle que des scènes semblables ont eu lieu à Rasheya et à Hasbeya. Il ne peut être question de guerre civile dans les atrocités commises par les Druses sur ces deux points. Elles n'ont eu pour cause déterminante que la soif du sang et du pillage, et les coupables doivent être classés dans la catégorie des criminels qui méritent une punition tout aussi sévère que les Musulmans de Damas. Ceux des Chrétiens de l'Anti-Liban qui ont survécu aux massacres sont encore aujourd'hui en butte aux insultes des Druses.

Le Commissaire Prussien croit devoir ramener l'attention de ses collègues sur la motion présentée au début de la séance par M. Novikow. Il croit qu'en effet le meilleur moyen de rassurer les Chrétiens de Damas et de les empêcher d'émigrer, serait que la Commission se transportât momentanément au milieu d'eux. A cette occasion, M. de Rehfues donne lecture de quelques fragments d'une lettre du Consul de Prusse à Damas, qui indique les causes du malaise actuel.

La motion de M. Novikow est mise en discussion, et donne lieu à un échange d'avis différents. Tous les Commissaires, sauf son Excellence Fuad Pacha et M. de Weckbecker, pensent que la présence de la Commission à Damas est nécessaire, et peut seule produire l'effet désiré; et M. Béclard, rappelant l'objection qui lui avait été faite dans le principe, voudrait

qu'avant de partir pour Damas, la Commission eût la satisfaction d'avoir obtenu quelques résultats sérieux.

Le Commissaire Français donne lecture d'une supplique adressée à la Commission, sous la date du 7 Novembre, par toutes les communautés Chrétiennes de Damas. Dans cette supplique, les Chrétiens se déclarent prêts à retourner chez eux, ainsi qu'ils en ont reçu l'ordre, mais à de certaines conditions. L'une de ces conditions consiste dans la garantie qu'ils sollicitent des Commissaires.

M. Béclard, en achevant cette lecture, fait remarquer que le document dont il s'agit offre un caractère exceptionnel, en ce sens—qu'il émane de la totalité de la population Chrétienne, représentée par les cinq communautés des différents rites.

Fuad Pacha s'élève contre la prétention des Chrétiens de Damas d'obtenir une garantie que la Commission ne peut leur donner, et qui indique de leur part une méfiance profonde à l'égard du Gouvernement.

Le Commissaire Français fait observer que cette méfiance n'est pas sans motifs, et que le Gouvernement a beaucoup à faire pour le dissiper. La demande de garantie des Chrétiens n'est pas non plus chose nouvelle, et on ne peut s'étonner qu'ils aient placé toutes leurs espérances dans la sollicitude dont ils se savent l'objet de la part de la Commission.

Fuad Pacha répond qu'il se rend très bien compte des sentiments inspirés aux Chrétiens par leurs malheurs ; mais il n'admet pas que ses actes puissent être mis en suspicion. Pour donner aux Chrétiens la confiance qui leur manque, il prendra encore, s'il le faut, de nouvelles mesures, et à cet effet il accueillera toujours avec empressement les conseils de ses collégues. En outrepassant cette limite, la Commission empiéterait sur les droits de son Gouvernement.

M. Béclard dit qu'il ne pouvait se dispenser de faire parvenir à sa destination la supplique des Chrétiens de Damas, et qu'il a jugé tout à la fois plus loyal et plus efficace de donner lecture de cette pièce en présence du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman.

Le Commissaire Prussien fait savoir que, d'après sa correspondance, la subvention quotidienne de cinquante paras, allouée aux Chrétiens de Damas par le Gouvernement, leur est payée irrégulièrement; ce qui constitue déjà un arriéré de vingt jours.

Fuad Pacha exprime l'étonnement que lui cause cette nouvelle, dont il n'a eu aucune connaissance, et qui lui paraît inexplicable. Il prendra des informations.

M. de Rehfues insiste de nouveau sur la nécessité de statuer, relativement à la motion du Commissaire Russe. Si cette motion n'était pas adoptée, il croirait de son devoir néanmoins de faire, personnellement, le voyage de Damas.

Fuad Pacha se livre à de nouvelles critiques contre la dite motion, dont il conteste l'utilité.

Il est décidé, sur la demande de M. Béclard, que la motion du Commissaire Russe sera remise en discussion dans la séance suivante.

Le projet du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, consistant à fixer un délai après lequel les Chrétiens ne pourront plus présenter de dénonciations contre les Druses, est approuvé à l'unanimité.

Fuad Pacha annonce qu'il comptait communiquer à la Commission divers travaux déjà terminés, suivant l'engagement qu'il en avait pris, mais les discussions qui ont rempli cette séance ne lui ont pas permis de le faire.

Le Commissaire Français interpelle Fuad Pacha :

1. Sur l'impôt qu'on paraît vouloir exiger en ce moment des Chrétiens de Beyrout et du Liban : laissant de côté, dit-il, la question de savoir jusqu'à quel point il est juste de mettre à exécution une seule des dispositions du Hatti-Houmayoun, M. Béclard se demande si cette mesure est opportune.

2. Sur le retard apporté au paiement des 1,500 bourses, promises aux habitants de Zahlé, sur le montant des 9,000 qui leur ont été allouées pour frais de reconstruction.

Fuad Pacha répond, quant à la seconde question, que le paiement de

1,500 bourses avait été retardé faute de garanties, mais que ces garanties ayant été obtenues depuis lors, le paiement va avoir lieu.

Quant à l'impôt militaire, il rappelle que cet impôt a été établi en remplacement de l'ancien haratch. On ne l'exige en ce moment que des Chrétiens des localités qui n'ont pas souffert, et qui néanmoins n'ont rien payé depuis quatre ou cinq ans. Il est juste que cette ressource soit affectée au soulagement des victimes, et d'ailleurs, sur le montant de l'arriéré, on ne demande qu'une seule annuité ; on se contente même d'un simple à-compte.

La séance est levée à six heures.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 8 in No. 190.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, November* 15, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that there is reason to believe the Russian and Greek interests in this country, foreseeing the danger which they incur of finding themselves suddenly placed under the domination of a Maronite ascendancy, have been, lately, busy in devising schemes for securing to their own community a separate and independent jurisdiction.

The difficulties they will have to encounter in the realization of such a project will probably prove very great. As yet, the happiest contrivance which has occurred to the ingenuity of their advisers seems to be the creation of a distinct Greco-Christian administration in the Anti-Lebanon.

The Greek community is the most numerous of any in Syria. The Christian population of Damascus almost entirely belongs to the Greek Church. The Christians of Hasbeya and Rasheya are also Greeks, while the towns of Tripoli and Sidon, and the districts in their neighbourhood, are largely peopled by the same sect. In the Lebanon itself, however, with the exception of certain Greek Christian villages (whose inhabitants, it is to be remarked, assisted the Druses), the population is chiefly Maronite.

It is well known that the Consul of the King of Greece has been encouraging the exodus from Damascus, both by precept and example; and it may be just possible that the famous chalking of doors which lately took place in that city is a fact not altogether foreign to such a policy, while the idea which has been latterly agitated of transferring the Greek population of Hasbeya from Mount Hermon to the Lebanon would be perfectly in accordance with the above presumption. Nevertheless, it is impossible to trace, with any certainty, the sinuosities of Christian intrigue in this country. I confess I can foresee nothing but failure in any attempt to constitute separate and independent religious jurisdictions over Syria.

I have already expressed to your Excellency that a union, and not a disintegration, of the population is what we ought to endeavour to accomplish. The hatred which exists between Greek and Maronite is as bitter as any between Maronite and Druse; and if it is still to remain the interest of the Turk to pit one creed against the other, we shall have effected but a small improvement on the previous arrangement.

Inclosure 9 in No. 190.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, November* 17, 1860.

I HAVE the satisfaction of being able to inform your Excellency that at the tenth sitting of the Commission it was unanimously admitted by my colleagues that as soon as a due measure of punishment shall

have been inflicted on the more notorious authors of the late massacres in the Mountain, an amnesty shall be accorded to the Druse nation.

Inclosure 10 in No. 190.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, November* 18, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that at the last sitting of the Commission, a plan originating with M. Outrey, the French Consul at Damascus, for the valuation of the losses sustained by the Christian inhabitants of that city, was submitted to our consideration by M. Béclard.

The principle of M. Outrey's scheme consists in the distribution of all the houses of the city into different categories, according to their reputed size and splendour. Each house will then become the relative standard, according to which the loss in clothes, furniture, jewels, and other destructible property, possessed by its owner or occupier, will be estimated.

The amount of indemnification to be adjudged to the proprietor of one particular house having been ascertained, a similar sum will be apportioned to the owners or occupiers of every other house in the same category.

M. Outrey considers that 1,250,000*l.* sterling is a moderate estimate of the amount of compensation the Christians have a right to demand, and he divides the habitations of the claimants into ten categories: each of these categories he has assessed at a particular sum.

Though, of course, some injustice must attend the application of this scheme, more especially as it affects the richer citizens, yet, on the whole, the uniformity of domestic existence among persons of the same class is so exact in the East, that when once you have arrived at an accurate notion of the moveable property in the possession of one individual of a trade or of a profession, you may safely reckon that his style of living did not differ much from that of others of his craft, so that the adoption of M. Outrey's principle will possibly prove a not unsatisfactory means of assessing the amount of damages.

The only other plan would have been a specific examination of each individual claim; first, by a Mixed Native, and then by a European Commission. This mode of proceeding would have involved an interminable delay, and it is doubtful whether, if we take into account the disregard to truth by the Christians of this country, any greater accuracy of estimation would have been obtained.

As it is, we may now hope that within ten days the Government will have the advantage of being able to declare to the Christian inhabitants of Damascus that each individual's loss has been estimated by a process which has been approved of by a European Commission, and thus to afford them an unmistakeable assurance of their eventual compensation.

At the next sitting we are to consider how the necessary sum is to be raised. It is to be hoped, in a great degree, by a heavy tax on the Moslems of Damascus. Such a measure would be a more effectual means of punishing those wicked persons than even a further infliction of capital punishment.

The Commission having acceded to the principle of M. Outrey's plan, I proposed that before we committed ourselves to the calculations of a single individual, however intelligent or expert, it would be advisable, for our personal satisfaction, to test their accuracy by reference to other sources of information. This proposal was agreed to. On the whole, however, I have little doubt M. Outrey's estimate is pretty just.

Inclosure 11 in No. 190.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, November* 18, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copies of Tables communicated to the Commission by his Excellency Fuad Pasha, which purport to give the annual revenues of the Departments of Damascus and of Saida.

Your Excellency will perceive that there is a great pretension to accuracy in these Tables, since not only have individual piastres been put down, but the compiler has even condescended to paras. On closer examination, however, many numerical errors will be detected, especially in Table 1, where the sum-total of the revenues of the Department of Damascus is laid down at 400,000 piastres more than the sum arrived at by the addition of the figures in the Table.

On the whole, there is an artificial appearance in these accounts which does not inspire me with confidence. Nevertheless, the grand total of 185,000*l.* and 125,000*l.* respectively indicated as the annual revenue of the two Departments in question may not be far from the truth. Unde proper management five times this sum might be obtained.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 12 in No. 190.

Tableau (1).—Revenus Annuels de la Province de Damas.

	Impôt.	Impôt pour Exemption du Service Militaire.	Droits sur les Teskereh et autres.	Taxes Diverses.	Dîmes.	Total.
	Piastres pa.	Piastres pa.	Piastres pa.	Piastres pa.	Piastres pa.	Piastres pa.
Perçu de la Ville de Damas	1,051,600 0	115,000 0	6,573 0	3,500,000 0	...	4,733,173 0
Id. de quatre Districts de Damas qui suivent—						
Merj Khûta	420,944 16	...	...	...	263,600 0	
Wâdi el Ajam	657,387 0	...	...	...	161,688 0	
Wâdi Barada	286,187 0	...	...	...	153,850 0	
Jebel Kalamûn	658,086 0	...	...	...	133,428 0	
Augmentation des Dîmes de ces quatre Districts, depuis 1,272, de 10 et de 25 pour cent	...	...	...	...	210,000 0	
	3,074,204 16	...	...	...	942,568 0	3,965,172 16
Perçu des Départements et des Districts de la dite Province, dont les noms suivent—						
Hamâh	2,357,933 9	78,750 0	...	410,000 0	2,500 0	
Homs	531,373 0	48,750 0	...	448,000 0	17,542 0	
Baalbek	1,104,123 0	67,500 0	...	81,500 0	52,322 0	
Ma'aret en Na'amân	207,919 0	...	...	20,500 0	1,350 0	
Ajlûn	658,942 0	7,500 0	...	...	19,457 0	
Bokâa	264,597 0	86,250 0	...	60,000 0	1,154,592 0	
Hasbeya	260,178 0	45,000 0	...	50,360 0	171,000 0	
Rasheya	175,533 0	52,500 0	...	27,310 0	...	
Hauràn	1,142,059 0	18,750 0	...	...	111,715 0	
Jebel-ed-Drûz	150,220 0	11,250 0	...	...	28,470 0	
Hosn-el-Akrâd	478,961 0	86,250 0	...	27,513 0	30,300 0	
Denetra	310,833 0	3,750 0	...	...	185,000 0	
Iki Kapûli	79,672 0	26,250 0	...	...	...	
	7,722,343 9	532,500 0	...	1,125,183 0	1,774,248 0	11,154,274 9
Total	...	...	...	...	...	19,852,619 25
Total given in the original ...	...	...	...	...	...	20,252,619 25

TOTAL.

	Piastres pa.
Report	20,252,619 25
Affermage du Droit sur les Moutons de l'année 1275 ..	650,000 0
Revenus du District de Kharab de la même Province ..	1,701,532 0
Total	22,604,151 25

	Bourses pstrs.
Cette somme réduite en bourses présente	41,805 119
Y ajoute la somme payée par le Trésor Impérial pour les Fondations Pieuses	900 0
	42,705 119

Perceptions en nature des susdits Districts et Départements.

	Blé.	Orge.	Maïs.	Sorte de Grain pour la Nourriture du Chameaux.	Beurre.	Soie.	Mouton.
	Ard. m.	Ard. m.	Ard. m.	Ard. m.	Okes dr.	Okes dr.	Têtes.
Du Sanjak de—							
Hamâh	8,120 13½	4,140 16	127 16	...	5,960 0	72 0	
Haurân	2,650 11	15,444 0					
Homs	3,186 12	1,755 0					
Jebel-ed-Druz	31 12	872 12	...	...	...	...	1,300
Hosn-el-Akrâd	1,326 6	888 0	377 0	...	2,156 0	248 0	
Ma'aret en Na'amân ...	2,745 6	1,372 0	...	...	375 0		
Ajlun...	699 9	1,411 21	...	447 0	4,902 0		
Total	18,759 21½	25,884 12	504 0	447 0	13,393 0	320 0	1,300
	Kilé.	Kilé.	Kilé.	Kilé.	Batman.	Batman.	
En Mesure de Constantinople...	112,558	155,307	3,024	2,682	6,686½	160	

Tableau (2).—Revenus Annuels de la Province de Saida, répartis entre les Sanjaks de Beyrout, Tripoli, Lattakîah, Nablûs, Akka, et les Kaimakamîyeh Druse et Chrétienne, d'après le Tableau suivant.

	Biens de l'Etat.	Taxes Diverses.	Dîmes.	Exemption du Service Militaire.	Gêdik.	Total.
	Piastres pa.	Piastres pa.	Piastres pa.	Piastres pa.	Piastres pa.	Piastres pa.
Perçu du Sanjak de—						
Beyrout	1,776,310 11	997,279 0	46,987 22	272,489 31	138,969 20	
Tripoli	1,625,449 10	167,800 0	853,112 0	127,500 0	9,215 0	
Latakîah	2,154,624 17	121,280 0	455,150 0	97,500 0		
Nablûs	1,914,451 39	130,117 20	...	14,103 23		
Akka	1,780,833 26	301,000 0	110,486 0	105,000 0		
Kaimakamiyeh Druse	787,946 0					
„ Chrétienne...	1,051,120 0					
	11,090,735 23	1,717,476 20	1,465,735 22	616,393 14	148,184 20	15,038,725 19

	Bourses	pstrs.	pa.
La dite somme réduite en bourses représente	30,077	225	19
Y ajouter les Revenus du district Shemsîyeh, de l'année 1275	456	164	9
Id., id., des Districts de Haifa et Suhil Athlît, sis dans le Sanjak de Akka	626	365	17
Total	31,154	255	5

Perceptions en nature de la Province de Saida.

	Blé.	Orge.	Maïs.	Grain pour la Nourriture des Chameaux.	Sésame.	Lentille.	Beurre et Huile.	Cotons de Coton.
	Kilés.	Kilés.	Kilés.	Kilés.	Kilés.	Kilés.	Okes dr.	Okes dr.
Sanjak de—								
Beyrout	15,102 20	43,415 18						
Tripoli...	8,752 3	22,884 2	2,754 18					
Latakiah	4,612 6	6,996 0						
Nablûs	10,725 12	18,875 4½	1,964 0	1,558 18	53 3	81 12	6,687 84	4,711 200
Akka	53,491 0	84,576 0	4,014 19	...	...	...	7,173 289	

No. 191.

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 30.)

(Extract.) *Damascus, November 15, 1860.*

IN my report of the 20th October I had the honour to inclose a communication from his Excellency Fuad Pasha, received as the mail was closing, to which I then stated I should revert at a future opportunity.

The communication referred to contained a statement of the names of certain prisoners of position sent to Beyrout; the charges alleged against them; and the sentence awarded, together with sundry remarks by Fuad Pasha on the latter points.

Pre-eminent among these was the Sheikh Abdullah-el-Halibi, principal Sheikh of the great Mosque of Damascus, regarded by the Christians of this city as a principal, if not the chief, instigator of the fearful massacre to which so many of them fell victims, and who, in their estimation, ought therefore to have been one of the first criminals executed. I believe that

all, or nearly all, the European agents coincided with the native Christians in this view; not that either could produce distinct evidence in Court in proof of his guilt, for a Christian dare not, and a Moslem at the instance of a Christian would not, testify against a man of the Sheikh's position. Nevertheless, a general conviction prevailed, that from the great veneration in which this man was held by all Moslems, and the powerful influence he wielded among them, a general massacre never could have been ventured upon, without his consent or connivance having been previously obtained.

Fuad Pasha has constantly complained that he could procure no evidence against the Sheikh.

After having been kept in semi-confinement for upwards of two months—submitted occasionally to a desultory kind of examination, without eliciting anything of importance, as was constantly asserted—Sheikh Abdullah and his companions were suddenly condemned, during a passing visit of Fuad Pasha to Damascus, at a time when European agents were making efforts to secure the punishment of at least the Sheikh.

In this city all arrests connected with the late massacres have ceased, and the authorities manifest a disinclination to entertain accusations occasionally made by Christians against individuals whom they recognize as having robbed them, or having been engaged in the massacre. The Local Government itself is utterly effete; the Governor Mohammer Pasha, to whose inefficiency I have repeatedly had occasion to refer, not having yet been removed, nor, so far as I am aware, has any one been definitively named as his successor. It is of the most vital consequence to this province that the authorities at Constantinople should spare no pains to find a trustworthy and active man for this post; Damascus having now, more than ever, become a centre from which influences for good or evil will spread over the greater portion of Syria.

A measure of general disarmament was announced for the city, some three weeks ago, and an attempt to carry it out has met with but scanty success. The people having become aware of the intention, secreted their valuable, and delivered their useless weapons. It is calculated that the inhabitants possess 40,000 stand of arms; 1,040 only have been surrendered, 600 of which were taken from a dealer in arms. Threats of fine and imprisonment have been held out against the recusants, but neither have yet been enforced.

The troops in the Pashalic are still cantoned in the various villages along the line from Damascus to the Haurân, whence patrols are kept up, to ensure the general tranquillity, as well as to search for plunder, or plunderers who may have sought security for themselves and their booty, taken from Damascus or Lebanon, among the more secluded villages. The Commander-in-chief still maintains his head-quarters at Damascus.

During the comparative inaction of the army, I have been employing myself, in connection with Lord Dufferin, in pushing forward the repairs of the villages of the Anti-Lebanon, burned or otherwise destroyed during the late outbreak, as well as in procuring bedding and other covering f r their inhabitants, measures rendered urgent by the approach of the inclement season.

I am now proceeding to Hasbeya and Rasheya, principal outposts of the army, where there is yet much to be done to re-establish the scattered Christian inhabitants; whence I join Fuad Pasha in the Lebanon, to which point he is shortly about to proceed from Beyrout, for the purpose of making sundry arrests among the Druses.

No. 192.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, December* 1, 1860.

I HAVE to acquaint your Lordship that I entirely approve of the course which you took at the eighth sitting of the Syrian Commission, and that I agree in your observations as stated in the interpellation which

you addressed to Fuad Pasha with regard to the punishment of those connected with the massacres in Syria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 193.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, December* 1, 1860.

I HAVE to instruct you to report to me the number of Maronite and Greek Christians in the Lebanon.

No. 194.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 3.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, November* 23, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch of this day's date which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, inclosing a plan drawn up by M. Outrey, for the valuation and compensation of losses suffered by the Christian inhabitants of Damascus.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 194.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, November* 23, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that, at the last sitting of the Conference a discussion took place as to whether the plan proposed by M. Outrey (copy of which I have the honour to inclose) for the assessment of the penal tax to be imposed on the town of Damascus, should be adopted by the Commissioners.

According to M. Outrey's estimation, the damage done at Damascus can be compensated by a sum of 150,000,000 piastres, or 1,200,000*l.* Of this sum 34,000,000 piastres, or 280,000*l.*, is to be levied on the city; 700,000*l.* on the villages in the neighbourhood; and 265,000*l.* to be contributed by the Porte. With M. Outrey's estimate of damages, that of one of the richest and most intelligent Christian merchants in Damascus, whose beautiful house has been burnt to the ground, and who certainly cannot be suspected of any undue tenderness for the Moslems, perfectly coincides; but he is of opinion that a tax of 50 per cent. on their yearly income might be raised from its Moslem inhabitants without paralyzing the industrial energies of the city. According to a rough calculation I have made, it would appear that the tax proposed by M. Outrey would come to about 16 per cent. Since, therefore, M. Outrey's estimate of damages does not fall short of that arrived at by a person interested in placing them at the highest figure possible, and as the assessment of the imposition he proposes is only a third of what a respectable though undoubtedly prejudiced man considers reasonable, we may conclude that his calculation possesses the merit of being on a liberal scale towards the Christians, and not immoderately severe upon the Moslems. With respect to the question of immediate payment or by instalments, the gentleman I allude to is of opinion that no matter how violent might be the process, 10,000,000 piastres, or 80,000*l.*, is the utmost which could be wrung out of the inhabitants at a single squeeze.

The moderate wealth of the inhabitants of Damascus may perhaps surprise your Excellency; but it must be remembered that, with the exception of perhaps five or six individuals, the most wealthy inhabitants do not enjoy an income of from more than 700*l.* to 1,000*l.* a-year, and, although they may possess a certain amount of jewellery, valuables, and plate, yet, in the present state of things, such articles could not be disposed of, even at a very depreciated value.

Inclosure 2 in No. 194.

M. Outrey's Plan for the Assessment of a Penal Tax upon the Town of Damascus, &c.

(The amounts in sterling are stated approximatively.)

No. d'ordre.	Source des Produits.	Totaux par Articles.	Totaux Généraux.	Payable d'ici au commencement des travaux soit en Mars 1861.	Payable au mois de Septembre 1861.	Payable en Mars 1862.	Payable en Septembre 1862.	Payable en Mars 1863.
		Piastres. £	Piastres. £	Piastres. £	Piastres. £	Piastres. £	Piastres. £	Piastres. £
1	Imposition forcée sur la ville de Damas composée de 13,000 maisons Musulmanes :—							
	200 maisons à raison de 20,000 piastres = £160	4,000,000 = 32,000						
	300 „ 15,000 „ = 120	4,500,000 = 36,000						
	500 „ 10,000 „ = 80	5,000,000 = 40,000						
	1,000 „ 5,000 „ = 40	5,000,000 = 40,000						
	1,000 „ 4,000 „ = 32	4,000,000 = 32,000						
	1,500 „ 3,000 „ = 24	4,500,000 = 36,000						
	2,000 „ 2,000 „ = 16	4,000,000 = 32,000						
	3,000 „ 1,000 „ = 8	3,000,000 = 24,000						
	3,500 maisons pauvres affranchies de l'imposition.		34,000,000 = 280,000	12,000,000 = 100,000	12,000,000 = 100,000	10,000,000 = 83,500		
2	Imposition forcée sur les villages de la plaine de Damas à un moyen de 30 m. ...	6,000,000 = 50,000	6,000,000 = 50,000	2,000,000 = 16,500	2,000,000 = 16,500	2,000,000 = 16,500		
3	Bois de construction à prélever en nature sur les villages du district, 150,000, pieds d'arbres de toutes grosseurs au prix moyen de 75 p. ... 11,250,000 piastres							
	Planches et bois divers ... ... 6,750,000 „							
	... ...	18,000,000 = 150,000	18,000,000 = 150,000	9,000,000 = 75,000	9,000,000 = 75,000			
4	Imposition forcée sur le Haurân spéciale à la ville de Damas	8,000,000 = 66,500	8,000,000 = 66,500	4,000,000 = 33,000	2,000,000 = 16,500	2,000,000 = 16,500		
5	Imposition extraordinaire sur toute la Province de Damas à l'exception de cette ville et des villages de la plaine. La moitié de l'impôt en sus par année... ...	30,000,000 = 250,000	30,000,000 = 250,000	10,000,000 = 83,250	...	10,000,000 = 83,250	...	10,000,000 = 83,250
6	Valeur des biens des condamnés estimés à la moitié du prix réel	10,000,000 = 83,000	10,000,000 = 82,250	...	5,000,000 = 41,500	...	5,000,000 = 41,500	
7	Objets et vêtements fournis en nature sur les objets volés rapportés	2,500,000 = 21,000	2,500,000 = 21,750	2,500,000 = 20,750				
8	Produit de la vente de quatre villages situés dans la plaine de Damas, et appartenant exclusivement au Gouvernement. Ce sont El Kefrein, Abâdeh, Jedeideh et Khas, et Harân el 'Awamîd, contenant 400 feddâns environ au prix de 5,000	2,000,000 = 16,500	2,000,000 = 16,500	...	1,000,000 = 8,300	...	1,000,000 = 8,300	
9	Produit de la vente de 2,500 feddâns dans la Bokâa au prix moyen de de 3,000 piastres	7,500,000 = 62,500	7,500,000 = 62,500	...	3,750,000 = 31,250	...	3,750,000 = 31,250	
10	Complément à fournir par la Sublime Porte	...	32,000,000 = 266,000	12,000,000 = 100,000	...	10,000,000 = 83,500	...	10,000,000 = 83,500
			150,000,000 = 1,250,000	51,500,000 = 429,000	34,750,000 = 289,500	34,000,000 = 285,250	9,750,000 = 81,250	20,000,000 = 167,000

Nombre des Maisons.	Objet de l'Indemnité.	Indemnité par chaque Maison.	Totaux par Article.	Totaux Généraux.
		Piastres. £	Piastres. £	Piastres. £
250	Pour les mobiliers pillés dans les maisons Musulmanes louées aux Chrétiens	10,000 = 83	2,500,000 = 20,830	
100	Maisons pillées et en partie brûlées, mais qui peuvent être réparées. Pour réparation et prix du mobilier	30,000 = 250	3,000,000 = 25,000	
250	Pour construction entière et mobilier	35,000 = 290	8,750,000 = 72,915	
200	Id. id.	60,000 = 500	12,000,000 = 100,000	
150	Id. id.	100,000 = 830	15,000,000 = 125,000	
100	Id. id.	125,000 = 1,040	12,500,000 = 100,410	
60	Id. id.	150,000 = 1,250	9,000,000 = 75,000	
50	Id. id.	200,000 = 1,660	10,000,000 = 83,330	
50	Id. id.	275,000 = 2,290	13,750,000 = 114,580	
50	Id. id.	350,000 = 2,915	17,500,000 = 145,830	
25	Id. id.	450,000 = 3,750	11,250,000 = 93,750	
10	Id. id.	700,000 = 5,830	7,000,000 = 58,300	
5	Id. id.	1,000,000 = 8,330	5,000,000 = 41,665	
				127,250,000 = 1,060,416
1,300				
	Patriarcat Grec, bâtisse et mobilier	...	5,000,000 = 41,500	
	Patriarcate Melchite, bâtisse et mobilier	...	3,000,000 = 25,000	
	Couvent de Terre Sainte, bâtisse et mobilier	...	2,200,000 = 26,660	
	Etablissement des Lazaristes et des Sœurs	...	2,000,000 = 16,500	
	Eglise Syrienne et Couvent	...	1,000,000 = 8,300	
	Eglise Arménienne et Couvent	...	850,000 = 7,055	
	Eglise Maronite et Couvent	...	750,000 = 6,455	
	Eglise des Capucins	...	150,000 = 1,245	
	Ornements de la Chapelle des Arméniens Latins... ...	...	50,000 = 415	
				15,000,000 = 125,000
	Pour indemnités extraordinaires aux Consulats et dépenses imprévues	...	7,750,000 = 64,580	7,750,000 = 64,580
	Total Général	...	...	150,000,000 = 1,250,000

No. 195.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 6.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, November* 23, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, copy of a further despatch which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 195.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, November* 21, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the tenth sitting of the Syrian Commission, held on the 14th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 195.

Protocol of the Tenth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, November 14, 1860.

LE Mercredi, quatorze Novembre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout, sous la présidence de son Excellence Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à midi et demi.

Le procès-verbal est lu et adopté avec quelques légères modifications.

Fuad Pacha propose ensuite à la Commission d'examiner les diverses questions relatives à la répression et au châtiment des Druses. Les arrestations vont commencer dans la Montagne; M. le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte y présidera lui-même. Mais auparavant il croit devoir prendre l'avis de la Commission sur le meilleur système de procédure à adopter, sur le nombre et la nature des peines

qu'il infligera, sur les moyens qu'il y aura lieu d'employer pour arriver à la découverte des coupables. Chacun de ces points soulève de difficultés, et dans le sentiment qu'il a de la lourde responsabilité qui pèse sur lui, Fuad Pacha demande à la Commission de vouloir bien l'éclairer de ses conseils.

Et d'abord quelle procédure devra-t-il adopter? Il y en a deux qui s'offrent à lui: l'une sommaire et expéditive; l'autre régulière, méthodique, et conforme aux lois régulières du pays. La première fournit de prompts résultats, mais elle ne donne pas le temps de peser les preuves, et ne permet pas toujours de proportionner exactement la peine au degré de culpabilité. La seconde a l'inconvénient, non moins grave dans les circonstances présentes, de trop suspendre le châtiment. Peut-être à une situation exceptionnelle faut-il une justice exceptionnelle. Fuad Pacha hésite entre ces deux systèmes: s'il use de la procédure sommaire, on l'accusera, comme à Damas, de frapper aveuglement; s'il a recours aux formalités de la procèdure régulière, on l'accusera de tomber dans l'excès contraire.

M. le Commissaire Français n'hésite pas à déclarer qu'il est, pour sa part, fermement convaincu que le système de la procédure sommaire est le seul qu'il soit non seulement convenable, mais même possible d'adopter. Une procédure régulière et l'application des règles ordinaires de la justice entraineraient, sinon la condamnation, au moins l'arrestation et la mise en accusation de tous les Druses, car tous ont trempé plus ou moins dans les évènements qui ont ensanglanté la Montagne, et ruiné les populations Chrétiennes du Liban. C'est en voulant proportionner le nombre des châtiments à celui des assassinats, et en versant à froid autant de sang que les Druses en ont répandu dans leur égarement, que le Gouvernement Turc s'exposerait au reproche de barbarie. Ce qui importe avant tout, c'est de rassurer promptement les populations par un châtiment exemplaire des principaux coupables. Une procédure sommaire et expéditive est seule propre à faire atteindre ce résultat; c'est donc à celle-là qu'il est indispensable d'avoir recours.

M. le Commissaire Prussien partage complétement l'opinion de M. Béclard. Il insiste sur cette considération décisive à ses yeux, que la répression des Druses ne sera efficace que si le châtiment est prompt et exemplaire.

M. Novikow est du même avis. Il fait remarquer d'ailleurs que la procédure régulière ayant été suivie à l'égard des Chefs Druses actuellement détenus à Beyrout, cette circonstance est de nature à mettre Fuad Pacha suffisamment à couvert contre le reproche de précipitation que son Excellence semble redouter. Quant à la masse des coupables de rang inférieur qui vont être arrêtés, M. le Commissaire Russe pense qu'il faudra nécessairement procéder vis-à-vis d'eux d'une manière différente, en évitant toutefois les excès d'une justice qui pourrait être taxée d'exagération.

M. le Commissaire Autrichien déclare partager complètement l'avis de M. Béclard. Il est évident, dit-il, que la culpabilité étant partout chez les Druses, il est impossible de procéder régulièrement. Il faut se contenter de frapper vite et fort. Quant au reste de la nation Druse, M. de Weckbecker est d'avis qu'il y aurait un moyen indirect de l'atteindre, en la privant à l'avenir de tous les droits politiques dont elle était autrefois en possession. M. de Weckbecker ajoute que la solution de la question, posée par Fuad Pacha, dépend du caractère attribué par le Gouvernement Ottoman aux crimes et délits commis par les Druses. Si la Porte les considère comme des délits purement civils, et d'individus à individus, il ne semble guère que la procédure régulière puisse être abandonnée. Mais si au contraire la Sublime Porte voit dans les massacres des Chrétiens par les Druses, dans le commencement d'extermination d'une race de l'Empire par une autre race, un fait de guerre civile, un acte de rébellion, un crime de lèse-majesté, alors il est clair que le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte, tant que durera l'état de siège et de désorganisation de la Montagne, doit procéder contre les Druses sommairement, militairement, et dans le libre exercice de ses pleins pouvoirs, sans observer les régles de la procédure ordinaire.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha fait remarquer à ce sujet que les quatorze Mokatadjis Druses actuellement détenus à Beyrout sont en effet poursuivis à raison de deux chefs : premièrement, comme coupables de n'avoir point rempli le mandat qu'ils avaient reçu de pourvoir, en qualité de Sous-Caimacams, à la sécurité de tous les habitants de leurs districts ; secondement, comme complices des crimes commis contre des particuliers. Quant aux autres Chefs qui se sont enfuis, ils ont été mis hors la loi et seront jugés par contumace.

Lord Dufferin trouve que le mode de procédure qui a été approuvé par ses collègues est en effet le seul que les circonstances permettent d'adopter, choix pénible sans doute, mais inévitable, puisque le mode d'une procédure régulière serait inapplicable. Mais Lord Dufferin croit devoir ensuite faire observer que les deux systèmes étant inconciliables, le choix du système de la procédure sommaire exclue complètement l'emploi de la procédure régulière. Si donc on inflige aux Druses, d'une manière sommaire, un châtiment qui semblerait découler du principe barbare de la décimation, une fois ce sacrifice accompli, les Druses qui auront survécu devront être protégés contre de nouvelles poursuites par une amnistie générale.

Ce dernier vœu exprimé par Lord Dufférin, et le mot amnistie employé par sa Seigneurie, ayant donné lieu à des interprétations diverses, M. le Commissaire Français s'étant élevé avec énergie contre toute pensée d'une amnistie politique au profit de la nation Druse, M. le Commissaire Anglais développe son idée, et il résulte de ses explications que, par amnistie, il voulait dire une garantie à donner aux Druses pour la conservation de leurs droits civils, mais que, en ce qui concerne leurs droits publics, il était parfaitement d'accord avec ses collègues pour reconnaître que le Gouvernement avait le droit de frapper dans ses privilèges politiques une tribu qui avait commis des crimes si abominables.

Les Représentants des cinq Puissances ayant tous exprimé une opinion favorable à l'adoption du système de la procédure exceptionnelle et sommaire, Fuad Pacha croit devoir poser à la Commission d'autres questions subsidiaires, se rattachant à celle qui vient d'être examinée. Devra-t-il diriger sur Beyrout et y réunir tous les Druses qui seront arrêtés dans la Montagne, ou instituer une sorte de tribunal ambulatoire qui, se transportant successivement dans les diverses parties de la Montagne, jugera et fera exécuter les coupables sur le théâtre même de leurs crimes ?

M. Béclard, répondant à cette question, est d'avis que la justice sommaire, adoptée en principe, doit être rendue sur les lieux, pour que son effet soit à la fois plus prompt et plus sensible.

Aucune discussion ne s'élève sur ce point, que tous les membres de la Commission envisagent de la même manière.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha pose ensuite la question de savoir, s'il devra établir dans la Montagne, comme à Damas, plusieurs catégories de peines, correspondantes à plusieurs catégories de coupables, et appliquer la mort, le bagne, la réclusion, l'exil, selon le degré apparent de culpabilité ? Sur ce point encore, M. le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte éprouve le besoin de recevoir les conseils de la Commission. Il n'a ni le droit ni l'envie d'abdiquer la responsabilité qui pèse sur lui ; mais il sent combien elle est lourde, et c'est pour cela qu'il ne craint pas de déposer dans le sein de la Commission tous ses doutes et toutes ses perplexités. Il a besoin aussi de fixer d'avance son opinion sur la nature et le poids des preuves qu'il admettra dans cette procédure expéditive. A Damas, dit-il, il a sommé les principaux habitants de lui désigner les coupables, et c'est sur la dénonciation, sur des témoignages non oculaires, qu'il s'est le plus souvent appuyé pour dresser ses listes ; il s'est même parfois contenté de la simple déposition d'un Chrétien. Dans la Montagne la situation est toute différente. La force armée ne saurait y exercer la même influence, et au milieu d'un peuple organisé, comme le sont les Druses, en une sorte d'affiliation ou société secrète, on ne peut compter sur aucun renseignement, aucune dénonciation des Druses contre les Druses. Il sera donc nécessaire d'avoir presque exclusivement recours aux dépositions des Chrétiens ; mais alors Fuad Pacha en redoute le nombre, et, si on lui demande 1,000 ou 1,500 têtes, et s'il consent à les faire tomber, il craint de

s'exposer à l'accusation d'être plus Druse que les Druses eux-mêmes, et de répondre à un massacre par une boucherie.

M. Novikow fait observer que c'est là un danger contre lequel M. le Commissaire Extraordinaire peut se prémunir. Ce n'est pas une vengeance que le Gouvernement du Sultan doit exercer contre tous les Druses, bien que tous soient coupables. Il s'agit principalement de prévenir le retour des mêmes crimes, en infligeant la peine de mort aux principaux coupables, en frappant pour ainsi dire de terreur le reste de la nation. La répression des Druses devant encore moins consister dans des peines individuelles que dans un ensemble de mesures propres à réduire la nation entière à l'impuissance de nuire aux populations Chrétiennes, on pourrait par exemple, dit M. le Commissaire Russe, condamner à mort tous ceux qui passent pour avoir commis des atrocités et plusieurs assassinats.

Lord Dufferin saisit l'occasion qui s'offre à lui, de rappeler que les Druses n'ont exercé aucune violence contre les femmes.

M. le Commissaire Français, résumant la pensée unanime de la Commission, propose d'établir trois catégories de coupables, passibles de la peine de mort :—

1. Les instigateurs, ayant ou non pris part personnellement aux massacres.

2. Les chefs de bandes qui ont dirigé les assassins et les incendiaires.

3. Les individus dénoncés par la voix publique, comme ayant commis le plus grand nombre de meurtres, ou comme ayant agi dans des circonstances qui aggravent leur culpabilité.

Ces trois catégories de coupables, passibles de la même peine, étant admises, Fuad Pacha demande, s'il y aura d'autres degrés de culpabilité auxquels pourraient correspondre des peines de seconde et de troisième ordre.

La Commission est d'avis que cette satisfaction étant donnée à la justice, les poursuites devront cesser ; car si l'on voulait infliger une peine à tous les coupables, on ne voit pas qu'aucun Druse puisse rester sans condamnation. Toutefois, M. le Commissaire Français réserve avec soin la question de savoir quelles mesures il sera bon de prendre ultérieurement, pour faire sentir à cette population sous quelle menace elle se trouve désormais placée, et combien elle s'est rendue indigne des franchises et des priviléges dont elle était naguère en possession.

La Commission passe ensuite à l'examen d'une autre question, et il est entendu, sur la proposition de Fuad Pacha, que les notables de chaque localité seront invités par lui à faire, devant leurs Chefs Spirituelles, et sous la foi du serment, les dépositions qui, sans être, dans la plupart des cas, des témoignages oculaires, serviront cependant de base aux mises en accusation.

M. Novikow émet sur ce point l'avis, auquel se rallie la Commission, que, tout en ayant forcément recours à cette source d'informations, le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte doit ne pas négliger de recevoir la déposition des témoins oculaires et des parties intéressées, sauf à tenir de ces dernières dénonciations le compte qu'il appartiendra.

M. le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte, afin d'éviter l'intrigue et d'empêcher la fuite des coupables, se propose de faire désigner d'avance, confidentiellement, par les Chefs Spirituelles, ceux d'entre les notables qui sont les plus dignes de confiance, et de faire prêter par ceux-ci le serment de garder sur leur déposition le secret le plus absolu.

Avant de clore cette discussion, Lord Dufferin demande au nom de l'humanité que, puisque l'on doit avoir recours au système de la procédure sommaire, on n'aggrave pas les souffrances des individus dont le sort peut être fixé promptement, en leur donnant, pour ainsi dire, à plusieurs reprises le coup de la mort.

M. le Commissaire Français s'associe avec force au sentiment que vient d'exprimer Lord Dufferin, et demande que les personnages Druses ou Musulmans, emprisonnés à Beyrout, et dont le procès passe pour être terminé, ne soient pas tenus longtemps entre la vie ou la mort.

Fuad Pacha répond qu'il lui tarde à lui aussi d'en terminer avec cette phase si pénible de sa mission. Mais qu'il a cependant dû surseoir au

jugement ou à l'exécution des détenus de Beyrout, parce que leur participation aux évènements de la Montagne étant évidente, il se priverait, en agissant différemment, des informations qui lui seront très utiles lorsqu'il se livrera à l'appréciation de ces mêmes événements.

Les questions principales et subsidiaires relatives à la répression et au châtiment des Druses étant ainsi examinées et résolues, la Commission passe à d'autres objets et reçoit communication de divers documents, touchant le réglement des indemnités dues aux Chrétiens de Damas.

M. Béclard, sur la prière de ses collègues, donne lecture d'un rapport de M. Outrey, Consul de France à Damas, et de deux Tableaux annexés à ce rapport, établissant, le premier, la répartition de l'impôt extraordinaire à lever sur la ville, la banlieue, et la province de Damas; le second, la répartition du montant de cette contribution.

La Commission décide qu'une copie de ces deux Tableaux sera communiquée à chacun de ses membres. Elle entend ensuite la lecture de plusieurs autres projets, élaborés par son Excellence Fuad Pacha. Elle en demande également communication.

Avant que la séance ne soit levée, M. le Commissaire Français appelle l'attention de la Commission sur une question qui a déjà été posée dans la séance précédente, celle de l'impôt du recrutement auquel, pour la première fois, les populations Chrétiennes de la Syrie viennent d'être soumises. M. Béclard trouve au moins inopportun l'établissement d'un tel impôt dans un moment où les peuples de Syrie sont accablés par tant d'infortunes. Il croit que la Sublime Porte aurait pu profiter de l'occasion qui s'offrait à elle, de prouver à ces populations qu'elle leur porte un intérêt réel, en remettant à des temps meilleurs la perception de cet impôt d'une légalité douteuse. Un tel ajournement aurait d'ailleurs, aux yeux de M. Béclard, l'avantage d'empêcher qu'il ne soit préjugé en rien sur les dispositions que la Commission aura à prendre ultérieurement pour la réorganisation politique et administrative de la Montagne.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha répond à M. Béclard que l'impôt de recrutement n'est pas un impôt exceptionnel à toutes les populations Chrétiennes de l'Empire ; on peut regretter assurément que cette charge vienne peser, dans les circonstances présentes, sur les habitants de la Syrie, mais la Syrie est elle-même appelée à bénéficier du produit de cet impôt, puisque ce produit constitue une des ressources qui seront consacrées au soulagement des victimes de la guerre.

Dans l'état présent des choses, ajoute Fuad Pacha, le Gouvernement est obligé de faire appel à toutes les ressources dont il dispose légalement, et c'est à cette condition seulement qu'il pourra faire face à toutes les exigences de la situation. Quant aux abus de perception, il s'en produit ; la Sublime Porte ne saurait en aucune façon en porter la responsabilité, attendu que ce n'est pas elle qui opère cette perception. Elle se fait par l'intermédiaire des Chefs de chaque communauté, auxquels il est demandé une somme totale qu'il leur est loisible de répartir entre tous les membres de la communauté, comme bon leur semble, et suivant telle règle que leur suggère leur propre équité.

M. le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte fait observer, en terminant, que cette question n'a d'ailleurs aucun trait à la Montagne et à sa réorganisation à venir, puisque la Montagne, en vertu des réglements particuliers qui la régissent, ne peut être et n'est soumise à aucun autre impôt que l'impôt unique et fixe, pour le paiement duquel les Maronites et les Druses sont en retard de deux annuités.

M. Novikow fait observer qu'il serait selon lui convenable de considérer les populations Chrétiennes du littoral de la Syrie, dont les intérêts ont été gravement compromis par les évènements de la Montagne, comme devant être, momentanément au moins, exemptes de l'impôt du recrutement.

Fuad Pacha objecte que, si certaines localités du littoral se trouvent dans ce cas, c'est aux Chefs de la communauté dont elles relèvent qu'il appartient de les épargner dans la répartition du montant total imposé à la communauté.

La discussion sur cet objet n'étant pas poussée plus avant, la séance est levée à cinq heures.

(Suivent les signatures.)

No. 196.

Consul-General Colquhoun to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 6.)

My Lord, *Alexandria, November 25, 1860.*

I BEG to inclose, for your Lordship's information, copy of a private note received from Cherif Pasha on the subject of assistance given by the Viceroy, at Lord Dufferin's request, to the sufferers at Beyrout.

Your Lordship will observe that Said Pasha has generously given 500 ardebs (about 2,500 bushels) of wheat. I have made arrangements with a highly respectable shipping agent here for putting this wheat in sacks and sending it to Beyrout at half freight. This gift is precious; for, as the quality is of the best, it will be distributed as seed, and thus, perhaps, we may avert what is at present very threatening, namely, a famine next year.

I have conveyed, through Cherif Pasha, my grateful sense of the Viceroy's generosity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT G. COLQUHOUN.

Inclosure in No. 196.

Cherif Pasha to Consul-General Colquhoun.

M. l'Agent et Consul-Général, *Caire, le 17 Novembre*, 1860.

SON Altesse le Viceroi, auquel son Excellence König Bey s'est empressé de donner communication de la lettre par laquelle vous priez son Altesse de fournir des vivres et des vêtements aux Chrétiens de Syrie, m'a chargé de vous répondre que pour ce qui concerne le riz, il se trouve dans l'impossibilité absolue d'en envoyer dans cette contrée, parcequ'il n'en est point approvisionné pour le moment. Mais, à defaut de riz, son Altesse, toujours disposée à venir au secours des malheureux, a donné immédiatement des ordres pour que 500 ardebs de blé fussent expédiés du plus tôt en Syrie.

Quant aux vêtements son Altesse serait également dans l'impossibilité de répondre à votre désir; car elle se borne habituellement à faire venir les dits vêtements, tels que pantalons, capotes et autres, au fur et à mesure des besoins de ses troupes, et ne peut ainsi en avoir un approvisionnement.

Son Altesse regrette vivement que les circonstances ne lui permettent point de satisfaire entièrement à vos intentions généreuses; mais elle est bien persuadée, M. l'Agent et Consul-Général, que vous tiendrez compte de ces circonstances, et que vous verrez avant tout qu'elle a fait tout ce qu'elle peut faire pour le moment.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) CHERIF PASHA.

(Translation.)

M. l'Agent et Consul-Général, *Cairo, November 17, 1860.*

HIS Highness the Viceroy, to whom his Excellency König Bey hastened to communicate your letter, in which you begged His Highness to furnish provisions and clothing to the Christians in Syria, has ordered me to answer you that, with regard to rice, he finds it quite impossible to send any into that country, as he is not well supplied with it at the present time. But, in the place of rice, His Highness, who is always ready to assist the unfortunate, has given immediate orders that 500 ardebs of wheat should be sent as soon as possible to Syria.

His Highness is equally unable to comply with your request as regards clothing; as clothing, such as trowsers, over coats, and other things are only ordered in as they are wanted, and, consequently, there is no supply.

His Highness regrets extremely that these circumstances do not allow him to comply entirely with your generous wishes; but is quite sure, M. l'Agent et Consul-Général, that you will remember these circumstances, and that you will perceive that he has done all in his power at the present time.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHERIF PASHA.

No. 197.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received December* 12.)

(Extract.) *Paris, December* 11, 1860.

I HAD a conversation of some length yesterday with M. Thouvenel upon the affairs of Syria.

To sum up the result as succinctly as possible, M. Thouvenel repeated the assurances which he has before given me, that France has no desire to play a separate part in the drama which is enacting there. She wishes for an early settlement of a stable Government in the Lebanon, in order that she may bring away her troops; but she is convinced that neither Her Majesty's nor any other Government can desire that their departure should be the signal for a renewal of the atrocities committed during the last summer.

The French Commissioner is urged in every instruction which goes to him, to press his colleagues to enter into discussion on the future government of the Mountain, for, until order is restored there, it will be impossible, in his (M. Thouvenel's) opinion, that any decision can be taken by the Powers with regard to the withdrawal of the troops of occupation.

With respect to the future government of the Mountain, M. Thouvenel declared that he was far from saying that the arrangement of 1845 was not susceptible of improvement, but he was convinced that it would not be improved by the substitution of direct Turkish rule for the Government then instituted. If Her Majesty's Government were of the same opinion, great delays might, he thought, be avoided by an early and frank declaration to the Turkish Government that no combination for that purpose would be agreed to.

I replied that I received M. Thouvenel's assurances with satisfaction, and that I would convey them to Her Majesty's Government. I remarked, however, that the French troops in Syria represented European troops.

M. Thouvenel expressed his entire concurrence in the definition which I had given of the position of the French army of occupation.

Passing to the future government of the Lebanon, I remarked that, whatever that Government might be, the great difficulty to contend against would be to find a man capable of conducting it. I should not be afraid of direct Turkish rule, if I knew of an upright man to put it in force. I would say the same thing of any other rule.

But I added—and I am sure your Lordship will approve of my having done so—that Her Majesty's Government had, in the Commissioner whom they had sent to Syria, a nobleman perfectly competent to deal with this complicated question. I had been much struck, I said, with the plain good sense which pervaded Lord Dufferin's reports, and his conclusions seemed to me generally sound. He had not gone to Syria with any preconceived opinions, and he was most anxious and ready to examine and discuss any plan which might be brought forward by any of his colleagues.

M. Thouvenel replied that both M. Béclard and General Beaufort fully appreciated Lord Dufferin's character and talents, and had written in the highest terms of his Lordship's conciliatory and moderate dispositions.

On my observing that if it should be deemed necessary to prolong the foreign occupation of Syria, it might be effected by a smaller body of

mixed troops, M. Thouvenel said that the Emperor was most anxious that other troops besides French should undertake this duty.

P.S.—I think it necessary to add, after reading over my despatch, that M. Thouvenel, while pronouncing himself in favour of the Lebanon enjoying its own autonomy, does not mean to insist that the populations should not be nominally under the Porte's Governor in Syria.

No. 198.

Aali Pasha to M. Musurus.—(*Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Musurus, December* 15.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Le* 28 *Novembre,* 1860.

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir votre dépêche du 8 Novembre, par laquelle vous me rendez compte de l'entretien que vous avez eu avec Lord John Russell sur l'éventualité d'une proposition ayant pour objet la prolongation de l'occupation Française en Syrie au delà du terme fixé par la Convention, et l'augmentation de l'effectif du corps expéditionnaire.

Il est inutile de vous dire, M. l'Ambassadeur, combien la Sublime Porte est satisfaite de voir Lord John Russell partager à cet égard l'opinion que vous avez émise au nom du Gouvernement Impérial. Cette conformité de vues produira son effet, nous n'en doutons pas, et préviendra plus d'une difficulté ultérieure dans cette malheureuse question de la Syrie. La Sublime Porte n'a jamais considéré l'intervention Européenne comme nécessaire ou utile ; et, si elle y a adhéré, c'était uniquement par déférence pour ses alliés et pour donner une preuve nouvelle de sa confiance illimitée dans leurs dispositions à son égard. Mais si, à une époque où l'Europe voyait toute la Syrie être en feu, cette mesure pouvait se justifier, aujourd'hui elle n'a plus sa raison d'être, après que le but poursuivi a été en grande partie atteint, et que les villes qui ont été le théâtre des plus tragiques événements ont été réduites sans coup férir, par le seul prestige de l'autorité du Saltan, représentée par son Excellence Fuad Pacha.

Il en résulte que l'intervention, perdant ainsi de jour en jour le caractère d'un secours accordé à la Sublime Porte, ne pourrait plus être, comme vous l'avez si bien fait remarquer à Lord John Russell, qu'un embarras et un obstacle à la pacification de la Montagne et au rétablissement complet de l'ordre.

Les Puissances ne peuvent manquer de s'en rendre compte ; et l'appréciation de la question par le Cabinet de Sa Majesté Britannique nous est un sûr garant qu'aucune suite ne sera donnée au projet d'une prolongation de l'occupation, et d'une augmentation quelconque des forces Françaises en Syrie.

Veuillez, M. l'Ambassadeur, exprimer nos remerciments à sa Seigneurie pour ses dispositions à l'égard de ce projet, et agréez, &c.

(Signé) AALI.

(Translation.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *November* 28, 1860.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your despatch of the 8th of November, in which you give me an account of the interview you had with Lord John Russell on the eventuality of a proposition having for object the prolongation of the French occupation in Syria beyond the time fixed by the Convention, and the augmentation of the effective expeditionary force.

It is useless to tell you, M. l'Ambassadeur, how much pleased the Sublime Porte is to see Lord John Russell concurring on this head in the opinion which you have given in the name of the Imperial Government. We do not doubt that this concurrence of opinion will have its effect, and will prevent more than one difficulty hereafter in this unfortunate question of Syria. The Sublime Porte never considered a European intervention

as necessary or useful; and if it agreed to it, it was only out of deference to its allies, and to give fresh proofs of its unlimited confidence in their arrangements on this head. But if at a time when Europe saw all Syria in an uproar this measure might be justified, now there is no longer any reason for it, since the end it had in view has been in a great measure attained, and the towns which were the theatre of the most tragic events have been reduced, without striking a blow, by the prestige alone of the Sultan's authority, represented by his Excellency Fuad Pasha.

It results, therefore, that the intervention, losing day by day its character of a help afforded to the Sublime Porte, can no longer be, as you so justly observed to Lord John Russell, but an embarrassment and an obstacle to the pacification of the Mountain, and to the complete re-establishment of order.

The Powers cannot fail to take this into account, and the appreciation of the question by the Cabinet of Her Britannic Majesty is a sure guarantee to us that no further countenance will be given to the project of a prolongation of the occupation, or to any increase whatever of the French forces in Syria.

Be good enough, M. l'Ambassadeur, to express our thanks to his Lordship for the line he has taken with regard to this project, and accept, &c.

(Signed) AALI.

No. 199.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received December* 15.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, November* 28, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 199.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, November* 27, 1860

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the eleventh sitting of the Syrian Commission held on the 17th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 199.

Protocol of the Eleventh Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, November 17, 1860.

LE Samedi, dix-sept Novembre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout, sous la présidence de Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à deux heures et demie.

Le procès-verbal est lu et adopté, après quelques modifications. L'ordre du jour appelle ensuite l'examen des questions relatives à la réparation des dommages soufferts par les Chrétiens de Damas. Son Excellence Fuad Pacha fait observer à ce sujet qu'il y a deux principes entre lesquels la Commission est d'abord obligée de se prononcer: le principe d'une somme fixe, approximative, et déterminée à l'avance, et le principe d'une enquête judiciaire préalable, de nature à permettre d'apprécier rigoureusement le chiffre des dommages soufferts par chaque individu en particulier.

Une conversation s'engage entre MM. les Commissaires sur les avan-

tages et les inconvénients de ces deux systèmes, et après une mûre délibération il est entendu que l'on adoptera le principe d'une somme fixe et déterminée à l'avance. La Commission est unanimement d'avis que ce système a l'inappréciable avantage de garantir immédiatement aux Chrétiens l'indemnisation, et, en leur donnant ainsi tout d'abord un grand soulagement moral, de les encourager à retourner à Damas, et à y reprendre leurs travaux habituels ; tandis que le système d'une enquête judiciaire préalable, bien qu'il soit en lui-même plus strictement conforme aux régles de la justice, aurait, au point de vue politique et pratique, le grave inconvénient de prolonger, peut-être pendant une ou plusieurs années, le procès que les particuliers engageraient séparément avec la Sublime Porte, et laisserait ainsi peser les incertitudes les plus fâcheuses sur la réalisation finale des indemnités.

M. Novikow voudrait cependant que, par une disposition accessoire, on ajoutât à la somme fixe et déterminée à l'avance, comme minimum, une sorte de réserve extensible, moyennant laquelle on pourrait indemniser ceux que l'on reconnaîtrait plus tard ne l'avoir pas été suffisamment. C'est là, selon M. Novikow, un tempérament utile à apporter à la rigueur du système sommaire adopté par la Commission. M. le Commissaire Russe fait observer que cette restriction devrait, dans sa pensée, s'appliquer principalement aux dernières catégories, composée d'individus nécessiteux pour lesquels une différence de quelque milliers de piastres ne laisse pas que d'être importante.

M. Béclard est d'avis que l'idée de M. Novikow, si elle était réalisée, ne constituerait pas seulement une modification, mais entrainerait le renversement complet du système dont la Commission juge l'emploi nécessaire. Ce que veut la Commission, c'est aviser promptement et régler d'urgence, en évitant la longueur interminable des procès particuliers, une grande question d'intérêt public. C'est pour cela qu'elle croit devoir garantir aux victimes une somme totale d'indemnité dont elles se contenteront, dès qu'elles n'auront plus à en espérer d'autres. Mais si l'on ajoute à cette somme fixe un fonds indéterminé, destiné à payer des indemnités oubliées ou des compléments d'indemnité, alors on retombe dans l'incertitude et dans l'inconvénient des procès particuliers ; personne ne sera satisfait de son lot, le fonds de réserve deviendra le point de mire de toutes les convoitises. La question de réparation trainera en longueur et l'on perdra ainsi tout le bénéfice politique et moral du système que la Commission a cru devoir adopter.

Les divers autres membres de la Commission étant également d'avis qu'il faut s'en tenir au principe d'une somme fixe et déterminée, après la répartition de laquelle toute réclamation en indemnité ou complément d'indemnité sera interdite, M. Novikow propose à la Commission de faire du moins une réserve en faveur des établissements religieux. Ces établissements, dit-il, méritent qu'on leur témoigne un intérêt spécial. Leurs biens mobiliers et immobiliers provenaient en majeure partie de fondations pieuses, et cette circonstance ne permet pas de les placer sur le même pied que les biens des simples particuliers. La transaction que ceux-ci peuvent accepter ne semble pas possible avec les établissements religieux, car on ne saurait transiger avec la volonté des donateurs qui n'existent plus. En outre, les établissements religieux pouvant être assimilés pour le matériel de leurs pertes aux propriétaires privés les plus aisés, il est juste et moral d'établir une distinction entre les bijoux, la vaisselle d'or ou d'argent qui ont appartenu à de simples particuliers, et les vases sacrés ou autres objets précieux, servant aux cérémonies du culte et entourés de la vénération de tous les Chrétiens. Il serait donc convenable, selon M. Novikow, de créer une exception en faveur des établissements religieux, et de les mettre à même de recevoir, non point par catégories, mais individuellement, le montant intégral des pertes qu'ils trouveraient avoir essuyées.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha remarque que la motion de M. Novikow peut être considérée comme étant jusqu'à un certain point résolue par la distinction qu'il y a lieu d'établir entre les établissements religieux indigènes et les établissements religieux étrangers. La Commission n'a point à s'occuper de ces derniers, car, en tant que sujets directs d'une Puissance étrangère, les établissements religieux étrangers ne peuvent

être indemnisés qu'à la suite d'une entente séparée entre le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman et les Commissaires de la Puissance intéressée. Il est de ces établissements, comme des Consulats et des propriétés mobilières des sujets étrangers. Le chiffre total de l'indemnité collective dont s'occupe actuellement la Commission, ne saurait donc en tout état de cause s'appliquer qu'à trois espèces de personnes: (1), aux sujets Chrétiens du Sultan, protégés ou non par une Puissance étrangère; (2), aux sujets étrangers, en ce qui concerne leurs biens immobiliers; (3), aux établissements religieux indigènes.

Sans émettre aucun doute sur la différence fondamentale qui existe entre les propriétés étrangères et les propriétés indigènes, M. Novikow maintient sa proposition, en ce qui concerne les établissements religieux indigènes. Si la Commission, dit-il, a unanimement admis, pour l'indemnisation des particuliers, une somme totale à repartir entr'eux par catégories, et fixée d'avance approximativement, c'est que les ayant-droit civils sont trop nombreux pour qu'on puisse leur accorder sans inconvénient le bénéfice d'une évaluation exacte de leurs pertes, et parce qu'eux-mêmes préfèrent recevoir une indemnité inférieure peut-être à ce qui leur serait rigoureusement dû, mais payable de suite, plutôt que de supporter les délais d'une enquête judiciaire, longue, et minutieuse. Ce motif n'existe pas pour les communautés religieuses, qui ne sont qu'au nombre de cinq, et qui ont la faculté d'attendre, plus que de simples particuliers, le paiement intégral de tout ce qui leur est dû, pourvu toutefois que la vérification ne traine pas trop en longueur. M. le Commissaire Russe ajoute que son Excellence Fuad Pacha pourrait se faire renseigner à cet égard par les Chefs mêmes de ces communautés, et il termine en déclarant qu'il maintient sa proposition.

M. le Président de la Commission invite alors chacun des membres à faire connaître, successivement et par ordre alphabétique, son avis sur la proposition de M. Novikow.

M. le Commissaire d'Autriche admet la convenance d'une enquête particulière à l'égard des établissements religieux, mais il demande à quelle nature de ressources on fera appel pour les indemniser, si le chiffre de leur indemnité n'est établi que postérieurement à l'imposition extraordinaire et en dehors de cet impôt. M. de Weckbecker exprime alors la crainte que, placés en dehors de cette grande mesure de l'impôt qui seule garantit l'indemnisation, les établissements religieux ne souffrent en réalité de la proposition que M. Novikow vient de faire dans l'intention de les favoriser.

M. le Commissaire Français pense que la Commission doit se tenir, aussi fermement attachée que possible, au principe du système qu'elle a déjà adopté. Il est avantageux, dit M. Béclard, que le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman puisse faire connaître, en une seule fois et le plus tôt possible, le montant total, c'est-à-dire, le chiffre complet des indemnités que son Gouvernement garantit aux populations Chrétiennes. L'effet moral en sera plus grand. Mais la Commission peut, sans abandonner le principe convenu, donner à l'enquête sur les pertes subies par les Chrétiens, et notamment par les établissements religieux indigènes, tout le degré de précision désirable. Le projet qu'il a eu l'honneur de soumettre à la Commission dans la séance précédente, et qui a servi de point de départ à la discussion, n'est qu'un simple document. La Commission a pu en adopter le principe, mais elle n'est pas tenue pour cela de le suivre dans tous ses détails, et chacun des membres de la Commission, d'après ses propres informations, sentira peut-être le besoin de proposer d'autres chiffres que ceux qui sont indiquées dans les deux tableaux annexés au rapport de M. Outrey. En ce qui concerne les établissements religieux indigènes, M. Béclard pense que, sans rendre interminable le réglement de leur indemnité, par l'adoption à leur égard du principe de la réclamation judiciaire et individuelle, la Commission ferait bien de réunir, dans une de ses prochaines séances, toutes les informations que ses membres pourront recueillir séparément, et de fixer seulement alors le chiffre des indemnités qui seront payées à ces établissements.

M. le Commissaire de la Grande Bretagne réserve à son tour le droit qui appartient à chacun des membres de la Commission, de rechercher par

lui-même quelle peut être au juste l'étendue des pertes éprouvées par les habitants civils ou religieux de Damas. Il cite en substance les renseignements qui lui ont été fournis par une personne digne de confiance, et d'après laquelle une somme de 1,250,000*l.* sterling serait suffisante pour procéder à l'indemnisation générale des Chrétiens de Damas. Lord Dufferin ne peut donc qu'adopter le moyen terme proposé par M. Béclard.

M. le Commissaire Prussien déclare également l'adopter, mais sans avoir égard à la nature religieuse des établissements dont il s'agit, lesquels à ses yeux ne peuvent prétendre à aucune faveur. S'il y avait, ajoute expressément M. le Commissaire Prussien, une différence à établir entre les biens religieux et les biens civils, elle devrait être au profit de ces derniers: car l'Eglise peut être pauvre, et les établissements religieux peuvent à la rigueur se passer de leurs richesses, tandis que les familles, dépouillées non seulement de leurs objets de luxe, mais de tout ce qui est indispensable à la vie, lui paraissent devoir inspirer une plus grande sollicitude.

M. le Commissaire Russe déclare que le principe de la vérification qu'il reclamait pour les établissements religieux indigènes étant admis pour toutes les catégories, il y adhère complètement et appuie la proposition de M. le Commissaire Français.

Son Excellence le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, voyant la Commission toute entière se rallier à cette proposition, en résume les termes, et il est entendu que chacun des Commissaires apportera, à la séance de Mercredi en huit ou Samedi prochain, si faire se peut, le résultat des informations qu'il aura recueillies sur la nature et l'étendue, aussi précises que possible, des pertes éprouvées par les établissements religieux indigènes de Damas.

La séance est levée à cinq heures.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 3 in No. 199.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, November* 28, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that during the course of the conversation I had the pleasure of having with Yusef Keram, the newly-appointed Christian Kaimakam, that gentleman stated to me that, in his opinion, there would be no difficulty whatever in inducing the Christians and Druses to live together in perfect harmony, provided no positive influence was exerted to promote dissension between them.

This statement is all the more important as it was perfectly voluntary on the part of M. Keram, and was in no degree a reply to a leading question.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 199.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, November* 28, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Excellency's information, copy of a letter I have addressed to Mr. Vice-Consul Rogers relative to a statement that ammunition from the Government stores of Acre had been lately forwarded to the Druses of the Hauran.

Your Excellency will perceive by Mr. Rogers' reply, copy of which I have also the honour to inclose, that there does not seem to have been any adequate foundation for so grave a charge.

Inclosure 5 in No. 199.

Lord Dufferin to Vice-Consul Rogers.

Sir, *Beyrout, November* 24, 1860.

A REPORT having reached me that a caravan of camels, laden with ammunition supplied from the Government stores of Acre, was seen proceeding, accompanied by Druses, in the direction of the Hauran, I should be glad to know whether such a circumstance has come to your knowledge.

I address this inquiry more especially to you, as I am told the fact was certified by a dragoman in the service of two English travellers.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 6 in No. 199.

Vice-Consul Rogers to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Beyrout, November* 24, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's letter of this day's date, and, in reply, to state that a short time before I left Caiffa, two English gentlemen, named Dr. Hooker and Mr. D. Hanbury, arrived there, and I was informed by them, and by their dragoman Gabriel Schembri, a Maltese resident at Jerusalem, that on or about the 1st instant, at or near Medgdel Krum, they had met a caravan of camels going eastwards; that the dragoman asked the camel-driver, who happened to be a Druse, what he was carrying, but he received an evasive answer; he then asked a Turkish soldier (but whether he was a Regular or an Irregular I do not remember), who told him that the camels were laden with ammunition. The said dragoman's suspicions were raised by these circumstances.

As soon as I had an opportunity, I made inquiries at Caiffa, from people who had been in Acre, and I was distinctly informed that the ammunition in question was being forwarded to Damascus; and I was satisfied that the circumstances did not merit further investigation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) E. T. ROGERS.

Inclosure 7 in No. 199.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, November* 28, 1860.

I HAVE the honour of transmitting to your Excellency copy of a despatch I have addressed to Major Fraser, who is about to accompany his Excellency Fuad Pasha to the Mountains.

I trust that the views I have submitted to Major Fraser's consideration will be such as to meet with your Excellency's approbation.

Inclosure 8 in No. 199.

Lord Dufferin to Major Fraser.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, November* 28, 1860.

AS the expedition on which you are about to accompany Fuad Pasha to the Mountain may be said to have originated, in some degree, out of observations I had the honour of addressing to his Excellency, perhaps it may be advisable I should acquaint you with the circumstances which gave rise to them.

In reviewing the policy of the Turkish High Commissioner since his arrival in the country, I am inclined to think that there is one particular in which it has been specially defective.

The late events had created grave suspicions that the sympathies of the Turkish Government had been enlisted to a fatal degree on the side of the Druses. Before public confidence could be restored, the impression had to be effaced. It might have been supposed, therefore, that the punishment of the authors of the massacres in the Mountain was the first among the painful duties he would be anxious to have done with. Nevertheless, up to this moment, not a single assassin has paid the forfeit of his life.

Such a circumstance materially stimulates the misgivings of the Christians, and affords their priesthood an occasion for continuing their crusade against the authority of the Sultan. So sensible was I of the false position Fuad Pasha thus created for himself, that I addressed to him the interpellation I have had the pleasure of communicating to you. The result has been, that an understanding has been come to between his Excellency and the Commissioners that the sword of justice is no longer to be held in impolitic suspense over the heads of a whole nation, but that those most obnoxious to punishment should at once be seized and dealt with in such a manner as their degree of guilt may justify. This operation once completed, an amnesty is to be published in the Sultan's name, under which the Druse nation will re-enter into the full enjoyment of their civil rights and privileges. It is to be hoped that by such a display of justice and clemency, it will become possible to inaugurate for the Lebanon an era of peace and reconciliation.

In considering, however, the features of this humane project, it must not be forgotten that there are many influences at work calculated to oppose its consummation. It is possible, for instance, that the Christians, who have already taken advantage of the occupation of some of the Mixed villages by the French army to commit the most barbarous atrocities on Druse women, children, and old men, may rekindle their fury on this occasion, and repeat the very crimes for which their enemies are being punished.

There is another circumstance to which I would beg to call your attention. The Commission having recommended his Excellency to adopt a summary method with all those whom he may seize, it was suggested that no accusation should be received unless sworn to before the Bishop of the rite to which the witness might belong.

It is possible, however, that, notwithstanding the pains which have been taken to secure the capture of none but the most guilty, the agents to whom his Excellency may confide the execution of the necessary measures may not be over-scrupulous in their selection of prisoners. Due care should therefore be had that only those whose hands are deeply dyed in blood should be required to expiate the guilt of the nation.

With the unanimous consent of the Commission, his Excelleney has announced his intention of terminating the ungrateful task upon which he is about to engage, by the immediate promulgation of the amnesty I have already alluded to. It would be well that this grace should be conveyed in such ample terms, and with such circumstances of solemnity, as may befit the dignity of the Sultan, and command the observance of all the authorities, now present in the country.

I cannot conclude without expressing a hope that your experience in dealing with barbarous tribes and the various contingencies incident to an unsettled territory will enable you to afford his Excellency the most valuable assistance in the discharge of a duty which, however odious and critical, may result in the restoration of peace to the people and authority to the Government.

No. 200.

Acting Consul Wrench to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received December* 15.)

(Extract.) *Damascus, November* 28, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that, on the 24th instant, our late Vali, Mohammer Pasha, quitted Damascus. His Excellency was replaced temporarily by the Reis Shukri Pasha, who, although

so short a time in office, does not give very general satisfaction. It is to be hoped, therefore, that Emin Mukliss Pasha, the new Vali of Damascus, will soon arrive.

No. 201.

Acting Consul Wrench to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received December* 15.)

My Lord, *Damascus, November* 29, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of my despatch of this day's date to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Sublime Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

Inclosure in No. 201.

Acting Consul Wrench to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Damascus, November* 29, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that, in disregard of the order of the authorities that no Christian should leave for Beyrout without being furnished with a pass from the Government, upwards of twenty families have since quitted, overcoming the difficulty of a pass by a small present to the guards stationed at the gates of the town. On the other hand, almost the only Christians that return are those who have business here; they do not bring their families, and leave as soon as their affairs will permit.

The disarmament of the Damascenes proceeds but slowly, and I am assured that the number of arms collected does not equal that plundered from the Christian quarter, and is not 2 per cent. of the arms actually in the possession of the Mussulmans of the town.

The troops in the neighbourhood of Hasbeya and Rasheya have lately been making prisoners of Druses. About twenty have as yet been brought to Damascus, and since sent to Beyrout. It appears that those remaining in their villages, whether suspected or not, are not molested, but any leaving the villages are immediately seized.

Major Fraser left Damascus on the 17th ultimo for Hasbeya, and has since, at the request of Lord Dufferin, proceeded to Beyrout.

No. 202.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received December* 15.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, November* 30, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a note I addressed to Fuad Pasha, and his Excellency's reply.

No complaints have been since made to the Consulate of Damascus on the subject; I feel persuaded, therefore, that no cause for such exists.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 202.

Consul Brant to Fuad Pasha.

(Extrait.) *Beyrout, le* 26 *Novembre*, 1860.

J'AI l'honneur de prévenir votre Excellence que j'ai reçu une dépêche du Gouvernement, et une aussi de l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté, me demandant des renseignements sur les plaintes des Juifs, que les Chrétiens

accusent d'avoir participé dans les meurtres de Damas. J'ai répondu que votre Excellence avait déjà déchargé les Juifs détenus en prison, ayant reconnu leur innocence. Pour prévenir des accusations dénuées de fondement contre les Juifs à l'avenir, je prie votre Excellence de donner des ordres aux autorités de Damas de ne pas accepter des plaintes de cette nature trop légèrement, et dans tous les cas de permettre au Grand Rabbin d'assister à l'examen des accusés.

(Translation.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, November* 26, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Excellency that I have received a despatch from my Government, as well as one from Her Majesty's Ambassador, asking for information respecting the complaints of the Jews, whom the Christians accuse of having taken part in the Damascus murders. I have said in reply that your Excellency had already released the Jews who had been imprisoned, and had acknowledged their innocence.

In order to prevent for the future unfounded accusations against the Jews, I beg that your Excellency will give orders to the authorities of Damascus not to entertain complaints of this kind without due consideration, and in all cases to allow the Grand Rabbin to be present at the examination of the accused.

Inclosure 2 in No. 202.

Fuad Pasha to Consul Brant.

M. le Consul, *Beyrout, le 27 Novembre,* 1860.

J'AI reçu la lettre confidentielle que vous m'avez adressée hier au sujet des Israëlites de Damas qui avaient été arrêtés sous la prévention d'avoir contribué aux derniers évènements dont leur ville avait été le triste théâtre.

Vous n'ignorez pas, M. le Consul, qu'à la suite de ces évènements nous avions pris pour règle de conduite d'arrêter même sur une simple accusation les personnes qui nous étaient désignées comme ayant trempé d'une manière quelconque dans cette sédition contre les Chrétiens. Plusieurs Israëlites ayant été accusés par ces derniers le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Damas n'a pas manqué de les arrêter pour les examiner. Le Rabbin de la ville a été appelé à assister à tous les interrogatoires, qui ont démontré l'innocence de ces prisonniers, qu'on a immédiatement relâchés. Il n'y a qu'un seul Israëlite qui ait été retenu en prison, de nombreuses accusations pesant sur lui et des témoins à décharge ne s'étant pas présentés. Pour empêcher que des arrestations de ce genre, qui peuvent avoir des conséquences graves et tiennent toujours la ville dans un état d'irritation continuelle, se renouvellent, j'ai donné les instructions nécessaires aux autorités locales pour qu'elles n'opèrent la saisie de corps que sur les personnes qui auraient à leur charge des accusations justifiées. Vous pourrez d'ailleurs, M. le Consul, assurer tant le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine que son Ambassadeur à Constantinople que je ne négligerai rien en vue d'assurer la tranquillité des sujets de Sa Majesté le Sultan, n'importe à quelle religion ils appartiennent, et que j'userai de tout mon pouvoir pour éviter qu'on les moleste, n'importe de quelle manière.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) FUAD.

(Translation.)

M. le Consul, *Beyrout, November* 27, 1860.

I HAVE received the confidential letter which you addressed to me yesterday on the subject of the Jews of Damascus who had been arrested on suspicion of having been concerned in the late events of which their town has unfortunately been the theatre.

You are aware, M. le Consul, that in consequence of these events we have adopted as our line of conduct to arrest, even upon a simple accusa-

tion, persons who have been described to us as having in any way had a hand in this plot against the Christians. Many Jews having been accused by these persons, the Extraordinary Tribunal of Damascus has not failed to arrest them, in order to interrogate them. The Rabbin of the town has been summoned to assist at all the examinations, which have proved the innocence of these prisoners, on which they were immediately released. There is only one Jew who has been kept in prison in consequence of the various accusations brought against him, and the witnesses for his defence not being forthcoming. In order to prevent the renewal of arrests of this nature, which might produce serious consequences, and keep the town in a state of perpetual irritation, I have given the necessary directions to the local authorities not to lay hands on any persons except those charged with justifiable accusations. You may, moreover, M. le Consul, assure the Government of Her Majesty the Queen, as well as her Ambassador at Constantinople, that I shall leave nothing undone with a view to insure the tranquillity of the subjects of His Majesty the Sultan, to whatever religion they belong, and that I shall do all in my power to prevent their being molested in any way whatsoever.

Receive, &c.
(Signed) FUAD.

No. 203.

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received December* 15.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, December* 2, 1860.

ON the 17th ultimo I left Damascus for the purpose of ascertaining by personal inspection the present condition of the country around Mount Hermon, regarding which no certain information had recently been obtained. This great mountain range, a principal stronghold of the Druses, I found surrounded by a cordon of Turkish troops, posted in three camps, occupying the commanding positions of Katana, on the south-east; Saasa, on the south-west; and Deir-el-Kamar, on the north of the range. The average strength of each camp amounted to about 2,000 Regulars, chiefly Infantry, in serviceable condition; besides a small force of Irregular Cavalry.

From these centres patroles were constantly kept up, and night-descents made upon such villages as were suspected of harbouring Druse fugitives inculpated in the late massacres, or of being receptacles for plunder. In this manner prisoners were taken daily during my stay in that region, and stolen property, to a small amount, recovered; the Turkish Commanders, so far as a short stay enabled me to judge, appearing anxious to do their duty faithfully.

The great majority of the Druse inhabitants were occupying their villages; those who had fled to the Haurân, during the move on Lebanon by Fuad Pasha and the French forces, having returned to their homes, with the exception of the more notorious criminals. Yet, a feeling of uneasiness prevailed, in consequence of these occasional arrests, although conducted with the least possible disturbance: and the attitude of the Druses was one of expectancy, but apparently without any thought of offering resistance—at least to the troops of the Sultan. I met some of their principal men, who intimated to me that if any attempt were made to inflict capital punishment on their Chiefs now under trial at Beyrout, a general rising of the whole tribe would follow. I assured them that if they courted their entire destruction as a people, they could adopt no better plan to secure it: and I believe my remark had the effect intended.

On inquiring of them how their countrymen had escaped when driven out of Lebanon before Fuad Pasha and General de Beaufort, I was informed that they had not passed through the second Turkish line, as asserted by the French, but had passed to the southward between the two lines, whose respective flanks were unconnected in that direction. They thus at once gained the uninhabited and marshy region of the Hûleh, whence they easily reached the Haurân.

One of my objects being to ascertain the actual condition of such Christians as yet remained in the district, on my arrival at Rasheya I called together those found in that village; they amounted to 80 men, with 250 women and children—85 of the women being widows whose husbands had been slain in the massacre. They had received little or nothing from Government for their support, and lived upon what remains of property they could recover, or upon charity.

I called upon the Local Governor to amend this state of affairs, when an issue of flour was made the same day, and regularity in this respect promised for the future.

It being desirable that accommodation should be found for such Christians as might choose to return from Beyrout, I inspected the houses which had escaped the conflagration; had the roofs repaired, where damaged; and the houses cleaned and locked up, under Government seal, that they might remain ready for use when required. I requested the officer in charge to send to Fuad Pasha a list of the accommodation disposable, which was ample for about 1,500 persons.

At Hasbeya I found pretty much the same state of things, except that the ruin and subsequent desertion of the village had been more complete. The Christian population now numbered but 25 men, and about 100 women and children; six months ago it amounted to 3,500 souls. Here, also, I secured the issue of rations for these unfortunate persons, among whom, as well as at Rasheya, I distributed pecuniary aid from a charitable fund at my disposal. I called upon the officer commanding the battalion forming the garrison of the place to procure from among the Druses coverlets, beds, &c., for the use of the Christians during the inclement winter of that region, which he undertook to do without delay. I found available accommodation for about 700 persons, in addition to the above-named numbers.

I had much conversation, both here and at Rasheya, with the more intelligent among the Christians regarding their prospects for the future. Those now in the villages seem bent on quitting them, unless the Druses be signally punished, and the whole population, now refugees at Sidon and Beyrout, return again; their houses being rebuilt, and their losses compensated. They manifest little inclination to employ themselves in the meantime, but propose to live at Beyrout or elsewhere at the cost of Government, or by the aid of European charity, and had no plans for the future should these resources fail them. Those who had been staying at Beyrout had evidently been imbued with very extravagant ideas of foreign intervention in their favour. I tried to dispel these, and to induce them to take a more sober view of their position, but I fear with little success.

I regret to add that as a natural consequence of such a state of affairs little or no grain has been sown, and there is every reason to fear much want and misery must ensue during the coming year. During my stay at Hasbeya an order arrived from Fuad Pasha desiring that the Sitt Naïfeh, sister of the great Druse Chief, Said Bey Jumblat, should be sent to Beyrout, where her brother is now under trial. This lady distinguished herself by sheltering many Christians in her house during the massacre, whereby their lives were saved. On receiving Fuad Pasha's order she requested to speak with me. I went to her house, when she desired to be informed why she was sent for, and what I would advise her to do. I told her I was ignorant of Fuad Pasha's object, but she must undoubtedly at once comply with his orders, which she did the same day. I now learn that numerous Christians had demanded her arrest, as they now do her execution, on the plea that she was the chief instigator of the massacre of Hasbeya. My own inquiries on the spot lead me to form a very different opinion, which, with its grounds, I have expressed to Fuad Pasha.

At Hasbeya I also procured the names of upwards of 200 Druses, of more or less note, who attended the great political meeting or conspiracy at which the massacre was resolved upon only a few hours before its execution, the meeting having been held after the funeral of a certain Sheikh (Abon Saleh) much esteemed among the Druses, and who had died of wounds received in an attack upon the Christians of Hasbeya a few days

previously. These names, by the desire of Fuad Pasha, I have placed at his Excellency's disposal. From Hasbeya I came to Beyrout on Lord Dufferin's invitation, for the purpose of consulting with his Lordship before I proceeded with Fuad Pasha on a further expedition against the Druses, the nature of which is fully explained in Lord Dufferin's letter to me of November 28, a copy of which has been transmitted, I am informed, by the present mail for your Lordship's information. Fuad Pasha has not yet fixed a day for leaving Beyrout.

The European Commission, including Lord Dufferin, left Beyrout for Damascus on the 29th instant, it being proposed to levy a heavy fine on that city by way of indemnity in aid of the Christian losses. A sum of 320,000*l.* has been named, and provided this amount be adhered to, and payment be enforced within a limited though reasonable time, I feel assured that the general nature of this infliction will produce a far more marked and lasting effect upon the Damascenes than any capital punishments which have yet been inflicted in their city.

No. 204.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, December* 15, 1860.

I INCLOSE herewith to your Excellency a copy of a despatch which has been addressed by Lord Dufferin to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople,* containing a sketch of a scheme for the future settlement of the province of Syria. You will communicate this paper to M. Thouvenel, and you will state at the same time that Her Majesty's Government are disposed to view Lord Dufferin's sketch favourably. They are disposed, however, to think, that if adopted, the Governor of Syria should be named with the consent of the five Powers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 205.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received December* 17.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 5, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 10th November, respecting the present condition and future prospects of the Christian population of Damascus; and I have to inform your Lordship that the Porte has written to Fuad Pasha to give his opinion on the measures best calculated to secure the objects in view.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

No. 206.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, December* 17, 1860.

I HAVE to state to you that I approve the instruction which you addressed to Major Fraser on his proceeding to join Fuad Pasha's expedition to the Mountain; a copy of which is inclosed in your Lordship's despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople of the 28th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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* Inclosure 6 in No. 182.

No. 207.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. Fane.**

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 18, 1860.

I INCLOSE herewith to you a copy of a despatch which has been addressed by Lord Dufferin to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople,† containing a sketch of a scheme for the future settlement of the Province of Syria. You will communicate this paper to Count Rechberg, and you will state at the same time that Her Majesty's Government are disposed to view Lord Dufferin's sketch favourably. They are disposed, however, to think that, if adopted, the Governor of Syria should be named with the consent of the five Powers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 208.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 20.)

My Lord, *Damascus, December* 5, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith for your Lordship's information copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 208.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, November* 29, 1860.

AT the last meeting of the Commissioners the question as to the amount of the penal tax to be imposed on the Mussulman population of Damascus again came under our consideration.

M. Outrey, the French Consul, has stated that the collection of 35,000,000 piastres (291,666*l.*) within a week, is a simple impossibility. By the end of a month he thinks two-thirds of the sum might possibly be obtained; but even this could only be accomplished by having resort to the extraordinary expedient of ordering the French army up to within a few miles of the gates of Damascus.

My own inquiries have led me to form the opinion that 10,000,000 piastres (83,333*l.*) a month is the most rapid rate at which any tax can be levied, and that 50,000,000 (416,666*l.*) is the highest amount we could demand without permanently paralyzing the industrial energies of the population.

The difference between 50,000,000 and 35,000,000 reduced to a percentage upon income would be as 16 to 23 per cent.

I, therefore, ventured to propose 50,000,000 piastres to be collected within five months as the maximum amount in money and the minimum rate in time on which we could insist.

A long discussion which then ensued was finally concluded by my suggesting that we should adopt the mean of the extreme terms which had been severally proposed in money and in time, viz., 40,000,000 as a compromise between the 35,000,000 recommended by M. Outrey and the 50,000,000 suggested as a maximum by myself, and eight months as a middle period between four months and fifteen.

This proposition seemed to meet with general acquiescence.

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* A similar despatch was addressed to Mr. Lowther and Sir J. Crampton.
† Inclosure 6 in No. 182.

Inclosure 2 in No. 208.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Damascus, December* 3, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that the European Commissioners have taken advantage of Fuad Pasha's absence from Beyrout to transfer themselves to this place. The project of a journey to Damascus had been frequently suggested by the Russian and Prussian Representatives, but more pressing business, M. Béclard's indisposition, and other circumstances, have hitherto stood in the way of its accomplishment.

Although my previous visit to this city, as well as the advantage I have enjoyed at Beyrout of daily communication with Mr. Brant, rendered such an expedition less incumbent on me than on my colleagues, I have always expressed my readiness to join the party whenever the majority should have decided on undertaking it. It was therefore with the greatest readiness that I acceded to the proposal made to me by M. de Rehfues that we should occupy the interval which must occur before Fuad Pasha could resume his duties as President of the Commission by a joint inspection of one of the chief centres of the late disturbances.

We reached Damascus on Saturday the 1st instant. A guard of honour had been sent the day before to the spot where it had been arranged we should encamp, and a Pasha accompanied by several officers of rank rode out to meet us as we approached the city. Our entry was conducted with every circumstance of courtesy the occasion could be considered to require; the guards were turned out, the bands played, and the line of march was duly maintained by soldiers and policemen.

The populace appeared curious and orderly, and sprigs of rosemary in token of peace and welcome were handed to us as we passed along. Nevertheless it cannot be doubted but that our arrival is a source of alarm to the Moslem population, and my own observation enabled me to detect among the silent spectators that lined the streets occasional symptoms of their hatred and disgust.

The town is perfectly quiet, and Christian life and property was probably never more secure.

No. 209.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 22.)

(Extract.) *Paris, December* 21, 1860.

IN compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 15th instant, I some days ago communicated to M. Thouvenel a copy of Lord Dufferin's despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer, containing a sketch of a scheme for the future settlement of the Province of Syria. On asking M. Thouvenel yesterday whether he had had time to consider it, his Excellency replied that he had read it with much attention, and that Lord Dufferin's ideas coincided very much with his own. His Excellency, however, expressed doubts whether it would be possible to engage the Porte to divest itself of the powers which it was proposed to confer upon the Governor of Syria.

No. 210.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 22.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 11, 1860.

I HAVE read with much attention Lord Dufferin's despatch of November 3, relative to the settlement of Syria, which seems to me to contain the most sensible views as to the government of that Province yet put forward.

But it appears to me desirable, first, that any plan suggested should obtain, without too great a difficulty, the assent of the Porte; and secondly, that no plan should be at once adopted of an irrevocable and permanent character.

It is difficult in these experiments to say at first what will or will not answer the end intended, and one is perpetually liable to get hampered by engagements which experience may show, as they develop themselves, to be opposed to policy and good sense.

If we wanted any proof of this, I should point to the old arrangement as to Mount Lebanon, on which the French Government still thinks itself bound to insist, although that arrangement really is and has proved itself to be an arrangement far less for governing the Mountain than for not allowing any Government to exist there.

My notions, then, would be—

First. That a Governor-General for Syria, with very extensive authority, should be named for five years, the Porte consulting the Great Powers as to the choice.

Secondly. I should be disposed to invert Lord Dufferin's financial proposition, and instead of saying a certain tribute is to go to the Porte, and the rest of the financial resources to Syria, I should stipulate that the Syrian expenditure, placed on a certain scale, should be paid out of the Syrian revenue, and that the residue should go to the Ottoman Government.

I could bring forward many arguments in favour of this change, as less humiliating to Ottoman pride, and more satisfactory as to Syrian Administration: but it seems to me these argaments will be apparent.

A certain difficulty occurs, however, here, namely, the pledges as to the Syrian revenue which the Porte has already made with Mirés and others.

This difficulty, however, might, I think, be got over.

Thirdly. As to indemnities: I cannot think that this question can be settled in Syria solely by the Commissioners.

I think they should give their opinions both as to the amount and the mode of raising it, and that their views should then be referred here, and the Porte's sanction obtained, or its objections listened to.

A loan would certainly be the best way of settling the matter properly, and if the Commissioners named any reasonable sum, and the Great Powers guaranteed the loan on some fair security, and on the condition that they should control its application, this affair, otherwise so difficult of arrangement, might be settled.

Fourthly. I think if the Maronite Principality is to exist, the Druse should exist also. I consider it would be a great injustice, and an act of great impolicy, to crown the plans of the Maronites, who, it is said, prepared the attack against the Druses, with complete success.

The two Kaimakams should be suppressed or maintained, and some fair arrangement made as to the Mixed Districts, independent of late events; for if the Druses are to be blamed for their cruelty when provoked, the Maronites are to be blamed for provoking them.

Fifthly. I should leave the Commission for six months after the arrangement is concluded, in order to see that it is properly carried out; and my own opinion is that an additional security might be given to Europe by leaving 1,200 troops of different nations stationed at or near Beyrout for a certain period; or by the Porte taking into its pay an European body of troops, say 1,000 or 2,000 men, who would furnish a force independent of the passions which, it must be expected, will for a time agitate the country.

I should, however, add that the Ottoman Government would be averse to either of these measures, and I do not know how Her Majesty's Government would view them.

There is one consideration which, however, I beg to bring strongly under your Lordship's notice, and which M. Thouvenel's remark to Lord Cowley makes more imperative.

It is desirable, undoubtedly, that the French occupation should cease; it is at the same time desirable that some settlement as to the future condition of Syria should simultaneously be arrived at; and it is certain that the Commissioners were charged with giving ideas on this matter.

But if the cessation of the French occupation is to be dependent upon the decision of the European Commission, it is clear that the term of six months was an illusory one, since that term will have to be fixed by the termination of a labour to the completion of which no date is assigned.

It seems to me, moreover, that though the opinions of the Commissioners may be most valuable, and that their concurrence would be highly desirable, that after all it will be for the Porte and the Powers to regulate this matter, and that it might even be easier for the Commissioners to arrive promptly at some result on a project submitted to them by the Ottoman Government than simply as the consequence of their own discussions.

I am, therefore, led to suggest that the Porte itself in noticing that the time is drawing near at which, according to the Convention, the French troops have to be withdrawn, should lay a fair and reasonable scheme for the future government of Syria before the consideration of the Great Powers.

This, if your Lordship should prefer it, might be done through Fuad Pasha; but there are reasons of a delicate nature which might make it difficult for him to initiate proposals, and I am also inclined to think that the Sultan would not like to give him the power of doing so.

If your Lordship is of opinion, then, that the Porte should itself take the step referred to, and that immediately, I would venture to ask to hear from your Lordship, by telegraph, to such effect.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

No. 211.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received December* 22.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 12, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith copy of a despatch which I have this morning addressed to Lord Dufferin, on the subject referred to in my despatch to your Lordship of the 11th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

Inclosure in No. 211.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 11, 1860.

I HAVE read with great attention your Lordship's able despatch of November 3rd, relative to the settlement of Syria, which seems to me to contain the most sensible views as to the government of that province yet put forward.

The only observations I think it necessary to make are, that any plan suggested should be calculated to obtain, without too great a difficulty, the assent of the Porte, and that no plan should be at once suggested of a permanent and irrevocable character.

It is difficult in these experiments to say at once what will or will not answer the end intended, and one is perpetually liable to get hampered by engagements which experience will show, as they develop themselves, to to be either impolitic or impracticable.

If we wanted any proof of this, I should point to the old arrangement as to Mount Lebanon, on which the French Government still thinks itself bound to insist, although that arrangement really is, and has proved itself to be, an arrangement far less for governing the Mountain than for not allowing any real Government to exist there.

My notions, then, would be, first, that a Governor-General for Syria, with very extensive authority, should be named for five years, the Porte consulting the Great Powers as to the choice.

Secondly, I should be disposed to invert your financial proposition, and instead of saying a certain tribute is to go to the Porte, and the rest

of the Syrian revenue to the Syrian Government, I would assign a certain revenue to Syria for its own expenditure, and stipulate that only the residue of its contributions should be remitted for general purposes to Constantinople.

I think this would be more agreeable to the Sultan as bearing less the appearance of severing this peculiar province from the Empire, and would provide as certainly at least for the wants of the Local Government.

It would give, moreover, a general interest to the Porte in the good government and welfare of the province.

We are not, indeed, to lose sight of this fact, namely, that having the intention to support the Ottoman Empire, and its maintenance being only possible on the ground that reforms are to take place in its general organization, it would be unwise and inconsistent to base our proceedings on a contrary belief, and separate Syria from the rest of Turkey, on the ground that all that is bad in the government of Turkey is to remain as it is.

It seems to me most important to bear this steadily in mind; for if we discard it, we commence—and on a principle which must and will extend itself—the dismemberment of the Empire as a whole, and the constitution of a variety of insignificant States, which will have no weight in the balance of power in Europe, and be, on the contrary, the theatre of constant rivalries and conflicts between the different European Powers.

There will be a difficulty as to the Syrian revenue, owing to the Mirés loan, for which it furnishes a guarantee; but this may be arranged by a substitnte.

Thirdly, as to indemnities. I cannot think that this question can be settled in Syria solely by the Commissioners. I think they should give their opinions both as to the amount and the mode of raising it; and that their views should then be referred here, and the Porte's sanction obtained, or its objections listened to.

A loan would certainly be the best way of settling the matter properly; and if the Commissioners named any reasonable sum, and the Great Powers guaranteed the loan on some fair security, and on the condition that they should control its application, this affair, otherwise so difficult of arrangement, might be settled.

Fourthly. I think if the Maronite Principality is to exist, the Druse should exist also.

I consider it would be a great injustice and an act of great impolicy to crown the plans of the Maronites, who, it is said, prepared the attack against the Druses, with complete success. Thus, I think that the two Kaimakams should be suppressed, or maintained, and some fair arrangement made as to the Mixed districts independent of late events; for if the Druses are to be blamed for their cruelty when provoked, the Maronites are to be blamed for provoking them.

Fifthly, I should leave the Commission for six months after the arrangement is concluded, in order to see that it is properly carried out; and my own opinion is that an additional security might be given to Europe by leaving 1,200 troops of different nations at or near Beyrout for a certain period, or by the Porte taking into its pay an European corps of 1,000 or 2,000 men, who would furnish a force independent of the passions which it must be expected will for a time agitate the country.

I should, however, add that the Ottoman Government might be adverse to either of these two measures, and I do not know how Her Majesty's Government will view them.

There is one consideration, which, however, I beg to bring strongly under your Lordship's notice, and which a remark of M. Thouvenel to Lord Cowley makes more imperative.

It is desirable, undoubtedly, that the French occupation should cease; it is at the same time desirable that some settlement as to the future condition of Syria should simultaneously be arrived at; and it is certain that the Commissioners were charged with giving their ideas on this matter.

But if the cessation of the French occupation is to be dependent upon the decision of the European Commission, it is clear that the term of six months was an illusory one; since that term will have to be fixed by the termination of a labour to the completion of which no date is assigned.

It seems to me, moreover, that though the opinions of the Commissioners may be most valuable, and that their concurrence would be highly desirable, after all it will be for the Porte and the Powers to regulate this matter; and that it might even be easier for the Commission to arrive promptly at some result on a project submitted to it by the Ottoman Government than simply as the consequence of its own discussions.

Consequently, I cannot but think it would be well that the Porte, which has already so many materials on which to ground some plan, should prepare and have one ready to submit to the Great Powers previous to the time that the period of the occupation ceases, so that if at that time the Commissioners have not themselves come to any decision, the Porte may itself, in requiring the fulfilment of the stipulation relative to the departure of the French troops, have a project ready to suggest for the Government of Syria when those troops are withdrawn, and the stipulation alluded to is carried out.

I think it well also to observe that Fuad Pasha might find some difficulty in suggesting, or even concurring warmly in any plan which was not previously sanctioned here, and which might seem to have for its object his own power and elevation. Much jealousy exists on this subject at Constantinople, and such jealousy might be a serious embarrassment.

There is yet another matter, which I venture to bring before you. It seems to me most essential, that whilst the culpable Turkish authorities and the Druse Chiefs are adequately punished, any leaders amongst the Maronites who excited or commenced the recent civil war should not pass unnoticed or unchastised; whilst I am likewise, I confess, opposed to the treatment of the affair which is now under your general consideration, as a purely religious one. To do so will, I think, not obliterate, but plant more deeply and irrevocably, the seeds of religious dissension. Murderers and robbers should, I think, be punished as murderers and robbers, not as Mussulmans or Jews, or as belonging to any religious sect. Indeed, if the Mussulman mob plundered and massacred at Damascus, many of the Mussulmans of a higher order did their best to calm the tumult, and restrain their co-religionists, and give succour or shelter to Christians.

Abd-el-Kader was himself a Mussulman, and no Christian could have acted in a more Christian spirit.

It is true, the populace at the city of which I am speaking were excited by fanatical feelings, or made such feelings a pretext for their disorders, but the misdeeds of a populace should hardly be held as giving colour to the character of a creed or nation, the more especially when it is reflected how many circumstances apart from religion told on the late transactions; and in Turkish history no similar act is to be found; and Christian mobs have at various periods equally disgraced, with the name of the God of Mercy in their mouths, the purer doctrines of the Christian faith.

The Turkish Government, as a Government, is responsible for what passed, and ought not to have passed, under its authority. Criminals of every class and country should have their guilt inquired into, and pay dearly the penalty for the atrocities they committed; but I frankly own that according to my notions, both on religious and political grounds, I would be averse to make religion the difference between the ruffian and his victim, since such a conviction could only make each feel that there was a gulf of blood between them.

You know that I have not the power to give you instructions; you know also, the high sense I entertain, not merely of your abilities, but of your generous, tolerant, and manly principles, and strict sense of justice. I neither pretend, therefore, to lay greater stress upon my personal sentiments than they are entitled to, nor do I even think that there can be a very great difference between the ideas I entertain and those which you will also have formed; but faithful to the principle which I said should regulate our correspondence, I write to you frankly on all matters, and only attach that value to what I say which I think always belongs to the opinions of a man who writes dispassionately, and from a distance, to one who is placed amidst strongly exciting local circumstances, which are

almost certain to have a tendency to bias his mind in one direction. In the meantime the views you will receive from Her Majesty's Government at home, and which of course are those by which you have to be guided, will always serve as a correction to any erroneous ones I may express.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

No. 212.

Mr. Lowther to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 24.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, December 22, 1860.*

IN conformity with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 18th December,* I communicated to Baron Schleinitz Lord Dufferin's despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, containing a sketch for the future settlement of the Province of Syria, at the same time stating that Her Majesty's Government were disposed to view Lord Dufferin's sketch favourably, and that, if adopted, the Governor of Syria should be named with the consent of the Five Powers.

His Excellency promised to take the matter into consideration, and inform me on some future occasion of his opinion on this subject.

No. 213.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, December 26, 1860.*

IN my despatch of the 22nd of November I authorized your Lordship, when the proper time arrived, to propose to your colleagues the adoption of the plan for the settlement of Syria sketched out in your despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer of the 3rd of that month.

You will observe that Her Majesty's Government see no reason to depart from their opinion that you should formally submit your plan to the Commission, and I have only now to add that I should wish you to do so without loss of time.

I understand from Lord Cowley that M. Thouvenel has informed him that the views expressed in your despatch coincide with those which he himself entertains, and it is probable, therefore, that M. Béclard will be instructed to support them in the Commission.

I am also informed by Count Flahault that M. Thouvenel shares the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that it would be inexpedient to transfer the settlement of Syrian affairs to Constantinople.

No. 214.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, December 26, 1860.*

I HAVE to state to your Lordship that I approve the course pursued by you at the meeting of the European Commission when the amount of the contribution to be imposed on the Mussulman population of Damascus was determined, as reported in your despatch to Sir H. Bulwer of the 29th ultimo.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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* See despatch to Mr. Fane, December 18, *ante*, No. 207.

No. 215.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, December* 26, 1860.

I HAVE to state to you that I approve your Lordship's proceedings on the occasion of the visit of the European Commission to Damascus, as reported in your despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer of the 3rd instant.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 216.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, December* 26, 1860.

I HAVE to state to your Excellency that after fully considering the proposals of Lord Dufferin, Her Majesty's Government have come to the conclusion that they are well-fitted to promote the pacification and well-being of Syria. Lord Dufferin has accordingly been empowered to lay his proposals before the Commission.

Her Majesty's Government would be content to see the appointment by the Sultan of a Governor-General of Syria. But they would think it a most improvident arrangement to make the duration of his appointment only five years. Your Excellency is aware that the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia used to be appointed for seven years; and that at the approach of the termination of each seven years, the political market was crowded with Boyars, and that the traffic in that market was as notorious as that in the slave-market at Constantinople. Her Majesty's Government do not wish to see the Government of Syria disposed of to the highest bidder every five years.

Her Majesty's Government would be well satisfied to see Fuad Pasha appointed Governor-General of Syria, but they think his powers should be extensive, and his tenure either for life or for a period of ten years.

The Ministers of the Porte ought to be aware that if the massacres of Syria are renewed, foreign occupation will probably again take place; and that no jealousies will prevent the Great Powers from taking effectual measures for the security of Christian life and property.

Her Majesty's Government could not consent to the transference of the powers of the Commission to the Representatives of the Great Powers at Constantinople. At Beyrout the affairs of Syria form the sole object of deliberation; at Constantinople they would only attract attention occasionally; and in the meantime the crimes which have drenched the Syrian soil with blood might be renewed with impunity.

In speaking to Aali Pasha, your Excellency will use language in conformity with that of the present despatch.

As to the remaining suggestions in your despatch of the 11th instant, I have only to say that I think the Commission may agree upon a Report before the end of January. When that Report shall be confirmed by the Porte, a foundation will be laid for the future peace of Syria. But if the Porte is not prepared to take this course, Her Majesty's Government must re-consider the subject.

I inclose, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Lord Dufferin.*

No. 217.

Acting Consul Wrench to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 29.)

My Lord, *Damascus, December* 12, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch which I have this day addressed to his Excellency Sir Henry L. Bulwer at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

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* No. 213.

Inclosure in No. 217.

Acting Consul Wrench to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Damascus, December* 12, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that on the 1st instant the Commissioners of the five European Powers arrived at Damascus. It will not be necessary for me to make any remarks on their stay in this city, as Lord Dufferin will already have acquainted your Excellency with the arrangements made by the Turkish authorities for their reception, and with his own impressions on the present state of affairs in Damascus.

On the 8th instant the Commissioners left together for Beyrout, which place they reached on the 10th.

The day previous to the arrival of the Commissioners the authorities received orders from his Excellency Fuad Pasha to clear the Christian quarter of the remains of the fallen houses. Immediately 1,000 labourers and 200 animals were impressed for the work.

The last time I visited the Christian quarter, on the 7th instant, many of the streets had been cleared of the earth which encumbered them, and which was, in many places, to the depth of six feet. The workmen are still engaged in clearing the remaining streets, but it is said they will not, at present, remove the earth from the interiors of the houses. Many skeletons have been disinterred, and the bones buried in the Christian burial-ground outside the town. I have not heard that any valuables have been discovered. The workmen are paid from 7 to 8 piastres a-day (1*s.* 2*d.* to 1*s.* 4*d.*), which is levied on the Mussulmans of the city.

Since I last had the honour of addressing your Excellency on the 29th of November, three Christian families have returned from Beyrout; but the heads of these families being Government employés, their return was compulsory.

On the other hand, the Christians in Damascus are still continuing to leave, although not in such large numbers as formerly. The Government allowance of 50 paras (2½*d.*) a-day to all adult Christians is more than forty days in arrears, and almost the only assistance they now obtain from the Turkish authorities is two small loaves of bread per diem.

At the present moment they are very badly supplied with beds, but I hope, through the representations of Lord Dufferin, that before many days are over a large quantity of beds and coverlets will be distributed. Charcoal is also very scarce among them, although the Government has distributed a small quantity.

The disarmament seems almost to be forgotten; the possessors of arms have either hidden them in their houses or sent them to the villages, and their recovery now will be very difficult. Extremely severe measures must be adopted by the authorities before any success will be attained in the matter.

A few Druses have been taken in the neighbourhood of Rasheya and sent here; no Druses are tried here, but, when a certain number is collected in Damascus, they are sent under guard to Beyrout.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

No. 218.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 29.)

My Lord, *Damascus, December* 4, 1860.

I HAVE the satisfaction to announce to your Lordship that M. Ferrette, my delegate for the reparation of the burned villages, has reported to me that he has completed the roofing-in of all the houses in the Christian villages of the district assigned to him.

The consequence of this timely measure has been that the inhabitants have returned to their agricultural operations, that the progress of mortality and disease among them has been greatly checked, and that

affairs in that part of the country are beginning to assume a more normal aspect.

I need not say what pleasure I have in being able to communicate this intelligence, and I only wish I was in the position to state that similar activity had been displayed in other districts. A few of the villages occupied by the French troops are in a forward state, but as far as I have been able to learn the general work of reparation is progressing very slowly.

One of the many advantages arising from M. Ferrette's operations consists in the occasion thus supplied to the Anglo-American Relief Committee of striking off their lists the names of those to whom his instrumentality has afforded the means of retiring to their homes. As long as these persons remained destitute of wood, transport, and building materials, it was difficult to compel them to leave Beyrout; but a practical system of conducting the process of reconstruction, once established under the auspices of an active European, it became possible to insist upon their immedfately adjourning to their respective villages as a preliminary to all further assistance.

It is perhaps to be regretted that from the first some steps should not have been taken to winnow, by means of a labour-test, the destitute masses that came crowding into Beyrout. So sensible was I of such a necessity that immediately on my arrival in Syria I commenced a little road-making on my own account, and at the same time suggested to Fuad Pasha that he should adopt, on a more extensive scale, a similar method of checking the demoralizing effects of a pauper system.

The difficulties, however, in the way of the application of such an idea seem to be almost insurmountable on the present peculiar occasion.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 219.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 29.)

(Extract.) *Damascus, December* 4, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a letter which I have received from Lieutenant-Colonel Burnaby, giving an account of the satisfactory way in which the work of reconstruction has been progressing in his district.

Inclosure in No. 219.

Colonel Burnaby to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Ain Hamade, December* 4, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that it is now three weeks since the forty-three villages of the Great Meten Districts of Mount Lebanon have been provided with shelter for their inhabitants against the approaching winter.

I have also to report that no less than one-quarter of the houses have been permanently reconstructed.

On entering upon my duties seven weeks ago, I found that the total valuation was quite sufficient to bring about the reconstruction of the district, but I have been obliged to re-adjust the detail of the entire estimate; for I found that the valuations of many individuals and several villages had been unfairly estimated. The Arab valuers, in consideration of a bribe, had been induced to favour many; and in order that the sum-total of their estimate might not appear high, they abstained from giving a just valuation to others, from whence would have arisen a great injustice, which I am happy to report has now been set straight.

The difficulty experienced by the Porte of immediately paying the full amount of the valuation has been no slight impediment to a rapid reconstruction. It was in consequence of this that I proposed to Fuad Pasha the following proceeding, which he authorized me to adopt, viz.,

that the timber required for the villages should be cut from the extensive forests, and that the necessary number of trees should be levied, not as a tax, but in order to prevent speculators withholding them unless exorbitant prices were paid (which they were doing), and that these trees should be distributed, in lieu of a certain payment, to the burned villages.

Thus the bad debt, the payment of which was so urgently required by those who stood in immediate need of it, has been transferred to the proprietors of the trees, who can better await its payment.

By the adoption of this proceeding, the whole of the money that was able to be spared by the Treasury of the Porte became available, without having to employ it in the purchase of timber, which was the most expensive article of construction.

The normal condition of the people, independently of the rebuilding of the villages, has been a matter which I have considered it most desirable to bring about as soon as possible. Therefore, directly that shelter had been provided for them, I abstained from employing the labour power of the district, which I have endeavoured to induce to return to its agricultural and other former occupations, which for the last six months have been entirely neglected. In releasing the people from working at their houses I have not in any way diminished the number of hands, nor the activity required to complete the reconstruction of the villages; I have simply employed labour from afar, instead.

I am happy to be able to inform your Lordship that in many cases I have been able to rebuild the houses at a lower rate than the estimate allowed, and I have received the permission of the authorities of the Porte to distribute grain and seed in lieu of the balance which the Treasury was unable to pay, but which in value, I had ascertained, happened to find itself in several of the Turkish granaries along the coast.

I am able to inform your Lordship that, since the villages of my district have been provided with shelter, the condition and health of the people is every day becoming improved.

In conclusion, let me assure your Lordship that no opportunity shall be lost on my part to bring about the speedy welfare of these people.

No. 220.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received December* 29.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, December* 16, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 220.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Damascus, December* 4, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, translation of a petition addressed to the European Commissioners by the heads of the Christian sects inhabiting this city.

In examining this document, your Excellency will observe that, in addition to the demand for vengeance and compensation, a vehement desire is expressed in the concluding paragraph that the Province should be permanently occupied by an European force.

I am disposed to think that this exhibition of distrust in the will and the ability of the Turkish Government to protect them is not a factitious sentiment, but the expression of their genuine feelings stimulated to an extravagant degree by their priests and other designing persons.

As the question thus opened up is one of considerable gravity, I

propose in this despatch to convey to your Excellency my opinion on the value of the arguments adduced for the necessity of such a precaution. I have already intimated my conviction that if the Province of Damascus is to be administered according to the ancient system, its Christian inhabitants may appear justified in entertaining considerable misgivings as to their future security; and from the tenour of the previous communications I have had the honour of addressing to your Excellency, you will perceive that I am not blind to the more remote contingencies by which the safety of those we have been instructed to consider our clients may be compromised.

If, then, I now take upon myself the responsibility of stating my conviction that, under certain circumstances, the victims of the late outrages may be recommended to put aside all fear, and return to their homes, I trust I cannot be accused of a thoughtless misapprehension of the dangers which may be supposed to threaten them. I am thus careful to make your Excellency aware of my thorough appreciation of the exigencies of the occasion, because I have reason to believe the opinion thus expressed in direct variance with that of almost every European in the country. Nevertheless, I have no hesitation in saying that, as long as there remains in this Province a Plenipotentiary of the Porte, of capacity and courage, armed with due authority, and supported by a sufficient number of Turkish troops, there will not exist the slightest reason for alarm, or any danger that the horrors of the past summer should be repeated.

I am therefore of opinion that the European army of occupation is no longer necessary to the security of the Christian communities of Syria, and that the expectations indicated by the petitioners should by all means be discouraged.

Fuad Pasha is, in fact, as far as the tranquillity of the Province is concerned, completely master of the situation. His name inspires the greatest terror; and the Syrian population are of such a nature that fear is a sentiment sufficiently powerful to master every other passion. As long, therefore, as Fuad Pasha remains to terrorise Moslem fanaticism into inactivity, the Christians will be safe.

Successful, however, as his Excellency has been in convincing the Mahometan portion of the population of the risk they will incur by any repetition of their late excesses, he has undoubtedly failed to inspire their Christian fellow-citizens with a corresponding feeling of security. This may be attributed to many causes. Among the foremost I would place the manner in which he has delayed the punishment of the Druses.

To the Christians of the Lebanon the onslaught of the Druses was but an exaggerated instance of one of those periodical calamities which from times past they have been accustomed to suffer or inflict, as the case might be, but in the eyes of the Damascenes it possessed a very different character. Their original position, as spectators of the tragedies enacted at Hasbeya, Rasheya, and Deir-el-Kamar, enabled them to appreciate with but too much accuracy the part played by the Lieutenants of the Governor of their city, and amid the carnage of mountain warfare the connivance of the Turkish troops stood out to their imagination in terrible relief. To remove this impression the most energetic measures were required.

Unfortunately Fuad Pasha on his arrival inaugurated a system of retribution calculated rather to satisfy the public opinion of Europe than to convince the sufferers on the spot of the heartiness with which he espoused their cause. This impression has been confirmed by the plausible arguments afforded to those who had an interest in maintaining a state of panic by the questionable circumstances under which some of the Druse Chiefs escaped to the Ledjah, and the unaccountable impunity enjoyed by the tribe whom the inhabitants of Damascus had come to consider as the accomplices and tools of their treacherous rulers.

The misgivings thus created are daily stimulated by instances, often true and always exaggerated of the sympathy and partiality shown by Turkish officers to the Druses of the Anti-Lebanon and the southern plain. Only the other day a well authenticated report reached me that a detachment of Turkish troops having occasion to occupy a mixed Druse and Christian village in the neighbourhood of Damascus, the officer in charge

quartered his soldiers on the Christian part of the population, and exacted nothing whatever from its Druse inhabitants.

Another circumstance which may have prevented the restoration of confidence is the distress in which the unfortunate victims of the late outrages have been left by the Government. As your Excellency is aware, not a Christian roof remains standing in Damascus: in the course of forty-eight hours a population of 18,000 persons were turned into the street, beggared and destitute, with scarcely clothes to cover them.

To meet a crisis which would have embarrassed a far richer treasury and a better organised administration than Fuad Pasha had at his disposal, a certain number of Moslems were turned out of their houses, and an attempt was made to effect a restoration of some of the plundered property. Owing to the stupidity or corruption of the staff of officials entrusted with the execution of this operation, it has almost completely failed. It was found that even a pure Christian Commission, composed of the principal representatives of the various sects, could not be trusted with the distribution of the scanty dole it was in the power of the Government to dispense. The consequence has been that at this moment the remnant of the Christian population left at Damascus are destitute of many of the necessaries of life.

During the last day or two I have visited fifty or sixty families, and I have invariably found that their supply of bedding, blankets, and cooking utensils was inadequate to their wants, and, in many instances, that the daily pittance of 50 paras (2½*d.* a-head) was in arrear.

The sense of discomfort which such a state of things entails they naturally attribute to the malevolence of the Government, and behold in their present misfortunes a continuation of that system of persecution which the massacres inaugurated.

Business being at a stand-still, their shops and stock burnt, their instruments and tools destroyed, all occupation is at an end, and their sole employment consists in stimulating each other's fears, and bandying from mouth to mouth the exaggerated rumours of the day.

To these two principal causes of mistrust others may be added, less powerful, perhaps, but all tending in the same direction: the ineffectual manner in which the Decree of disarmament is being carried out as against the rest of the Moslem population, and the sinister alacrity with which Government have taken advantage of it to deprive the followers of Abd-el-Kader of their weapons; the disfavour and neglect displayed by the authorities to those citizens who assisted the Christians during the massacre; the liberation of some persons thrown into prison on the charge of murder; the rumoured return to Damascus of many who fled on Fuad Pasha's arrival; the appointment of Shukri Pasha to the post of Acting Governor of the city; the casual expressions of ill-will which fall from the Turkish soldiery, and similar circumstances which their fears alone invest with a suspicious character.

The enumeration of the above-mentioned causes of continued terror will, I think, both account to your Excellency for its existence, and at the same time convince you that it is an unreasonable sentiment. The delay in punishing the Druses arises from no feeling of tenderness in Fuad Pasha towards that unfortunate nation, but it is to be accounted for partly by a feeling of compunction in dealing too harshly with a people whose excesses his conscience tells him have been encouraged by officers of the Porte.

As for the helpless condition in which the Christians are allowed to remain, it is simply the result of the utter poverty of the Government, and its deficiency in all materials for organizing a proper system of relief.

The ineffectual manner in which the Moslems are being disarmed is the natural consequence of the want of method and the listlessness of those appointed to superintend the operation; while the other circumstances to which I have alluded are either grossly exaggerated or destitute of the significance attached to them.

I am therefore of opinion that, as far as the city of Damascus is concerned, Fuad Pasha and the Turkish troops (upon whom, I believe, all necessary reliance may be placed) are sufficient guarantees for public security; and further investigation has convinced me that, if the Govern-

ment could be placed in a condition to afford due compensation to the Christians for their losses, and that the reconstruction of their quarter were commenced, a few months would suffice to obliterate the impressions which at present overpower them.

With regard to the Lebanon, if we inquire how far the ascendancy obtained by Fuad Pasha over the minds of the Moslem subjects of the Porte extends to the Druses, the answer is equally satisfactory. At this moment the Druse nation is prostrate at his feet. From all quarters of the country they are sending in acknowledgments of their guilt, and humble offers of submission to any degree of punishment it may be his pleasure to inflict. The presence, therefore, of an European force in Syria is even less necessary to the tranquillity of the Mountain than it is to the security of Damascus.

The childish insolence of the Christians is becoming every day more rampant, and their priesthood openly avow their desire to throw off all allegiance to the Porte.

To return, however, to the question of the continuance of European occupation.

Your Excellency will observe that there seems to exist, as far as human foresight can determine, reasonable grounds for the expectation that, provided Fuad Pasha, armed with his present powers, remains in the country, there is no longer any necessity for a foreign army in Syria.

As the occupation by a foreign force of the territory of an independent Sovereign is, under any circumstances, attended with innumerable evils, its removal, as a matter of course, should take place as soon as the major necessity which occasioned its entry into the country shall have ceased. Since, therefore, the Turkish Government has triumphantly vindicated its ascendancy over its revolted subjects, and proved itself competent to the task which it was supposed might prove so far beyond its powers as to require extraneous aid, it is now both the interest and duty of the Sultan's allies to relieve him of a species of assistance which becomes a burden when it ceases to be a necessity.

The immediate withdrawal of the French army would seem to be the natural conclusion from these arguments; but there are certain considerations which must modify, in manner and degree, the execution of such a step.

In estimating the nature of the ascendancy Fuad Pasha has succeeded in acquiring, I have been careful to distinguish between the impressions his policy has made on the Moslems and Druses, and that which has been conveyed to the minds of the Christians. These latter I have described as still subject to a sentiment of terror, stimulated to excess by their priests and other designing persons, but still sufficiently genuine to be worthy of attention. Now, in making arrangements for the return of the army of occupation to France, due weight must be given to the effect likely to be produced by such a measure on the minds of those who have come to look upon that army not only as the instrument which was to realize their dreams of domination, but as their sole protection against foes whom they believe to be biding the time when they can with impunity recommence the half-accomplished work of extermination. So profound is this latter conviction, that many of the richest Syrian Christians have already retired to Alexandria, and almost all those of the better class with whom I have conversed are only waiting to receive the compensation due to them from Government to follow their example.

This feeling of dependence upon foreign protection is not confined to the indigenous inhabitants—it seems to pervade the European residents of this place; and I have been informed that the rumoured withdrawal of the army of occupation has even given rise to a proposal, emanating from the English and American portion of the public, that such an intention should be met by a formal protest.

I do not, myself, attach any importance to such expressions of local feeling. The atmosphere of this town is so impregnated with falsehood and discoloured by prejudice and intrigue, that it requires a considerable effort of the reason, as well as accurate information, for any one to eman-

cipate himself from its disturbing influences; but I mention the circumstance because (the native mind being so prone to exaggerate any impression prevalent among the Europeans) the existence of such an opinion amongst the one will convey some idea of the intensity with which it is cherished by the other.

According to the Convention the period of occupation should terminate by the end of February.

Whether or not it is advisable to insist upon the total evacuation of the country by the whole corps d'armée within the specified time, is a point I shall venture to discuss on a subsequent occasion.

In the mean time it would be satisfactory if the process of evacuation could be begun and conducted in a gradual manner. Were Fuad Pasha once established as the head of such a Government as I have already described to your Excellency in my previous despatches there would be little cause for uneasiness. At present, destitute as he is of funds and of trustworthy subordinates, it is difficult to hope he will be able to present to Europe such a spectacle of order and good government in the province as it is desirable should have been evoked on the cessation of its intervention.

In conclusion I would ask your Excellency to excuse the length of this despatch; nothing but the importance of the subject would have induced me to trespass so long on your attention. I have endeavoured as far as I am able to convey to your Excellency an accurate notion of the present state of feeling in this country, as well as of the impression which an anxious consideration has made upon my own mind. In appreciating the questions connected with the military occupation of the country I have endeavoured to avoid, on the one hand, a thoughtless disregard of the apprehensions for the future which are entertained by many resident authorities of experience and sagacity, while, on the other, I can conscientiously say I have not suffered my judgment to be warped by the exaggerated timidity which characterizes what may be called the public opinion of this locality; and in conveying to your Excellency the conviction (which more extensive observation is daily confirming) that Fuad Pasha is at this moment able (I will not say to maintain order, for frequent instances of murder and outrage are still occurring in the wilder districts) but to prevent its flagrant disturbance, I am anxious to admit that it is difficult to predict with absolute certainty to what lengths the caprices of fanaticism may yet drive so impressionable a people as the Syrians.

Inclosure 2 in No. 220.

Petition.

To Her Britannic Majesty's Commissioner.

WE have the honour to state your Lordship that the calamities which befell us, by the massacre of our men and some of our females; the shedding of blood in different and most disastrous ways, of which no similar cases have been mentioned during the past centuries; the compulsion of renouncing our religion; the violation of our females; the plunder of our property; the burning of our churches, convents, and houses,—have been known to everybody either by hearing or seeing. We, therefore, do not at present like to grieve your Lordship by repeating its details, but as we became in consequence in a lamentable state, and are still deprived of our tranquillity from all parts, and as your Lordship has come to this country by royal orders to look into our state, and into the catastrophes which surrounded us, as the crying of widows, orphans, and the blood of the butchered reached the utmost of the world, we beg your Lordship to have mercy on your servants by giving us a perfect rest.

1. We demand the blood of our brethren which was innocently shed.
2. The punishment of those who violated our harems.
3. The compensation of all our losses.
4. The building of our churches and convents.
5. The building of our houses and other places according to their original form.

6. A sufficient security for the present and for the future, because we have no security for ourselves, property, harem, religion, churches, &c., if no permanent force which we may depend on would exist for protecting us.

We appeal and intreat your Lordship's Government for all here above mentioned. Have pity on us! Have pity on us! Have pity on us! for God's sake.

We beseech the Almighty that He may preserve and protect Her Majesty's Government for ever.

Damascus, November 20, 1860.

(Signed) KHURI HANNAH ZAWA, Greek Orthodox Agent.
KHURI KIRILLOS FAHAK, Greek Catholic Agent.
KHURI FILIPPOS, Syrian Catholic Agent.
KHURI IBRAHIM SHALHUB, Servant of the Eastern Catholic.
Agent of Latin and Chaldean Sects.
Chief of Old Armenian Sect.
Agent of Armenian Catholic Sect.
KHURI SIMAN, Agent of Old Syrian Sect.
KHURI MUSA, Maronite Priest.

Inclosure 3 in No. 220.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extra t.) *Beyroul, December* 11, 1860.

IN transmitting to your Excellency copy of the Protocol of the twelfth sitting of the Commission I would venture to call your Excellency's attention to the precipitancy with which my colleagues are prone to act in decreeing penal contributions against the Mussulman and Druse communities compromised in the late disturbances.

On these occasions I always endeavour to mitigate, as far as I can, the effect of the violent measures which are proposed, in order that justice may not degenerate into persecution.

Inclosure 4 in No. 220.

Protocol of the Twelfth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, November 21, 1860.

LE Mercredi, vingt-et-un Novembre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à deux heures et demie.

M. le Président donne lecture d'un nouveau projet qui lui a été communiqué par un habitant Chrétien de Damas, relativement à l'impôt extraordinaire dont cette ville doit être frappée. Ce nouveau projet repose sur les bases suivantes :—

On compte à Damas—

13,356 maisons Musulmanes.
7,600 boutiques ou cafés.
58 bains publics.
73 moulins.
22 khans.
669 jardins.

En imposant—			Piastres.
1,000	piastres	par maison, on obtiendrait ..	13,356,000
750	„	par boutique, „ ..	5,700,000
10,000	„	par bain „ ..	580,000
2,000	„	par moulin „ ..	146,000
15,000	„	par khan „ ..	330,000
2,000	„	par jardin „ ..	1,338,000
Ce qui produirait ensemble			21,450,000

En ajoutant, à cette première somme, une contribution de 13,550,000 piastres sur les riches dont les revenus sont approximativement connus, on arriverait à lever sur la ville de Damas une contribution totale de 35,000,000 de piastres, chiffre proposé par M. le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman dans une des séances précédentes.

Tel est ce nouveau projet. Il diffère notablement de ceux qui ont déjà été soumis à l'examen de la Commission. Elle est d'avis que celui de Fuad Pacha est le mieux conçu. En faisant reposer l'assiette de l'impôt sur la valeur locative des maisons, c'est-à-dire, sur une donnée déjà connue, et qui sert habituellement de base aux opérations du fisc, ce projet semble à la fois plus expéditif et plus pratique que celui de M. Outrey, qui répartit l'impôt en diverses catégories de maisons non encore établies. Il semble aussi à la Commission plus équitable, parce qu'il frappe toutes les classes de la population Musulmane, tandis que M. Outrey exempte à tort de toute contribution les Musulmans des classes pauvres qui n'ont pas laissé que de contribuer, dans une large mesure, sans doute, au pillage des maisons Chrétiennes de Damas.

Dans le projet de Fuad Pacha, (Art. 4,) chaque individu paiera pour la maison qu'il possède et qu'il habite lui-même, ainsi que pour la boutique ou le magasin qu'il possède, et où il exerce un métier ou un commerce, une somme équivalente au double de la valeur locative de sa propriété.

(Art. 5.) Chaque individu paiera pour sa maison, magasin et boutique, qu'il a donné à loyer, le triple de la valeur locative, inscrite dans le registre des impôts.

(Art. 6.) Les propriétaires de bains, khans et jardins, qu'ils exploitent eux-mêmes, ou qu'ils afferment, paieront quatre fois autant que la valeur locative, enregistrée dans les susdits livres.

(Art. 7.) Ceux qui s'occupent dans une boutique ou magasin de quelque industrie, métier ou commerce, qu'ils soient propriétaires ou locataires, auront à payer, comme impôt industriel, une somme équivalente au loyer d'un an de la propriété qu'ils occupent.

Dans ce système, l'impôt sur les maisons devra donner 21,000,000 de piastres ; l'impôt sur les maisons, boutiques et magasins loués, les khans, bains et jardins, 4,000,000 de piastres ; l'impôt sur les marchands et industriels, 5,000,000 de piastres. La somme complémentaire, nécessaire pour parfaire le montant total de l'imposition de 35,000,000, sera levée sur les riches.

Ce projet a donc l'avantage de ne pas frapper indistinctement d'une même contribution tous les immeubles d'une même catégorie, comme le projet de M. Outrey, ni tous les établissements ou immeubles d'une même nature, comme le troisième projet ci-dessus mentionné. Il y a lieu de remarquer encore que la somme complémentaire qu'il prélève sur les riches est non moins considérable que dans ce dernier projet.

A ces divers titres, et tout en reconnaissant que les trois projets qui lui ont été communiqués contiennent des indications utiles, la Commission croit devoir donner son acquiescement à celui qui a été élaboré par son Excellence le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman.

Ce premier point, touchant l'assiette et la répartition de l'impôt, étant ainsi élucidé, Fuad Pacha exprime l'opinion que la perception ne pourrait avoir lieu immédiatement.

M. le Commissaire Français est d'avis qu'il faut au contraire le percevoir en une seule fois et immédiatement. Il croit devoir faire observer que les Musulmans de Damas n'ont point consulté les convenances des Chrétiens quand ils les ont massacrés, quand ils ont livré leurs maisons au pillage et à l'incendie. Il n'admet pas que l'on consulte les convenances de ces mêmes Musulmans, quand il s'agit de leur faire payer une somme qui n'est rien, en comparaison du dommage réel et des souffrances endurées par leurs victimes. Et quand bien même la difficulté que les Damasquins éprouveraient à payer en seule fois leur imposition serait aussi grande qu'on veut bien le dire, où serait le mal? Damas n'est pas seulement une source dans laquelle on puise ; c'est une ville coupable que l'on châtie. En la frappant d'un impôt extraordinaire, on peut atteindre une multitude de criminels qui ont échappé au glaive de la justice, et ceux-là mêmes qui, sans avoir pris matériellement part au massacre, à l'incendie, au

pillage, s'en sont rendus, par leur inaction, les détestables complices. Damas ne mérite aucun ménagement, d'ailleurs les délais qu'on demande pour elle ne lui sont pas nécessaires. Il est possible qu'au lendemain d'un si grand désordre, l'argent se soit caché, qui se cache encore ; mais il existe bien certainement, et à la première injonction il se montrera.

Il est hors de toute vraisemblance que Damas, peuplée de plus de 100,000 âmes, renommée par son luxe et pour ses richesses, ne puisse fournir d'un seul coup 35,000,000 de piastres, c'est-à-dire, seulement 7,000,000 de francs. M. Béclard conclue, en demandant que Damas soit contrainte de fournir cette somme immédiatement, et dans le délai d'une semaine.

Fuad Pacha répond que le caractère pénal de cette contribution est admis par tout le monde, et que les Damasquins ne cesseront pas de la ressentir, à quelque moment que la contribution doive avoir lieu ; qu'il s'agit seulement, dans sa pensée, de rendre la mesure effective, et d'éviter au Gouvernement les embarras qui résulteraient d'un trop grand nombre de contraintes. Si plusieur milliers de Damasquins ne peuvent acquitter leur part de contribution, il faudra saisir leurs biens meubles ou immeubles, quand ils en auront, ou leurs personnes quand ils n'en auront pas. Comment le Gouvernement pourra-t-il pourvoir à la nourriture d'un si grand nombre d'individus ? Il est déjà débiteur envers Damas d'une somme presque égale à celle de l'imposition extraordinaire de 30,000,000 piastres. Fuad Pacha termine, en répétant que le châtiment pour Damas consiste dans l'impôt lui-même, et il ajoute que la réponse faite par M. le Commissaire Français soulève une question nouvelle et imprévue, celle de savoir si, par la manière de l'appliquer, le châtiment doit être aggravé.

M. le Commissaire Prussien observe que l'opinion de M. le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman devrait être prise en considération, si l'on était encore au lendemain des événements ; mais ces événements ont eu lieu déjà depuis quatre mois, et les habitants de Damas n'ont rien fait qui prouve de leur part le moindre repentir. Il est peut-être inoui, dit M. de Rehfues, que les habitants d'une ville, théâtre d'événements si épouvantables, n'aient pris spontanément aucune mesure pour les réparer. Les Damasquins n'ont pas même déblayé les ruines des maisons incendiées, sous les décombres desquelles gisent encore de nombreux cadavres. Les ordres que l'Administration doit avoir donnés à cet égard n'ont pas encore été suivis d'effet. Les habitants de Damas n'ont droit à aucune espèce de ménagement, et depuis quatre mois ils n'ont fait qu'aggraver leur culpabilité.

M. de Rehfues ajoute que la créance de Damas sur le Gouvernement Ottoman est une affaire réservée entre la Sublime Porte et l'une des villes de l'Empire. La Commission n'a point à s'en occuper. Si le Gouvernement est en mesure, par l'emprunt qu'il est actuellement en train de négocier, de venir en aide aux Damasquins dont il est le débiteur, personne ne peut s'opposer à ce qu'il le fasse. Ce que M. de Rehfues, en sa qualité de Membre de la Commission, demande, c'est qu'en faisant appel n'importe à quelle ressource, les Musulmans de Damas soient mis dans l'obligation de fournir 35,000,000 de piastres en argent ou en valeurs immédiatement réalisables. Pour une ville telle que Damas, c'est une somme presque insignifiante.

M. Novikow est aussi d'avis que l'impôt doit être levé sur Damas immédiatement et en une seule fois. Il fait observer que tout délai à cet égard serait en contradiction avec le caractère expéditif que la Commission a résolu d'imprimer à toutes les mesures concernant le réglement des indemnités. Pour hâter ce réglement, la Commission a décidé, dans sa précédente séance, que les Chrétiens seraient payés sommairement, par catégories, c'est-à-dire, par approximation, et qu'une fois ce paiement expéditif effectué aucune victime ne serait admise ultérieurement à réclamer aucune indemnité ou complément d'indemnité. M. Novikow trouve au moins aussi juste que les Musulmans soient traités de la même manière. Si le mode de procéder adopté par la Commission à l'égard des Chrétiens devait être rendu inutile, et le seul avantage qu'il présente, compromis par un système d'atermoiements dans la perception de l'impôt, il y aurait lieu,

selon lui, de revenir sur les décisions que la Commission a prises dans la séance précédente, et de recourir plutôt au système d'une évaluation régulière, qui serait au moins de nature à assurer aux Chrétiens le bénéfice de ces lenteurs, en leur permettant de poursuivre l'indemnité rigoureuse de toutes les pertes qu'ils ont subies.

M. le Commissaire d'Autriche déclare que ses informations personnelles concordent avec celles de Fuad Pacha, en lui donnant à penser que la perception immédiate et intégrale des 35,000,000 de piastres serait d'une extrême difficulté. Il cite à cet égard l'opinion du Consul d'Autriche à Damas, et il fait observer que, si, en accordant à Damas des termes pour le paiement, on pouvait tirer d'elle une somme plus considérable, cette combinaison serait avantageuse aux Chrétiens eux-mêmes. Ce qui importe aux Chrétiens, c'est que le paiement intégral de leur indemnité leur soit garanti. Dans le fait, ils s'arrangeraient probablement de plusieurs paiements partiels et successifs. S'il en était ainsi, peut-être pourrait-on procéder par à-comptes à la levée de l'impôt de Damas, faciliter la tâche du Gouvernement, et concilier toutes les exigences de la situation.

Lord Dufferin croit que la Commission ne peut se prononcer sur le point actuellement soumis à sa délibération, et prendre une résolution contraire à l'opinion formellement exprimée par son Excellence, sans s'appuyer sur des faits, et sans avoir des notions positives sur l'étendue des ressources de Damas. On peut, dit-il, vouloir frapper Damas d'un châtiment sévère, cela est juste ; mais la mesure du châtiment ne peut être aveugle. Lord Dufferin est porté à croire pour son propre compte que l'imposition de 35,000,000 de piastres n'est pas assez considérable ; mais il éprouve en même temps quelque scrupule à trancher la question du mode et du moment de la perception. Il voudrait être sûr de ne pas outrepasser les forces contributives de cette cité, en exigeant d'elle un paiement immédiat qui l'épuiserait, et briserait peut-être à jamais, le ressort de son activité commerciale et industrielle. Il voudrait notamment que le rapport entre le revenu locatif des maisons de Damas et le revenu total de ses habitants fût exactement connu. En un mot, Lord Dufferin voudrait que l'on sévisse contre Damas, dans le présent, jusqu'au point seulement où l'on serait bien sûr de ne pas compromettre son avenir. Lord Dufferin constate que, dans le projet de M. Outrey, la perception de l'impôt est divisée en trois paiements, division qui n'a sans doute pas été suggérée à son auteur par une connaissance médiocre de la situation de Damas. M. le Commissaire Britannique exprime en conséquence le vœu que M. Outrey soit invité à venir donner à la Commission tous les renseignements dont elle a besoin.

M. le Commissaire Français répond à Lord Dufferin que le projet de M. Outrey qu'il a eu l'honneur de communiquer à la Commission, est un document que la Commission n'est nullement tenue d'adopter dans toutes ses parties ; que, si M. Outrey propose de diviser en trois termes le paiement de l'impôt extraordinaire de Damas, on ne saurait en conclure rigoureusement que, dans la pensée même de M. Outrey, Damas soit incapable de tout payer en une seule fois, et que ses propres informations l'autorisent au contraire à penser que Damas est parfaitement en mesure de fournir immédiatement le montant total de la contribution. Sur le fond de la question, M. Béclard objecte à Lord Dufferin que l'impôt à lever sur Damas n'est pas un de ces impôts réguliers et durables pour l'établissement desquels un Gouvernement doit s'entourer de nombreux renseignements statistiques. C'est un impôt exceptionnel, établi entre de circonstances exceptionnelles, une véritable pénalité, une composition qui sera d'autant plus juste et plus morale qu'elle sera plus rigoureusement infligée. Il y a lieu en outre de remarquer que cet impôt, quelqu'il soit, ne saurait être de nature à frapper Damas dans son avenir et dans sa vitalité commerciale et industrielle, attendu que les 35,000,000 de piastres qu'il s'agit de lever sur cette ville n'en sortiront pas. Ils ne feront que changer de mains. Enlevés aux Musulmans qui les cachent, ils passeront dans celles des Chrétiens qui les consacreront à de nombreux travaux de reconstruction et aux entreprises abandonnées du commerce et de l'industrie. Les Chrétiens de Damas étaient les instruments les plus actifs

de sa prospérité. Au point de vue économique, point de vue auquel Lord Dufferin vient de se placer, non seulement la perception intégrale de l'impôt et la répartition immédiate des indemnités ne sont pas des mesures funestes à la ville de Damas, prise dans son ensemble, mais elles semblent au contraire indispensables au prompt retour de sa prospérité.

La demande de Lord Dufferin, touchant le voyage de M. Outrey à Beyrout, n'est appuyée par aucun membre de la Commission. M. le Commissaire de Prusse déclare que, si le Consul de France à Damas est appelé à venir déposer son opinion dans le sein de la Commission, il ne voit aucune raison pour que les Consuls des quatre autres Puissances n'y soient pas également invités.

M. le Commissaire Français se trouve dans le cas de faire observer que la présence de M. Outrey est impérieusement réclamée à Damas, dont la situation ne cesse pas d'être alarmante; mais il offre à la Commission de provoquer, de la part de M. Outrey, l'envoi par écrit de tous les renseignements qui seraient de nature à l'éclairer. Cette proposition est acceptée par la Commission, qui ajourne sa décision.

Avant la fin de la séance, M. Béclard appelle l'attention de M. l Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte sur la misère des Chrétiens de la Montagne qui retournent dans leurs villages. Il serait selon lui convenable d'imposer aux Druses une contribution préalable, en nature, qui permettrait de distribuer aux Chrétiens divers objets de première nécessité. On pourrait, dit-il, obliger chaque Druse à fournir :— 6 mesures de blé ; 3 mesures d'orge ; 10 rottolis de raisin sec ; 3 matelas ; 3 couvertures ; 2 marmites, 1 bassine, en cuivre ; 1 tapis en poil de chèvre ; 1 natte : 10 poutres, ou leur valeur à raison de 50 piastres.

Ce système de restitution a été mis facilement et très utilement en pratique par les officiers Français, dans certaines localités, occupées pa des détachements du corps expéditionnaire.

Fuad Pacha répond que des contributions de ce genre ont déjà été effectuées par ses ordres dans la Montagne, et qu'il vient notamment de requérir 40,000 mesures de sémences, prélevées sur les biens des Chefs Druses, qu'il fera distribuer aux Maronites, et prit d'ailleurs d'autres mesures destinées à subvenir aux besoins les plus urgents des populations. Il exprime seulement la crainte que ces opérations ne soient entravées par l'ardeur des Chrétiens, qui, dans plusieurs villages, ont eux-mêmes exercé de violentes représailles contre les Druses, et pillé quelques unes de leurs maisons.

M. de Rehfues signale à l'attention de M. le Commissaire Ottoman de récentes informations, d'après les quelles un convoi de dix chameaux, chargés de poudres et d'armes, aurait été rencontré dans les environs de St. Jean d'Acre, en destination pour les Druses rebelles et réfugiés dans le Hauran. La vente de ces munitions de guerre étant interdite dans les bazars de la ville, on a pu penser qu'elles avaient été détournées des magasins de la forteresse de St. Jean d'Acre. M. de Rehfues cite le nom des deux guides qui ont fait la rencontre de ce convoi, et Lord Dufferin demande le nom des Anglais que ces guides accompagnaient dans une excursion.

Fuad Pacha proteste contre la pensée que ces munitions puissent provenir des magasins de l'Etat, et manifeste l'intention de porter, sur le fait qui lui est signalé, ses plus sévères investigations.

La séance est levée à cinq heures et demie.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 5 in No. 220.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, December* 11, 1860

ON returning from Damascus I learned to my great regret that Fuad Pasha had invited M. de Beaufort to assist with his troops in the collection of a very heavy contribution which his Excellency had decreed during our absence against the Druses.

Inclosure 6 in No. 220.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, December* 14, 1860.

I AM happy to be able to announce to your Excellency that in consequence of a joint representation which was made to Fuad Pasha by M. Béclard and myself last night, his Excellency was induced to send off messengers in all directions countermanding for the present the execution of his decree against the Druses referred to in my previous despatch of the 11th instant.

Inclosure 7 in No. 220.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, December* 12, 1860.

IN my despatch of the 3rd ultimo I had the honour of conveying to your Excellency my opinion, that if once the government of Syria were placed on the semi-independent footing, I ventured to propose the administration of the Mountain ought to be assimilated in every respect to that of any other Pashalic of the Province; but that it might prove necessary that the purely Christian Kaimakamship should be allowed to retain—at all events in appearance—some of its ancient privileges. Such a compromise, however, involving the retention of the ancient duality of the Lebanon, rendered the plan less uniform than I could have wished. Subsequent reflection has convinced me that the principle of assimilation we are anxious to introduce might be rendered more effective by an arrangement as likely to strengthen the hands of the native Government as it is to prove congenial to the wishes of the Emperor of France.

By the maintenance of a Maronite Kaimakamship many of the present evils are obviously perpetuated, an unavoidable antagonism is kept up between a formidable sect and a Government, and the anomaly of an *imperium in imperio*, though diminished, is still allowed to retain its awkward vitality. Yet it is impossible altogether to ignore the past. It is true the Maronites are incapable of self-government; yet, however unfit to exercise them, it might seem unjust to abolish privileges guaranteed to them by Europe. If, however, we change the word "Maronite" into "Christian" many of our difficulties would vanish, and it might become possible to extend to the entire Mountain an advantage which, if once deprived of its sectarian and local character, would no longer be obnoxious even to the Central Government.

It is with this view that I now beg to submit to your Excellency whether it might not be a good arrangement to erect the entire district of the Lebanon into a single Pashalic, differing in no respect from the other subdivisions of the province, except in the fact that the officer appointed to it must be Christian. By this means two great advantages would be gained. In the first place, a Christian administration would be extended over the entire Mountain; while, on the other hand, the Governor-General would acquire means of exercising the most effectual control, not only over the Mixed district, but in the Kesrouan itself, by the appointment of

some foreign and non-Maronite Christian, in whose impartiality and devotion to himself he could confide. As it will be always in the interest of the Syrian Government to maintain and to encourage the Greek Christians and the Druses in the Mountain, there is no disadvantage likely to accrue to them by the qualification of Christianity being necessary to the Pasha within whose jurisdiction they will reside; while the municipal and local interests will be secured to them by the creation of Druse and Greek Magistrates, and the institution of Mixed Medjlises over the subdivisions of the new Pashalic.

Inclosure 8 in No. 220.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, December* 15, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith for your Excellency's information copy of a paper which contains memoranda of the principles in accordance with which the plan I have already submitted to your Excellency's consideration, for the future government of Syria, wa drawn up.

Inclosure 9 in No. 220.

Memoranda embodying the Principles in accordance with which the future Administration of Syria is to be conducted.

1. THE integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

2. The extension of the benefits of European intervention to all the Christians of Syria.

3. The principle of fusion, as opposed to that of disintegration, to be applied in dealing with the different sects and races that compose the population of the Province.

4. The placing of the civil, fiscal, and military administration of Syria on a different footing from that of the other provinces of the Empire.

5. The union, under one Governor-General, appointed by the Porte and approved by Europe, of all the Pashalics of the Province.

6. The individual responsibility of the new Governor-General for the tranquillity and good government of the territory confided to him.

7. The consequent supremacy of his authority over the entire Province.

8. The assimilation of the administration of the Lebanon to that of the other Pashalics, so that, on the one hand, in case of disturbances occurring in the Mountain, the Governor-General may not be able to shelter himself from blame behind the responsibility of his subordinate, or, on the other, be tempted by a feeling of jealousy at his independence to intrigue against the prosperous working of the new system.

9. The equality of the Christian subjects of the Province in the eye of the law, in regard to the tenure of land, the giving of evidence, &c.

10. A mixed army, drawn indiscriminately from the Moslem, Christian, Druse, and remaining races.

11. A police so constituted as that the maintenance of order among one tribe or sect should not be confided to the members of another.

12. A municipal administration, arranged with a view to the self-government, in all religious and non-political matters, of each sect and community. In Mixed districts, the Councils to reflect, as nearly as possible, the proportion in which the separate elements exist.

13. Political Agents of the five Powers to be provisionally accredited to the Divan of the Governor-General, with identic instructions, and the privilege of concerted action in pressing their views on his attention.

14. The abolition of the feudal system all over the Province.

15. Proviso, proposed by M. Béclard:—The Lebanon, in its ancient limits, to form one Pashalic, and the Pasha appointed to it to be a Christian.

16. The individual interests of the now Christian element, supposed to be compromised by the concession implied in Article 15, to be secured by equitable guarantees to be hereafter agreed upon.

17. The arrangements made in accordance with the above Memorandum to remain in operation for a period of not less than five years, but to be considered as more or less provisional.

No. 221.

Mr. Fane to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received December* 31.)

My Lord, *Vienna, December* 27, 1860.

IN obedience to the instructions conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch of the 18th instant,* I have communicated to Count Rechberg Lord Dufferin's despatch containing a sketch of a scheme for the future settlement of the Province of Syria, and I have stated to his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government, while inclining to view Lord Dufferin's sketch favourably, are disposed to think that if it were adopted, the Governor of Syria should be named with the consent of the Five Powers.

Count Rechberg said that he should have great pleasure in considering Lord Dufferin's plan, and that he would not fail to acquaint me with the judgment he might form upon it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JULIAN FANE.

No. 222.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 1, 1861.

THE French Ambassador addressed me the other day nearly to the following effect:—

"The Emperor is quite ready to withdraw his troops from Syria at the time stipulated, but if your Government urge this evacuation, remember that they make themselves responsible if massacres and outrages against the Christians are renewed."

Her Majesty's Government are willing to undertake their share in this responsibility, heavy as it is, but the Ministers of the Porte must be made clearly to understand, on their part, their obligations and their risks.

Their obligations are to lend a willing sanction to every measure by which the lives and properties of the inhabitants of Syria may be secured. They must not again show an indifference to bloodshed, when none but Christians are murdered; they must not again yield to the temptation of large bribes, and give up Syria to the extortions of the highest bidder for the Government in the political market of Constantinople.

Lord Dufferin's despatch to your Excellency is, I must confess, less convincing than is usual with him. The impunity of the Druses most concerned in the massacres, the unquiet spirit prevailing among the Mussulmans and Christians alike, the disarming of Abd-el-Kader's followers, make Her Majesty's Government apprehensive of the future.

It is clear, indeed, that the French forces at present in Syria rather increase than allay irritation. But should their departure be followed by fresh massacres, and should European occupation be renewed on a larger scale, the Government of the Sultan must not expect that Her Majesty's Government can ever again express a reliance on the efficacy, justice, and impartiality of Turkish sway.

These considerations are so serious that your Excellency is instructed to press in every way on the Grand Vizier and Aali Pasha that the continued friendship and support of Great Britain depend on the honesty and energy to be evinced by the Porte on this occasion.

* No. 207.

If intrigues against the new Government of Syria are permitted with a view to a new harvest of corruption on the Bosphorus, and new murders in Damascus and the Mountain, the countenance of the British Government must be withheld, and humanity will require the most decided and effectual measures.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 223.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 5, 1861.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, December* 19, 1860.

I HAVE already had the honour of stating in a previous despatch that, with respect to the manner in which the Druses were likely to be dealt with, I entertained great fears lest justice should degenerate into persecution. This opinion, I regret to say, subsequent observation has confirmed, and I now have to call your Lordship's attention to a communication which seems to me to merit the serious consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

Shortly before the departure of the European Commissioners for Damascus, a proposition was made, at the conclusion of a long sitting, to the effect that those Druses who were known to be in possession of stolen property should be required to share their superfluous stores of food and bedding with the destitute victims of the late disturbances. To so humane and reasonable a principle there could be no objection.

Months ago I had urged upon his Excellency Fuad Pasha the necessity of acting in accordance with it, and, before we separated, an indefinite understanding was come to that something should be done towards its general application. On returning, however, from Damascus, I learnt, to my astonishment, that this equitable proposal had been transformed into the following project:—

" Pour venir au secours des Chrétiens qui ont souffert du soulèvement des Druses, chaque Druse à l'âge de participer aux contributions devra donner—

	Piastres.
10 mids de blé	200
10 mids d'orge	120
10 rottles raisins secs	40
1 mid de pori [?]	20
3 matelats	120
3 couvertures de lit	105
3 coussines	60
2 marmites	100
1 chaudron	150
2 tapis	100
10 couffes	50
	1,065"—

To be contributed within the space of five days, in money or in kind, on every Druse above the age of fifteen, under pain of a military execution being put into his house.

To suppose that each male member of a Druse family above fifteen is in a position to produce three beds and mattrasses is simply absurd; the cauldron put down at 150 piastres is a rare article of household furniture, even among the less indigent classes, and the Christians themselves never possessed the one-hundredth part of the number it is proposed should be restored to them by the Druses, while the injustice of requiring each individual, no matter what his relative means may be, to pay a uniform contribution, is so flagrant as to need no comment.

In order, however, that your Lordship may more exactly appreciate the terrible severity of the measure with which the Druse nation is about to be visited, I will adopt a method of comparison which will cause the extravagance of its provisions to stand out in due relief.

The European Commission has recommended, that in addition to the capital punishment which has fallen on the principal promoters of the massacres of

Damascus, the whole Mahometan population shall be visited with a penal tax. The forced contribution to be levied on the Druses may be regarded in all respects as an analogous measure; for although, as yet, no Druse Chief has suffered, eleven of their principal Sheikhs are now on trial for their lives, and Fuad Pasha has been just furnished by the Christians of the Mountain with a list of 4,000 persons, whose blood they have demanded on oath before their Bishops. The impost assessed upon the rich city of Damascus may, therefore, be fairly taken as a standard in gauging the proportional amount to be required of the needy peasantry of the Mountain.

40,000,000 of piastres is the sum which Damascus has been required to pay. Its Mahometan population is reckoned at 125,000 souls; of these 35,000 at least would be males above fifteen years of age, and a tax of 40,000,000 of piastres distributed over 35,000 persons would amount to 1,142 piastres a-piece. Now the sum required of every Druse tax-payer—that is, of every Druse above the age of fifteen—is 1,065 piastres. Consequently the unfortunate peasants of the Lebanon are required to pay up within five days almost as large a sum as is demanded from the citizens of Damascus within five months.

But this is not all. In yet another respect this iniquitous scheme will tell more severely against the Druses than against the Damascenes. Of all the plunder taken from the rich Christians of that city scarcely anything of value has been restored. The pillagers will remain for the most part in possession of the stolen property, and their ill-gotten gains will doubtless help to pay the penal tax; but, as your Lordship will perceive by the lists which I inclose, a vast amount of plunder has been already recovered from the Druses, and more will probably be yet obtained.

Moreover, in the distribution of the tax over the citizens of Damascus, thanks to the intelligence and justice of the French Consul M. Outrey, care has been taken that its chief burden shall fall upon the rich, while a large proportion of the indigent classes have been suffered to go scot-free; but in the case of the Druses the possessions of the Sheikhs and of the richest members of the nation have been removed by sequestration from all liability to the impost, and it is upon the poorer classes alone that its whole weight is intended to fall. It must also be remembered that for the last three months, while the Damascenes have been dwelling in perfect security, except from the visitation of legal authority, the Druses have been leading a miserable life, exposed to perpetual molestation, numbers of them (certainly more than forty) have been murdered, their women have been insulted, eighteen or nineteen of their villages have been pillaged (twelve totally and seven partially). Much of their corn—many of their beasts have been unjustly confiscated, acorns and bran have become their daily food in many districts, and the whole nation has been deprived of its political privileges. When, therefore, on returning from Damascus it appeared that in addition to what they had already suffered—in addition to the forfeiture of their independence—in addition to the capital punishment impending over them, a plan had been devised to accomplish the indiscriminate ruin of the whole nation, I felt an occasion had arisen when the most energetic interference was required.

Fortunately, I possess in M. Béclard a colleague on whose sense of justice and conciliatory disposition I can always rely. No sooner was this gentleman made acquainted with the grave nature of the crisis than he at once agreed to assist me in forestalling it. But time pressed; it was already 8 o'clock on Thursday evening, and a simultaneous execution of the obnoxious edict, all over the Mountain, was to commence at daylight the next morning. Armed with a written remonstrance from the French Commissioner, I repaired to Fuad Pasha, and his Excellency consented to our joint representation.

Counter-orders were despatched at midnight to the various centres of action, enjoining a suspension of the operation until further orders, and it was agreed to refer the whole subject to the reconsideration of the next meeting of the European Commission.

It is my intention to take advantage of this opportunity to urge upon my colleagues, and more especially upon his Excellency Fuad Pasha the necessity of acting with greater caution when dealing with the vital interests of our fellow-creatures. Taxes, forced contributions, &c., must not be decreed at hap-hazard, without the faintest appreciation of the resources of the contributors.

Above all things, I shall protest in the name of Her Majesty's Government, and in that of common humanity, against the Druses being visited with a severer measure of punishment than has been considered sufficient for the Damascenes.

As to the comparative culpability of these two communities there can be no difference of opinion. The Damascences are simply fanatical assassins: but let passion and prejudice gloze the matter as they may, it must remain an indisputable fact that it was by the intrigues and menaces of their Christian enemies that the Druses were first driven into war; it was through the encouragement of their Mahometan superiors that their native ferocity was stimulated into the excesses which disgraced their victory. This is the truth, and it cannot be gainsaid.

For months beforehand, the calamity was impending. When I was last in the country, the sentiments which animated either tribe were notorious. The Druses did not want to fight; the Maronites thought their hour of victory was come.

Custom-house returns can prove that upwards of 120,000 stand of arms and 20,000 pistols were imported into the Lebanon between January 1857 and the spring of 1860, while the sinister influence exercised by Bishop Tobia and his associates was so universally recognised that his withdrawal from Beyrout was insisted upon, as a necessary preliminary to all chance of peace. It is true his Eminence asserted on that occasion that nothing could be proved against him, for he had not committed himself to paper, but this very observation is sufficiently significative of the part he had been playing. One letter at least exists (perhaps others may be forthcoming) in which the prelate writes before the outbreak in very inflammatory terms to the people of Deir-el Kamar, and openly talks of the expulsion of the Druses.

Under these circumstances, it is idle to speak of the Christians as if they were saintly martyrs. They are as savage and bloodthirsty in their traditional warfare as any of their pagan neighbours. Nay, their clans often carry on internecine blood-feuds with one another, in which they do not even spare the womankind. An instance of such strife occurred but two years ago, in the case of the Hayin Sheikhs, and similar occurrences are frequent in their history. In this respect, at least, the Druses are the more humane; they never war on one another, and women are sacred in their eyes.

To depict, therefore, the quarrel between the Druses and the Maronites as an onslaught of savage heathens on the inoffensive followers of Christ's religion, is a simple misrepresentation. It was a feud between two equally barbarous tribes, in which the victors inflicted on their enemies the fate with which they themselves had been threatened. If the contest was distinguished by circumstances of more than usual brutality, it is to be attributed to the interference of the Turks, and the intensity of the hatred which the previous threats and arrogance of the Christians had provoked. In their day of triumph, these last have not proved themselves a whit less bloodthirsty than their enemies. Only yesterday, Fuad Pasha received, through the bishops of their communities, a demand for the heads of 4,500 persons, that is, the whole tax-paying Druse population of the Lebanon.

By the tenour of my previous despatches, your Lordship will have perceived that I am very far from seeking to extenuate the atrocity of the crimes committed by the Druses at Hasbeya, Rasheya, and Deir-el-Kamar: I consider that Fuad Pasha has been much to blame in so long delaying their chastisement. In the interests of justice, of humanity, and of the future government of the Province, it is necessary that a great example should be made of those whose hands are deepest dyed in blood. It is only by the severity of punishment that these barbarians can be made to comprehend the enormity of their crimes; but an awful and impartial admistration of capital punishment, on a certain number of notorious offenders, is a far different thing from that stupid and unscrupulous system of persecution by which the whole nation is being driven to despair.

From all complicity in such a course, I, for one, am determined to stand aloof. Having done my best, as far as my abilities enabled me, to plead the cause of truth and mercy on the spot, I shall leave the rest in your Lordship's hands, content with the conviction that, whatever happens, the opinions I have ventured to record will remain to prove that I have endeavoured to prevent the commission of a gross injustice.

I beg to subjoin a statement forwarded to me by Vice-Consul Rogers as to the present destitute condition of a large portion of the Druse population, as well as a copy of a petition from certain Druse communities.

Your Lordship may place full reliance in the truth of Mr. Rogers' assertions they have been confirmed in every particular by the testimony of American

missionaries and French silk-spinners, and of other persons in a position to form an opinion.

The Druse petition speaks for itself; a people weary of their lives, ask leave to escape anywhere under the sun from the intolerable persecution which pursues them.

P.S. In order to give as much effect as possible to the opinions expressed in the above despatch, I propose to communicate it to my colleagues.

Inclosure 1 in No. 223.

List of Plundered Articles recovered and distributed by the Turkish Government.

Collected from fifty-three villages in the district of Mokhtârah :—

1,180 beds, 1,354 lehafs, 3,946 articles of clothing, 1,409 articles in copper, 798 animals.

List of articles collected in the Shûf :—

98 cups and cupstands (gold and silver), 9 silver spoons, 21 censers, 19 crosses, 3 strings of pearls, 16 cases or small boxes, 7 stars with pearls or diamonds, 10 chains, 8 swords, cases or handles, 16 clerical crowns, 3 ornamented gold bands, 2 tantûreh (Druse women's horns), 1 hatchet, 1 double-barrelled gun, 1 large pistol, 1 silver coffee-pot, 1 silver perfume-pot, 1 large curtain wrought in silver, 23 necklaces, 120 gold and silver balls, 23 earrings, some with diamonds, 10 hair-pins, 21 buckles, 501 gold and silver buttons, 4 silver candlesticks, 51 silver lamps, 15 silver trays, 4 old bottles, 20 bracelets, 2 silver armlets, 7 watches, 4 silver-mounted halters, 4 pictures, 14 women's head dresses (in gold and silver), 30 women's head dresses for the back, 26 coffee-cup holders (zarfs), 7 rings (silver and gold, one diamond), 2 rich vests, 1 ebony inkstand, 1 silver comb, 1 mounted staff, 1 thimble, 1 crescent, 529 lots of broken silver and gold articles, 3,074 piastres in money attached to head-dresses, 139,794 piastres, collected on account of animals, wheat, silk, &c., &c., destroyed or consumed.

Articles collected from the district of Elkhanîb :—

126 beds, 145 lehâfs, 70 articles of clothing, 23 copper utensils, 106 animals.

1,035½ mids of wheat were distributed among 2,770 distressed Christian inhabitants of the same district; also, 50 mids were given to the monks of Deir-el-Mokhâllis.

Inclosure 2 in No. 223.

Vice-Consul Rogers to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, December* 17, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report that from positive information received, and from personal observation in Mount Lebanon of the actual state of the Druses, I am convinced that the collection of the forced contribution, as proposed in his Excellency Fuad Pasha's notice, is utterly impracticable.

1. The Druses have, in many instances, lost as much as the Christians by the sequel of the late civil war. The Christians who were rendered homeless have been well cared for by the various Relief Committees established for their benefit, and this charity has not been available for the Druses.

2. There are at least seven villages, viz., Ain Anûb, Ainab B'shetfin, Kefraya, Kefr Takûd, Kefr Nabrakh, and Baklûn, and I believe several others of which I have not obtained the names, that were utterly pillaged.

3. The booty found in the Mixed, or in the purely Druse villages, has been recovered, and there are numerous instances of people having been deprived of large quantities of their own property also.

4. A large proportion of the wheat and barley grown in the plain of Bekâa belongs to the Druses of Mount Lebanon, and this has been confiscated by Government, and even the oxen used for agricultural purposes have been seized, and some of them killed for the consumption of the French troops. Many of the higher classes of Druses have thus been entirely without corn this year, although accustomed to house very large quantities every year of their own cultivation.

5. The Druses not being allowed to communicate with Beyrout, or any other large town, are not in a position to enter into any arrangement for the borrowing of money, or for the sale of any property which might enable them to pay the demands of Government. They are obliged to depend upon Christians for the purchase of their daily food, who make them pay a very heavy per-centage for the favour conferred. The higher classes are able to submit to this imposition ; but the middle and poorer classes have not the means, and they are living on the refuse of the former, making bread of acorn flour and bran, or anything else they can procure, such as the specimen I had the honour of showing your Lordship on my last return from the Mountain. The women wander about the hills collecting herbs, which form a principal part of their present food. And in the case of villages which have been pillaged as above referred to, even those who have been accustomed to comparative luxury are reduced to the same sort of semi-starvation.

It is well known that the natives of this country are in the habit of borrowing money every year on account of the next year's harvest, and the Druses having been in a great measure deprived of their harvest this year, they are neither able to pay their debts nor to borrow more upon the security of that of next year; and what is more, the confiscation of the oxen renders them incapable of ploughing, and renders their future even more sad than their present state.

The amount demanded by the Government at present, is 1,065 piastres from every taxable Druse, viz., every male above the age of fifteen years. This, under the most favourable circumstances, is a very heavy tax upon any of the natives of this country, whose wants are so few, and who, according to the best estimates, consume on an average from 2,000 to 2,200 piastres a year per family, so that the amount thus demanded from each man would equal the annual consumption of half a family.

Inclosure 3 in No. 223.

Petition.

(Traduction.)

NOUS Soussignés, sujets de la Sublime Porte, habitants dans le district du Jûrd dépendant de Deir-el-Kamar, prions Dieu de conserver à jamais la vie de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, qui a daigné envoyer votre Excellence pour rendre justice à ses sujets. [Nous ?] avons grand espoir en vous d'acquérir la sûreté et la tranquillité désirée, parceque grâce à Dieu il n'y a pas eu du sang versé chez nous, pas une maison Chrétienne brûlée ; tandis que les Chrétiens nous ont quitté, abandonnèrent leurs familles pour nous faire la guerre, nous avons sauvegardé leurs familles, leurs biens, sans qu'ils avaient perdu une piastre.

Il y a eu les mauvais sujets qui ont quitté notre district pour aller piller. Ceux-là d'après les ordres nous avons fait restituer le pillage.

Maintenant nous venons d'avoir l'honneur de recevoir de nouvelles ordres de votre Excellence que tout Druse payant l'impôt doit fournir à la nation Chrétienne blé 10 mids, orge 10, raisins secs 10 rottols, matelats 3, couvertures 3, coussines 3, pots de cuivre 2, marmites 2, tapis et couffes. Celui qui n'en a pas ces objets doit donner la valeur argent comptant 1,065 piastres.

En tout cas nous serons toujours obéissant aux ordres de votre Excellence non pas pour l'argent mais pour verser notre sang ; seulement nous ne pouvons pas supporter cette demande, parceque nous n'avons rien. Créatures de Dieu nous nous jetons à vos pieds vous priant d'avoir compassion de nous. Prêt à quitter nos pays, nous soumettrons tout ce que nous possédons, et en chemises nous irons habiter où la Sublime Porte nous l'ordonnera ou bien de partager le versement de ce qu'on réclame de nous à des époques désignés, ou bien les Chrétiens prendront 100 pour cent de la valeur de nos propriétés; sans cela nous venons réduits à un état misérable. Nous avons espoir que votre Excellence ne nous abandonnera pas dans notre détresse ; nous n'avons d'autre refuge que la Porte.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signatures.)

(Translation.)

WE, the undersigned subjects of the Sublime Porte, inhabitants of the district of Jûrd belonging to Deir-el-Kamar, offer up our prayers to God for the long life of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, who has deigned to send your Excellency to render justice to his subjects. We are in great hopes of obtaining, through your Excellency, the safety and peace which we desire, since, God be thanked, there has been no bloodshed amongst us, and not a single Christian house burnt; and whilst the Christians have deserted us, and abandoned their families to make war against us, we have taken care of their families and property, so that they have not lost a piastre.

There are some bad characters who have left our district for the purpose of pillage. According to orders received these have been compelled by us to give up their plunder.

We have now had the honour to receive fresh orders from your Excellency that every Druse who pays taxes should yield to the Christian community 10 mids of wheat, 10 of barley, 10 rottols of raisins, 3 mattresses, 3 counterpanes, 3 pillows, 2 leathern vessels, 2 pots, carpets, and "couffes." Whoever does not possess these articles must give 1,065 piastres as an equivalent.

On every occasion we shall obey the commands of your Excellency, not as regards the money but in shedding our blood. We cannot conform to this demand for the reason that we possess nothing. As God's creatures we cast ourselves at your feet, and entreat you to have compassion upon us. We are prepared to quit our country, and to give up all that we possess, and without clothing to go and live wherever the Sublime Porte may desire, either with a view of sharing the payment demanded from us at various periods, or that the Christians shall receive 100 per cent. of the value of our possessions; without which we shall be reduced to the most wretched condition. We are in hopes that your Excellency will not desert us in our hour of need: we have no other refuge than the Porte.

Receive, &c.

(Signatures.)

No. 224.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 5, 1861.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, December* 21, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 224.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, December* 18, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that yesterday afternoon M. Béclard took advantage of one of the unofficial meetings which the European Commission now occasionally hold, and which are not attended by his Excellency Fuad Pasha, to inquire of his colleagues whether, in their opinion, it would be advisable to prolong the military occupation of Syria beyond the term specified by the Convention.

M. de Weckbecker replied that, for his part, he did not think the presence of a foreign force would be necessary a couple of months hence, inasmuch as it is probable we shall have devised in the meantime securities sufficient to render such an expedient unnecessary.

M. de Rehfues declared that he was not prepared to state that it would have become safe to deprive the Christians of the guarantee afforded by the French army.

M. Novikow expressed his conviction that foreign troops would be necessary in Syria for some time longer.

M. Béclard himself dwelt on the moral effect their presence was calculated to produce all over the country.

I contented myself with expressing in as explicit and frank a manner as I could my conviction that the French army, useful as its arrival had originally been, was become an embarrassment to the Government; that I considered it could be withdrawn to-morrow from the country without risk; that Fuad Pasha and his troops were quite competent to maintain order, and that the police duties it was now discharging in the Lebanon were never intended to form part of its mission.

In fact I submitted to my colleagues the same opinion I have already had the honour of laying before your Excellency in my despatch of the 4th instant.

The meeting broke up without any result beyond the eliciting of the sentiments of the respective Commissioners on the above topic.

I have little doubt but that, in the course of time, the Representative of Prussia will see occasion to adhere to the opinion expressed by M. de Weckbecker and myself.

Inclosure 2 in No. 224.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, December* 21, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that yesterday a private Conference was held by the Commission at my house for the purpose of considering the question of reorganization.

In accordance with an agreement which had been come to between M. Béclard and myself, that gentleman was good enough to submit to the meeting in our joint names the Articles I had the honour of transmitting to your Excellency in my despatch of the 15th instant, on the express understanding that we in no degree committed our respective Governments to any ratification of the opinions they implied.

He subsequently proposed, on his own behalf, the further condition that the Lebanon in its ancient limits should form a single Pashalic, resembling in every respect the other Pashalics of the Province, with the important proviso that the Pasha appointed to it must invariably be a Christian.

In reference to this latter point, I took occasion to state that, in my own opinion, when a population was composed of Oriental Christians holding antagonistic creeds, a Turk was the best ruler that could be found; nevertheless, in compliance with the exigencies of public opinion in Europe, I was not averse to discussing such a proposal, on the understanding that the official in question should never be one of the fanatical and ignorant natives of the Mountain.

I am happy to state that our scheme, as developed in the Articles, seemed to meet with the cordial acceptation of all our colleagues. M. Novikow alone evinced some little dislike to the notion of the Lebanon being under a single Lieutenant. I trust, however, that the securities against the oppression of the Greek and Druse minority of the population by the Maronite majority, which are provided for by the general constitution of the Government of the Province, will satisfy his misgivings. I shall venture in a future despatch to examine the bearings of the proposed arrangement in this respect.

Did your Excellency consider such a precaution necessary, it would be well perhaps to stipulate expressly that the Pasha in question should not be a native.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 225.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 5, 1861.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, December* 23, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 225.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, December* 22, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the thirteenth sitting of the Syrian Commission, held on the 24th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 225.

Protocol of the Thirteenth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, November 26, 1860.

LE Lundi vingt-six Novembre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout, sous la présidence de Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à deux heures et demie.

Le procès-verbal est lu et adopté avec quelques modifications, et, sur la demande de son Excellence le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte, on convient d'annexer au prochain procès-verbal la note ci-jointe (voir l'Annexe No. 1).

Lord Dufferin donne lecture à la Commission d'une lettre de M. Rogers, Vice-Consul de Sa Majesté Britannique à Caiffa, touchant le fait signalé à la précédente séance par M. le Commissaire Prussien (voir les Annexes Nos. 2 et 3).

Fuad Pacha entretient la Commission du projet d'arrêté qu'il va prendre pour encourager le retour des Chrétiens dans la Montagne. Indépendamment de la restitution des objets pillés par les Druses et du réglement ultérieur de l'indemnité totale due aux Chrétiens, Fuad Pacha établit par ce projet, et conformément à la pensée exprimée par M. Béclard à la dernière séance, une imposition en nature à lever sur les Druses immédiatement. Chaque Druse contribuable serait contraint de fournir une certaine quantité de denrées et d'objets de première nécessité, équivalente à peu près à une somme de onze cents piastres par tête. En dehors de cette contribution, on coupe des bois de construction, appartenant aux Druses, indistinctement partout où on les trouve, et pour lesquels on donne déjà depuis quelque temps des quittances ou reçus que les propriétaires auront la faculté de présenter en déduction de leur contribution ultérieure.

M. le Commissaire Français fait observer que l'efficacité des mesures que M. le Commissaire du Sultan se propose de prendre, dépendra presque exclusivement du caractère et de l'intelligence des agents qui seront chargés de les mettre à exécution. Il émet à cet égard le vœu que les officiers commandant des détachements du corps expéditionnaire dans la Montagne soient employés par Fuad Pacha, concurremment avec les officiers de l'armée Turque.

Fuad Pacha répond à M. Béclard qu'il vient précisément de s'entendre à ce sujet avec M. le Général de Beaufort, et que des ordres signés seront remis aux officiers Français pour faciliter et régulariser leur co-opération à la mesure ci-dessus indiquée.

M. Béclard donne lecture d'une lettre de M. Outrey, Consul de France à Damas, contenant des renseignements précis sur la force contributive de cette

ville. Dans l'opinion de M. Outrey, un tiers de l'impôt extraordinaire de 35,000,000 de piastres pourrait être facilement payé immédiatement en argent, et les deux autres tiers d'ici au mois de Mars.

M. de Weckbecker expose que, dans l'opinion de M. le Consul d'Autriche à Damas, si on répartissait l'impôt en quatre termes trimestriels, non seulement on pourrait lever facilement 35,000,000 de piastres, mais même le double.

M. le Commissaire Autrichien serait disposé à appuyer toute combinaison de ce genre qui, en répartissant l'impôt sur une durée de temps plus longue, permettrait d'en élever le chiffre, et de diminuer d'autant la part que le Trésor de l'Empire doit apporter dans la ressource totale des 150,000,000 qui paraissent indispensables au paiement des indemnités. Ce que la Porte fournira ne peut qu'être puisé dans la bourse de tous les contribuables de l'Empire, y compris celle des Chrétiens. Il semblerait juste à M. de Weckbecker de diminuer la charge du Trésor Impérial, en augmentant celle des Musulmans de Damas, seuls responsables des évènements.

Lord Dufferin a reçu diverses informations relatives à la question de l'impôt de Damas. Il résulte de ces informations que Damas pourrait au maximum et à la rigueur payer 50,000,000 de piastres, en cinq mois, à raison de 10,000,000 de piastres par mois.

M. le Commissaire Prussien a reçu de Damas des renseignements relatifs à l'indemnisation des établissements religieux ; mais il n'a rien à ajouter à ceux qu'il a déjà transmis à la Commission, touchant la question de l'impôt extraordinaire.

M. le Commissaire Russe n'a pas reçu encore ses informations de Damas. Celles qu'il a recueillies à Beyrout auprès de quelques personnes compétentes concordent assez exactement avec celles de M. Outrey pour le chiffre des indemnités particulières.

Fuad Pacha renouvelle les déclarations déjà faites par lui dans la précédente séance. Son intention n'est pas de ménager les Damasquins, qui ne le méritent sous aucun rapport ; mais comme Plénipotentiaire du Sultan, chargé de l'exécution des mesures qu'il arrête, il ne doit en prendre aucune qui ne soit matériellement exécutable. Dans la question de l'impôt, il ne cherche même pas une combinaison qui rende le paiement de cet impôt facile pour les Damasquins. C'est la seule possibilité de percevoir qu'il a en vue. Les termes successifs qu'il a l'intention d'établir, sont destinés, dans sa pensée, à rendre possible une mesure de l'exécution de laquelle il est responsable devant son Souverain. Une perception en trois termes trimestriels lui paraît possible, et c'est sur cette combinaison que son esprit s'est le plus souvent arrêté.

M. Béclard, tout en réservant toujours son opinion personnelle que la perception totale et immédiate de l'impôt pourrait être effectuée si l'on voulait avoir recours à des moyens énergiques, propose l'adoption d'un moyen terme. On pourrait peut-être, dit-il, adopter le chiffre de 50,000,000, indiqué par Lord Dufferin, en lever la moitié dans trois mois, et le reste en à-comptes mensuels de 5,000,000 par mois, ce qui donnerait à la perception une durée de huit mois.

Lord Dufferin appuie l'idée d'un moyen terme ; il propose de l'appliquer non seulement à la perception, mais encore au chiffre de l'impôt. Entre 35,000,000, chiffre proposé par son Excellence, et 50,000,000, chiffre indiqué par lui, comme le maximum possible, il propose 40,000,000 à lever en sept mois, savoir, 20,000,000 dans trois mois, et 5,000,000 pendant chacun des quatre mois suivants.

Son Excellence le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman pense que les travaux préparatoires de classification et de répartition prendront environ deux mois, et qu'à l'expiration de ce délai il faudrait pouvoir disposer d'une somme d'environ 40,000,000 pour donner aux Chrétiens un premier à-compte suffisant. En supposant que Damas puisse en effet donner dans trois mois 15,000,000 ou 20,000,000 de piastres, le Gouvernement devra fournir une somme égale. Son Excellence a le projet d'écrire dans ce sens à Constantinople. Quant au chiffre total de l'impôt et à la fixation définitive de délai dans lequel il sera perçu, Fuad Pacha hésite à prendre une détermination et se borne à donner à la Commission l'assurance de son bon vouloir.

Avant que la séance ne soit levée M. le Commissaire Français appelle l'attention de M. le Commissaire Extraordinaire du Sultan sur la manière défectueuse dont s'opère à Damas la mesure du désarmement et sur les mauvais

procédés dont les autorités Turques usent à l'égard des Musulmans qui ont courageusement essayé de s'opposer au massacre des Chrétiens, tandis qu'elles prodiguent les faveurs et les marques d'estime à des hommes connus pour l'avoir encouragé. Il saisit cette occasion de rappeler que M. le Commissaire de Russie a dernièrement proposé à la Commission de se transporter à Damas, et que la Commission a remis la discussion de cette proposition à l'une de ses prochaines séances. Le moment est venu, selon M. Béclard, de prendre une résolution à cet égard, et il lui semble que la Commission, qui doit un jour ou l'autre aller à Damas, ne saurait faire ce voyage dans un moment plus opportune. Chacun des membres de la Commission doit éprouver le besoin de juger par lui-même de la situation de Damas, et nul renseignement ne vaudra pour la Commission la vue même des lieux. M. Béclard demande en conséquence que la Commission se rende à Damas.

Son Excellence le Commissaire Ottoman, en ce qui concerne la mesure du désarmement, répond qu'elle s'opère, d'après les renseignements qui lui parviennent, d'une manière aussi satisfaisante que possible ; quant aux faveurs dont seraient l'objet des hommes connus pour avoir matériellement ou moralement participé aux événements et aux mauvais procédés dont seraient au contraire victimes les hommes honorables qui ont fait des efforts pour les arrêter, Fuad Pacha sollicite de M. Béclard par l'intermédiaire de M. Outrey tous les renseignements qui seraient de nature à l'éclairer.

A l'égard du voyage de Damas, son Excellence Fuad Pacha est d'avis qu'il est inopportun et que même, à la veille du jour où il va prendre un arrêté relatif à l'imposition, la présence des Commissaires à Damas peut avoir le grand inconvénient de donner aux populations l'idée que le Gouvernement du Sultan n'agit pas de son propre mouvement, mais qu'il cède au contraire à la pression des Gouvernements étrangers. Son Excellence déclare qu'elle n'a aucun moyen de s'opposer à ce voyage, mais qu'elle ne peut ni s'y associer ni l'approuver.

M. de Weckbecker émet le vœu que Fuad Pacha prenne immédiatement l'arrêté concernant l'imposition et le public avant que la Commission aille à Damas. De cette façon l'inconvénient signalé par son Excellence serait évité et le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman n'aurait pas l'air de céder à l'impulsion de la Commission.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha fait observer que les Commissaires allant à Damas, nommément dans le but de recueillir des informations par eux-mêmes et sur les lieux relativement aux questions d'indemnité et de réparation des dommages éprouvés par les Chrétiens, il résulterait nécessairement de ce voyage un ajournement indéfini du réglement de la question d'impôt et d'indemnité.

M. Novikow en appuyant énergiquement la proposition de M. le Commissaire Français objecte que la Commission se rendant à Damas ne mettra pas beaucoup plus de temps pour y recueillir par elle-même les informations dont elle a besoin ; que ces informations n'en mettront pour venir de Damas à Beyrout par écrit ; et que le retard, s'il a lieu, sera tout au plus de quelques jours.

M. de Rehfues appuie la proposition de M. Béclard, et déclare que les renseignements qui lui parviennent sur la situation intérieure de Damas, sur l'inaction et l'impuissance des autorités, sur le mauvais esprit de la population Musulmane, rendent à ses yeux le voyage de la Commission à Damas aussi urgent que nécessaire.

Lord Dufferin a toujours été d'avis que les Commissaires devaient aller à Damas. Il rappelle la promesse qu'il a déjà faite précédemment d'appuyer la proposition de ce voyage dès qu'elle aurait rallié la majorité.

La proposition étant adoptée, MM. les Commissaires des cinq Puissances, sans fixer d'avance la durée de leur séjour à Damas, décident de s'y transporter.

La séance est levée à sept heures et demie.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Annexe 1.

La question de l'impôt extraordinaire que la ville de Damas doit payer, pour contribuer à indemniser les Chrétiens, étant mise à l'ordre du jour, la Commission examine les différents projets qui lui ont été soumis sur le mode de perception

de cette imposition. La Commission ayant seulement mission de s'occuper de la question générale de la répression et de l'indemnité elle ne doit examiner la question de l'impôt extraordinaire que sous ce double point de vue, c'est-à-dire, comme un complément de la répression et comme un moyen d'indemniser les Chrétiens. Quant à son assiette et à son mode de perception c'est à l'autorité d'en fixer le meilleur moyen, et d'ailleurs un projet qui a été élaboré par Fuad Pacha et montré à la Commission offrait des avantages d'une répartition juste et équitable.

Fuad Pacha fait observer seulement que quel que soit le mode de la perception le recouvrement immédiat qui serait fixé à 35,000,000 de piastres lui paraît impossible. D'après les informations qu'il a prises auprès des Chrétiens notables de Damas même, cette ville dans la situation où elle se trouve aujourd'hui n'est par en état de payer immédiatement une si forte somme. Le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan pourra employer toutes les rigueurs, mais des mesures de contrainte n'auront aucun effet devant une impossibilité matérielle. La confiscation des biens de ceux qui ne seront pas dans le cas de payer immédiatement leur contribution ne fera pas entrer dans les mains de l'autorité l'argent qui est nécessaire pour servir l'indemnité aux Chrétiens; ce moyen même retardera indubitablement la rentrée de la somme qu'on veut avoir immédiatement.

Annexe 2.

Lord Dufferin to Vice-Consul Rogers.

(Traduction.)

Monsieur, *Beyrout, le 24 Novembre,* 1860.

Un bruit m'étant arrivé qu'une caravane de chameaux chargés de munitions provenant du dépôt du Gouvernement à Saint Jean d'Acre aurait été vue allant dans la direction du Hauran accompagnée par des Druses, je vous prie de me faire savoir si une telle circonstance est parvenue à votre connaissance.

Je vous fais cette demande parcequ'on m'a dit que ce fait vous a été certifié par le Drogman de deux voyageurs Anglais.

(Signé) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Annexe 3.

Vice-Consul Rogers to Lord Dufferin.

(Traduction.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, le 24 Novembre,* 1860.

J'AI l'honneur d'accuser réception de la lettre de votre Seigneurie en date d'aujourd'hui, et, en réponse, de vous informer que peu de temps avant mon départ de Caïffa, deux voyageurs Anglais y arrivèrent, et que je fus informé par eux ainsi que par leur Drogman Gabrielff Schembri, Maltais, demeurant à Jérusalem, que le 1 de ce mois, dans le voisinage de Medjdel-kroum, ils avaient rencontré une caravane de chameaux chargés, allant vers l'orient; que le susdit drogman avait demandé au Moukre (qui était Druse par hasard) ce qu'il portait, mais il reçut une réponse peu satisfaisante, et puis il fit la même question à un soldat Turc (mais je ne me rappelle plus s'il était de la troupe régulière ou de la troupe irrégulière) qui leur dit que les chameaux étaient chargés de munition de guerre. Le drogman conçut des soupçons à la suite de ces circonstances.

Aussitôt que j'en trouvai l'occasion je fis une enquête à Caïffa auprès de ceux qui avaient été dernièrement à St. Jean d'Acre, et l'on m'assura que la susdite munition avait été envoyée à Damas. Là dessus je fus convaincu que le fait ne méritait plus d'investigation.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) E. T. ROGERS.

Inclosure 3 in No. 225.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, December* 23, 1860.

HIS Excellency Fuad Pasha having announced to us that he has sequestrated the estates of the principal Druse Chiefs who have either fled to the Hauran or are now in prison, I would venture to submit to your Excellency's consideration whether it is not somewhat unjust that the children and relatives of these unfortunate persons should be thus involved in their ruin, and left destitute of all support.

It is true, in cases of high treason, the forfeiture of his estates is considered the natural complement of the attainder and condemnation of the criminal; but when we take account of the peculiar relations which seem to have existed between the Druse Emirs and the Representatives of the Turkish Government at the commencement of the outbreak, it cannot be considered that their misdeeds ought to be denominated high treason.

Moreover, I understand that his Excellency is taking possession of the property of women and of others against whom no other crime can be alleged than that they are Druses.

It would be a great misfortune for the Turkish Government were the Druse nation to be deprived of its upper class by the confiscation of their landed estates, and although I consider it advisable that the feudal system should be abolished, the maintenance of a Druse aristocracy is very desirable.

Should these views meet with your Excellency's approbation, perhaps you would arrange that his Excellency Fuad Pasha should receive instructions from Constantinople in accordance with them. I have already endeavoured to press them upon his attention; but it is difficult for me to ascertain whether he is acting in accordance with the recommendations I have ventured to make.

No. 226.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 5, 1861.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, December* 23, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that yesterday I took advantage of a meeting of the Commission to communicate to my colleagues and to his Excellency Fuad Pasha the substance of the despatch I had the honour of addressing to your Lordship relative to the forced contribution it has been proposed should be levied indiscriminately on the Druse nation.

The Conference after a long debate terminated in an agreement that the obnoxious edict should be cancelled; that the Government should itself supply the destitute with grain, which the late arrival of some corn from Egypt would enable it to do; that no money payment should be demanded from the Druse villages; but that they should be required to dispense to their Christian neighbours as much bedding and kitchen furniture as they themselves could conveniently spare.

The corn above alluded to is, I believe, a supply which some two months ago I ventured to ask his Excellency Said Pasha to bestow in charity on the Christians of Syria.

No. 227.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 5.)

(Extract.) *Paris, January* 4, 1861.

I STATED to M. Thouvenel this afternoon that I was glad to learn from your Lordship that M. de Flahault had been authorized to express to Her

Majesty's Government the readiness of the Emperor to withdraw his troops from Syria at the time stipulated, though he called to the remembrance of Her Majesty's Government that if they urged the evacuation, they would become responsible were the massacres against the Christians to be renewed.

M. Thouvenel admitted that M. de Flahault had been authorized to make this declaration, but he added that he had received advices from Syria since, which showed that the Great Powers were not unanimous in their opinions upon this subject.

At a meeting of the Commissioners, the question of the departure of the French troops had been mooted, when the Russian and Prussian Commissioners had urged the necessity of prolonging their stay. The Austrian Commissioner had expressed the opinion that they ought not to go before a stable Government should have been established in the Lebanon; and, in fact, Lord Dufferin had been the only Commissioner who had recommended their early departure.

M. Thouvenel continued, that he was still of opinion that it would be impossible to recall the troops before some sort of authority should have been restored. However, that was a question for Europe to decide, and when the proper moment should come, he would be prepared to act by the wishes of the Great Powers. In the mean time, every effort should be made to hasten the accomplishment of the labours of the Commission. He did not suppose that a few weeks more or less in the departure of the troops would signify, or that a prolongation of their stay for that period would require the signature of another Convention.

I replied, that I could not agree in this opinion. The Convention of the 5th September last declared at what period the occupation was to cease, and that occupation could not be prolonged for a day, without the consent of the Porte.

In the course of this conversation, M. Thouvenel constantly asserted that the Emperor was most anxious to bring his troops home. He expressed, further, the hope that a naval force would, under any circumstances, be left upon the coast for some time.

No. 228.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, January* 9, 1861.

I AM sorry to find from your Excellency's despatch of the 4th instant, that the French Government have gone back from the assurances they gave me through Count Flahault.

I have now received from Lord Dufferin a despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer in which he gives an account of that meeting of the Commissioners to which M. Thouvenel alludes.

Your Excellency will see from the copy of that despatch which I sent you that the Austrian Commissioner, speaking on the 17th of December, said that he saw no reason to think that the presence of a foreign force would be necessary two months from that time. You will see that Lord Dufferin expressed his opinion that the foreign force had become an embarrassment to the Sultan's Government; that it was discharging police duties which were no part of its mission; and that it might be sent away at once without risk.

The French and Russian Commissioners were in favour of the prolonged stay of the Foreign troops; the Prussian Commissioner was not prepared to say that it would be safe to remove the troops, but Lord Dufferin seemed to expect that his opinion would change on further consideration.

The Turkish Ambassador has frequently represented to me that his Government considers the presence of foreign troops an obstacle to the pacification of Syria.

Aali Pasha represents the Maronites and Druses as two factions, divided not by religious or moral faith, but by political rivalry. He paints the Maronites as eager to inflict wrong and suffering upon the Druses, even upon those altogether innocent of the massacre. He declares that the presence of the French

troops encourages the insolence and the violence of the Maronites, and thus keeps up the feeling of hostility and rancour between them and the Druses.

Lord Dufferin's representations differ but little from those of Aali Pasha. I send your Excellency a copy of a despatch from Lord Dufferin to me,* in which he gives his opinions, and relates that the Christian communities had asked, through their bishops, for 4,500 of the heads of their enemies. This is the manner in which these Christian bishops in the East preach "peace on earth and goodwill towards men."

The Turkish Government, therefore, unrepresented at the meeting of the 18th of December, earnestly desire the removal of the foreign force, as serving only to keep alive the bloodthirsty desire of revenge entertained by the Maronites and other Christian sects.

But here an important reflection arises, to which I beg your Excellency, in your conversations with M. Thouvenel, to give due weight. The French Government proposed, in July last, that European troops should be sent to Syria. Her Majesty's Government consented on two conditions: first, that the foreign troops should act in concert with the Turkish Commissioner, Fuad Pasha; and secondly, that the stay of the foreign troops should not be prolonged beyond six months. It was on the strength of these two conditions that Her Majesty's Government urged upon the Porte the acceptance of foreign aid to tranquillize Syria; it was on the faith of these conditions that the Porte gave her reluctant assent.

I have only further to say that all the Commissioners, except the Russian, appear to be agreed upon the general heads of an arrangement for the future government of Syria. There seems every reason to hope that before the end of this month the British, French, Austrian, Prussian, and Turkish Commissioners will have formally agreed to the Articles proposed by Lord Dufferin and M. Béclard.

There will then remain no reason whatever for extending the period for which the Convention of the 5th of September authorizes the stay of foreign troops in Syria.

You will read this to M. Thouvenel.

No. 229.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 11, 1861.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, December* 30, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 229.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, December* 30, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the fourteenth sitting of the Syrian Commission.

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* No. 223.

Inclosure 2 in No. 229.

Protocol of the Fourteenth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, December 15, 1860.

LE quinze Décembre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à deux heures et demie.

Le procès-verbal est lu et adopté après quelques modifications.

Son Excellence M. le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman après avoir déposé le tableau d'une partie des condamnations qu'il a déjà prononcées depuis son arrivée in Syrie, croit devoir appeler de nouveau l'attention de la Commission sur l'impôt en nature à prélever sur les Druses. L'arrêté pris au sujet de cet impôt rencontre des difficultés d'exécution imprévues. Il a été constaté qu'un grand nombre de contribuables ne possédaient pas les objets que, aux termes de l'arrêté, ils devaient être contraints de livrer dans un délai de cinq jours qui va expirer. Les biens des Druses les plus riches sont déjà mis sous le séquestre depuis longtemps. L'imposition devra donc peser presque exclusivement sur les fellahs, c'est-à-dire, sur les villageois qui, pour la plupart, sont loin de pouvoir payer la somme de 1,100 piastres, équivalent en argent d'imposition en nature des objets et denrées qu'ils ne possèdent pas.

Lord Dufferin est d'avis que l'arrêté pris par Fuad Pacha a en effet besoin d'être revisé. M. le Commissaire Britannique se livre à divers calculs et communique à la Commission divers renseignements qui la déterminent à remettre à Samedi prochain l'examen définitif de la question.

M. le Commissaire Français, servant d'interprète à ses collègues d'Autriche, de Grande Bretagne, de Prusse, et de Russie, fait connaitre à M. le Commissaire du Sultan l'impression qu'ils ont tous rapportées de leur séjour à Damas. Ils sont tous unanimement d'avis que, sans rigueur excessive, la ville de Damas peut être contrainte à payer, en cinq mois, à partir du premier quartier prochain, une somme de 40,000,000 de piastres, et les villages environnants une somme de 24,000,000 de piastres en cinq mois, à partir de la même époque. En outre et comme complément indispensable de cette mesure de répression et de réparation pécuniaire, il leur a paru que son Excellence M. le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman devrait essayer de réagir contre les tendances déplorables de la population Musulmane, tendances qu'ils ont été à même de constater, en sévissant contre les coupables qui n'ont encore subi ni châtiment ni disgrâce, et en donnant d'autre part des marques éclatantes et publiques de la satisfaction du Sultan à ceux d'entre les Musulmans, malheureusement trop rares, qui se sont honorablement conduits pendant les événements.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha adhère au chiffre de 40,000,000 de piastres pour Damas et de 24,000,000 pour la banlieue ; mais il renouvelle les réserves qu'il a déjà faites dans les précédentes séances sur la possibilité matérielle de lever pareille somme dans les délais ci-dessus indiqués. Quant aux témoignages de satisfaction que les Commissaires réclament en principe et qui consisteraient, soit en récompenses honorifiques, soit en exemption d'impôt, il se déclare prêt à l'accorder. Il est également disposé à sévir contre les personnes qui seraient convaincues d'avoir participé aux crimes qui ont déjà motivé de sa part de si hautes et de si rigoureuses condamnations.

Sur la question de l'impôt M. de Rehfues fait observer qu'il dépend de la Sublime Porte de rendre sa perception possible dans un bref délai en payant, sur les fonds provenant de l'emprunt qu'elle vient de contracter, tout ou partie de la somme de 20,000,000 à 30,000,000 de piastres qu'elle doit à Damas.

M. de Weckbecker, d'accord sur ce point avec ses collégues, émet l'avis que les soldats qui faisaient partie de la garnison de Damas lors des évenements, devraient en être tous éloignés indistinctement.

M. Béclard appuie énergiquement le vœu exprimé par M. le Commissaire d'Autriche. Il rappelle en outre que la garnison de Damas étant alors d'au moins 800 soldats, sans compter 2,500 hommes environ dont se composaient les troupes irrégulières et le personnel de la police, on peut à bon droit s'étonner que dans le grand nombre de chefs que comporte un tel effectif, le Commissaire Ottoman n'ait cru devoir en frapper qu'un seul. Tous les officiers sans exception, selon M. Béclard, devraient être mis en accusation. On a objecté,

en leur faveur, l'absence d'ordres et l'insuffisance des troupes. Mais il y a des circonstances critiques où un officier doit suppléer par sa propre initiative aux ordres qu'il n'a pas reçus et lors même qu'il se croirait en présence d'une force supérieure se faire tuer à la tête de ses soldats. C'est sur ce principe que repose l'honneur des armées, et malheureusement on ne peut citer un seul officier de la garnison de Damas qui, dans ces tristes journées, ait su accomplir son devoir.

M. de Rehfues rappelle à son tour que, peu de temps avant les évènements, le quartier Chrétien qui était occupé par des détachements de la garnison a été tout-à-coup évacué, et que la veille même du massacre, les officiers ont envoyé chercher, dans les maisons où ils avaient logé, les effets qu'ils y avaient laissés. Il ajoute que plusieurs d'entre eux ne craignent pas de se vanter hautement, aujourd'hui, d'avoir prêté le main au soulèvement.

Fuad Pacha déclare n'avoir pas eu connaissance des faits qui viennent d'être rapportés. Il n'a pas cru devoir punir des officiers que leur Commandant-en-chef, avant sa condamnation, a lui même dégagés de toute responsabilité. MM. les Commissaires trouveront cette déposition dans les dossiers qui leur seront prochainement remis.

Avant la fin de la séance, M. le Commissaire Russe, d'accord avec ses collègues, propose que, en ce qui concerne les établissements religieux indigènes, son Excellence Fuad Pacha veuille bien provoquer, de la part des chefs mêmes des communautés, des renseignements exacts sur les pertes subies par ces établissements. Ces données seraient communiquées à la Commission, comparées avec le résultat des informations recueillies par les Commissaires, et finalement consacrées par la Commission de la même manière que le chiffre des indemnités privées. Il est décidé, en conséquence de cette proposition, que le chiffre de l'indemnité à accorder aux établissements religieux indigènes de Damas sera fixé après une enquête particulière, et restera provisoirement en dehors de l'indemnité général attribuée en principe aux Chrétiens, et dans le chiffre total de laquelle l'indemnité particulière aux établissements religieux sera ultérieurement comprise.

La séance est levée à cinq heures.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 3 in No. 229.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, December* 30, 1860.

I HAVE the honour of transmitting to your Excellency translated copies of the judgments and sentences which have been submitted for approval to his Excellency Fuad Pasha by the Extraordinary Tribunal of Beyrout appointed to try the Turkish officials and Druse Chiefs whose misconduct is supposed to have caused or aggravated the late unhappy disturbances in the Mountain.

In accordance with an understanding which had been previously come to between his Excellency Fuad Pasha and the European Commission, the above-mentioned judgments are of no force or authority until they shall have been examined, approved of, or revised, by his Excellency and the Commission.

In examining the sentences recommended by the Court, it is to be observed that all the Druse prisoners are condemned to death, and all the Turkish officials to imprisonment. A result so contrary to public expectation and the *primâ facie* requirements of justice cannot be acquiesced in without a strict inquiry into the circumstances which have led to it.

The Commission has accordingly intimated to his Excellency Fuad Pasha that, inasmuch as somebody must have been responsible for what occurred in the Mountain, and that, as the chief weight of such responsibility must rest, until the contrary can be proved, upon the Turkish magistrates and officers charged with the maintenance of order, it is necessary we should be made acquainted with the considerations which have authorized so strange an apportionment of punishment.

To these representations the Turkish Commissioner has responded by placing at our disposal the minutes of evidence taken at the trial of Khoorshid Pasha, Tahir Pasha, and the rest.

As soon as we shall have examined these documents, the Commission will be in a position to pronounce authoritatively on the circumstances which are supposed to mitigate the degree of each Turkish prisoner's culpability.

The same considerations which forbid us to acquiesce in the judgments passed on the Turkish officials render it necessary to examine with great care the grounds upon which are based the sentences passed on the Druse Chiefs. Happily, the fact of our Delegates having been present at the trial of these last, renders this part of the investigation a little less unsatisfactory than it might otherwise have been. A fortnight must probably elapse before we can conclude the most painful and anxious investigation upon which we are about to enter.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 229.

Judgments passed by the Extraordinary Tribunal at Beyrout on the Chief People inculpated in the late Disturbances in the Mountain.

(No. 1.)—*Sentence on Khurshid Pasha.*

(Translation.)

IN submitting to your Excellency the inclosed Minutes of the full and minute evidence adduced at the trial of Khoorshid Pasha, late Governor-General of Sidon, before the Beyrout Extraordinary Commission, in connection with the late events of Mount Lebanon, we beg to state as follows:—

The accusations against Khoorshid Pasha are: that on the occurrence of the individual assassinations between the Maronites and the Druses, 400 or 500 of the Christians of the Kesrouan assembled in a body at the beginning of the month Zil-kaadeh, and marched to a place called Ant Elîas, with the intention of attacking the Druses; that Khoorshid Pasha, on being apprized of this, instead of taking measures to disperse the assembly, and thereby check the disorders at their first appearance, only dispatched the Military Commander, Tahir Pasha, with a detachment of troops, to a place called Hazmîeh, and followed them himself on the succeeding day; that, on the evening of that day, the village of Beit-Miri and the surrounding hamlets were burned by the Druses; that on the third day, Hadeth and Bâabda, and the adjacent villages, were plundered and burned, and the Christians remaining in them killed; that these events Khoorshid Pasha witnessed and knew of as they occurred, but did not move against the Druses, and dispersing their forces, and seizing their leaders, detain and punish them, but left them at liberty to act as they pleased; that in like manner, at no other place where disturbances occurred, all over the Mountain, were the troops to be found on the spot employed against the Druses, agreeably with the mazbatta of the Grand Medjlis of Beyrout, authorizing that course; that, moreover, evidences of coming commotions were strikingly apparent on every side: and whereas it was the first of duties to take adequate measures for the protection of the different places, and especially of Deir-el-Kamar, Khoorshid Pasha neglected that duty.

In his defence, Khoorshid Pasha pleads that he had sent an agent to disperse the Christians of the Kesrouan, and dispatched troops to the spot, Hazmieh, which divides the territory of the respective belligerents, by which means he prevented the Christians from outstepping the boundary, and protected their side against invasion; that owing to the paucity of the troops at his disposal on the one hand, and the large numerical strength of the Druses on the other, he could not, without exposing Beyrout and all the other places to risings and disorders which might have resulted in a universal catastrophe, both march against the Druses, whose bands were carrying fire and sword to all points of the Mountain, and look to the safety of Beyrout and the other places at the same time.

This justification of Khoorshid Pasha has not been deemed sufficient to clear him from his shortcomings in not suppressing the disorders, whether at their first appearance or after their outbreak; but it has not appeared that he did anything to cause them, and he is found to have endeavoured, though imperfectly, to do his duty.

Under these circumstances, we are of opinion that sentence of death cannot

be legally passed upon Khoorshid Pasha, and that his punishment should be one degree less than capital.

We therefore, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, condemn him to perpetual imprisonment in a fortress, which is equivalent to the punishment of the galleys for life inflicted by the Penal Code.

(Follow the signatures of the President and members of the Extraordinary Commission.)

(No. 2.)—*Sentence on Tahir Pasha.*

In submitting to your Excellency the inclosed Minutes of the trial of Tahir Pasha, late Military Commandant at Beyrout, we beg to state as follows :—

The accusations against Tahir Pasha are, that at the commencement of the civil war he had been furnished with a mazbatta of the Grand Medjlis at Beyrout, authorising him to attack whichever of the belligerent parties, whether Druse or Maronite, disobeyed the orders of the Governement, and was despatched with a detachment of troops to Hazmîeh. That, immediately after his arrival there, the Christians of Kesrouan, with flags flying and other symbols of war, passed by the outskirts of his camp to the villages of Bâabda and Hadeth ; that on perceiving this, it was his bounden duty to disperse and turn back that assemblage, and, in case of resistance, to proceed in virtue of the mazbatta which he held, to oppose them by force of arms ; that in like manner it was his duty to have acted similarly against the Druses on their attacking those villages, but that he failed to discharge that duty ; that when he was despatched by Khoorshid Pasha, late Vali, to Deir-el-Kamar for that protection and safety of the town, he effected a sort of reconciliation between the Christians and Druses, and then, representing to the Vali that perfect security had been established at Deir-el-Kamar, requested leave to return, and he departed ; that, after his return, the Foreign Consular authorities having represented officially that the place was about to be again attacked he gave them full assurances to the contrary ; that two days afterwards the town was assaulted, and atrocities, such as the burning of houses, plunder of property, and slaying of persons were committed ; that thus Tahir Pasha neither dispersed the Christian assemblage above referred to, nor took adequate measures for the permanent security of Deir-el-Kamar, but trusted to the false assurances of the Druses and returned to the camp.

In his defence Tahir Pasha pleads that it is true that as soon as the Goverument perceived that disorders were about to arise he was furnished with a force—the mazbatta in question—of about 600 Regulars, namely, 300 Riflemen and 300 Infantry, and despatched to Hasmîeh ; that on the day of his arrival there about 200 Maronites being seen to pass by the camp, he at once sent troops to stop them, and on their being asked where they were going to, some people of the Emîr Beshîr Ahmed, the Christian Kaimakam, who accompanied them, pretended that these people belonged to those parts, and were going to their houses ; and, moreover, as they were Christians, and the Christian villages of Hadeth and Bâabda were close at hand, he, Tahir Pasha, did not disperse them or cause them to turn back ; that, with regard to his expedition to Deir-el-Kamar, he had, on his arrival there summoned separately the Christian notables and the Druse Mokâtajis, namely, Said Bek Jumblat, and the representatives of Kâsim Abu Neked, of Ali Hamâdi, and of Beshîr Abu Neked, and called upon and admonished to lay aside their differences and animosities ; that thereupon they were reconciled, and embraced each other in token thereof, and all enmity between them was apparently removed ; the Druses engaged not to do anything to Deir-el-Kamar, and both promised not to injure each other. He took a written bond to that effect from the Christians, and, although he also demanded a bond from Said Bek and the other representatives, these said they would not give one in consequence of the other Mokâtajis not being present, but took an oath to the above effect ; that he, Tahir Pasha, thereupon believed in the engagements thus given on both sides, and, considering that perfect security had been established at Deir-el-Kamar, he obtained Khoorshid Pasha's permission to return to the camp, and quitted Deir-el-Kamar, and upon the strength of the engagements aforesaid he gave assurances to the foreign Consuls that nothing should happen to the town ; that he had received orders from the Commander-in-chief at Damascus to act in concert with Khoorshid Pasha in all matters that

related to the Mountain; that he did not act against the Druses on their attacking the villages of Bâabda and Hadeth in the vicinity of the camp, as much on account of the small number of troops at his disposal, as from the absence of orders from Khoorshid Pasha to do so.

Although Tahir Pasha is charged with having allowed the assemblage of the Christians of Kesrouan, which was the first insurrectionary movement in the recent disturbances, to pass by his camp without inquiring into its nature and object; with not having protected Hadeth and Bâabda, and other places bordering on his camp; with not moving from the camp during the subsequent disorders; with trusting to the promises of a few Druse Chiefs, and quitting Deir-el-Kamar to return to the camp; yet, his being in a subordinate position under the orders of a superior, his not having been present in person at the massacre of Deir-el-Kamar, and his having given express orders to the Military Commandant there to defend the place, are extenuating circumstances.

We are therefore of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that the punishment of death cannot be legally awarded to Tahir Pasha, and that such a penalty should be waived, and the one next after it, namely, perpetual imprisonment in a fortress, be inflicted.

(Follow the signatures of the President, and the other members of the Extraordinary Commission.)

(No. 3.)—*Sentence on Suliman Nûri Bek (Colonel).*

The Minutes of the full and minute evidence adduced at the trial of Colonel Nûri Bek, at the Beyrout Extraordinary Commission, for his conduct in connection with the late events of the Mountain, have been submitted to your Excellency.

The accusations against Nûri Bek are that, on the Government being apprized that Zahleh, a town of several thousand houses, was about to be, like other towns, attacked and pillaged by the Druses, Nûri Bek was furnished with a buyuruldi, a force of 400 Regulars and a field-piece, and dispatched to Zahleh with orders that, in the event of the Druses making any attack on the town, he was first to admonish and advise them to desist, and in case of their not listening to him to repel them by force of arms and protect the place. But eighteen or twenty hours after the arrival of Nûri Bek, at a place distant two hours and a-half from Zahleh, called Mekseh, the town of Zahleh was attacked and pillaged, and a considerable number of its inhabitants killed by the Druses, assembled in the Bekâa at Kubb Elîas and other places from the Haurân and Mount Lebanon. That, whilst it was the bounden duty of the said Nûri Bek to march against the Druses, whether before or during the attack, and to carry out the instructions of the buyuruldi of which he was the bearer, he neglected that duty.

In his defence he pleaded that, on the day of his arrival at Mekseh about two hours before sunset, he summoned from fifty to sixty of the Druse Chiefs and minor Sheikhs, read to them the buyuruldi he held, and gave them the necessary advice. They all replied, "We have heard, and we obey;" and engaged, unless the Christians of Zahleh attacked them, they, on their part, would not attack the people of Zahleh; and withdrew. That on the morning of the following day he commissioned the regimental Secretary, Ali Efendi, to proceed on his part to Zahleh, in order to inform the inhabitants that he, Nûri Bek, had arrived with troops to protect them and the town. But the Zahleh outposts, stationed about Maalaka, refused to allow the said Secretary to pass them, treated him with contumely, and drove him away; whereupon he turned back. Hardly had he reached head-quarters before the people of Zahleh and the Druses commenced fighting. Nûri Bek's intention then was to march to the scene of action with his troops in order to disperse the combatants and fall upon the Druses, but owing to the numerical strength of the Druses, and to the smallness of the force at his disposal, and to the fact that both Christians and Druses were now intermingled, he did not consider himself able to carry his intention into execution, and, therefore, could not carry out his orders to their full extent.

Although Nûri Bek having trusted to the words of the insurgent Druses lays him under accusation, yet the rejection and contumelious treatment he received at the hands of the people of Zahleh, when he apprised them that he was charged to protect them, and the fact that Zahleh could not be entered, the

battle having commenced, are extenuating circumstances. We are, therefore, of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that the punishment of death cannot legally be awarded to Nûri Bek, and that it might be proper to condemn him to the punishment next after that of death, namely, perpetual confinement in a fortress.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Extraordinary Commission.)

(No. 4.)—*Sentence on Wasfi Efendi and Ahmed Efendi.*

The Minutes of the interrogatory and trial of Wasfi Efendi, Kahia to Khoorshid Pasha, Vali of Saida, and of Ahmed Efendi, Comptroller of property at Beyrout, and Agent for the Druses and Christians near the Local Government, in connection with the recent events of the Mountain, have been submitted to your Excellency.

These persons are accused on all sides of having concerted and combined together, and committed various reprehensible acts, and of having contributed by the moral support they afforded to the Druses, in bringing about the recent outbreak in the Mountain.

In their defence, they showed that their mutual accord and understanding were of a private character, and that they did not interfere in any affair that was not within their official attributions, or meddle in the least in matters properly belonging to the Government, and denied the truth of all that was reported of them.

Although no personal and specific charge is brought against the persons, yet all the people of the country, and the foreign authorities declare that their mutual accord and agreement was not of an ordinary description, but had reference to the affairs of the country ; that they intermeddled in the action and measures of the administration, and occupied themselves reprehensibly in matters which were not within their legitimate cognizance.

Although no personal delinquency has been proved against the individuals which is provided for by the law, yet the general accusations and indications against them, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that it might be proper to inflict upon them a penalty next to that of death, and perpetual imprisonment in a fortress, namely, the punishment of temporary confinement in a fortress, with perpetual deprivation of their rank and offices.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 5.)—*Sentence on Said Bek Jumblâd.*

The Minutes of the trial of Said Bek Jumblâd, before the Beyrout Extraordinary Commission, in connection with the recent events of the Mountain, have been submitted to your Excellency.

It has been proved that Said Bek Jumblâd, who is the Mokâtaji of the district of Shûf Jezzîn, and the other Mokatas, and who, as the supreme head of all the Druse Chiefs and Mokâtajis, and the most influential and respected amongst them, wrote at the commencement of the movement a re-assuring letter to the Christians of the Mokatâ of Jezzin, engaging that they would not be in any way injured; yet that this place was subsequently attacked by the Druses, pillaged and burned, and a considerable number of its inhabitants killed.

That after having given to Tahir Pasha his word and assurances that no injury whatever would be done to Deir-el-Kamar on the part of the Druses, that town was nevertheless attacked, and all sorts of atrocities committed in it. That Ismaîl-el-Atrash, with other Chiefs of Haurân Druses, first addressed Said Bek a letter in the form of a mazbatta, informing him of their having come to attack Zahleh, and requesting his sanction, and to be made acquainted with his pleasure on the subject, after which they marched upon Zahleh, which they plundered and burned, killing many of its people. That after this, Ismaîl-el-Atrash, with a number of Druses, came straight to the residence of Said Bek

at Mokhtârah, who, after receiving them with distinction, invested Ismaîl-el-Atrash and his companions with robes of honour, and made them presents. That, under cover of bringing away his sister from Hasbeya, he deputed Ali Hamâdi, with a large number of Druses and attendants of his, to that place. That, on the arrival of Ali Hamâdi and his followers there, they brought to pass the well-known occurrences of Hasbeya. Moreover, it has appeared from the written and verbal depositions of numbers of military officers and Christians, that Said Bek testified his satisfaction with Suliman Zein-ed-Dîn, who had brought the head of the Emir Sa'ad-ed-Din, Shehab of Hasbeya, and as a reward appointed him "Su bashi" (land agent) in his service. That he did not pay any attention to the messages sent to him by Colonel Abd-es-Salam Bek, by one of his officers to the effect that the Druses, were about to attack Deir-el-Kamar, and calling upon him to come and quell the commotion. That, in a word, he took a principal share in all the events of the Mountain, whether great or small, and was the moral organizer and author of the insurrectionary combination.

Such being the state of the case, and considering that Said Bek Jumblâd planned and organized the insurgent bands, who rose and revolted against the subjects of His Imperial Majesty, whilst holding the office of a Mokataji and a functionary of the Government; we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that pursuant to Articles 55, 56, and 57 of the Penal Code, he be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 6.)—*Sentence on Sheikh Hosein Talhûk.*

The Minutes of the trial of the Mokâtaji Hosein Talhûk, in connection with the late events of the Mountain, have been laid before your Excellency.

The said Hosein Talhûk is amongst those Mokatajis who are second in point of influence and consideration, and he is the oldest of them. It has appeared from his own admission, and from the depositions of Khoorshid Pasha, and of Christians and Druses whose names are recorded, that he was, with arms in his hands, amongst the insurgents who were at the attack of Hadeth and Ba'abda; whilst it was his duty, as a Mokâtaji, to protect the Christians of his district, and to prevent the Druses from committing disorders they did out of it. He, on the contrary, headed the insurgent bands who rose and revolted against the subjects of His Imperial Majesty.

We are, therefore, of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that, pursuant to Articles 55, 56, and 57, he should be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Extraordinary Commission.)

(No. 7.)—*Sentence on Asaad Talhûk.*

The Minutes of the interrogatory and trial of the Mokâtaji Asaad Talhûk, in connection with the recent events of the Mountain, has been submitted to your Excellency.

The said Asaad Talhûk belongs to the second class of Mokâtajis in point of influence and consideration.

It has appeared from his own admission, and the statements of the Druse Chiefs and individuals examined, that he and his attendants were with the insurgent bands at the attack on the villages of Hadeth and Baabda.

Such being the case, and considering that he, the said Asaad Talhûk, headed the insurgents that rose and revolted against the subjects of His Imperial Majesty, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that, pursuant to Articles 55, 56, and 57 of the Penal Code, he should be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 8.)—*Sentence on Kâsim Bek Neked.*

We have submitted to your Excellency the proceedings and the evidence adduced on the trial of Kâsim Bek Abu Neked, one of the Mokâtajis, in connection with the late events in the Lebanon.

It has appeared, from his own admission, and from the depositions of the Druse Sheikhs and individuals examined, that the said Kâsim Bek Abu Neked, who belongs to the second class of Mokâtajis in influence and social position, has been amongst the insurgents at the events which occurred at Deir-el-Kamar. Accordingly the said Kâsim Bek Abu Neked having been found to have been a leader of the insurgent bands who rose and revolted against the subjects of the Porte, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that, pursuant to Articles 55 and 56 of the Penal Code, he should be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 9.)—*Sentence on Asaad Amâd.*

We have submitted to your Excellency the proceedings and the evidence adduced at the trial of Asaad Amâd, one of the Mokâtajis of Arkûb.

It has appeared from his own admission that the said Asaad Amâd, on the occasion of the events of Zahleh, marched against that town with his people and partizans; and it has also appeared from the depositions of the Druse Sheikhs and individuals examined, that he was amongst the insurgent bands.

Such being the case, Asaad Amâd has been found to have been, notwithstanding his quality of Mokâtaji, a leader of the insurgent bands who rose and revolted against the subjects of the Porte; and we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that, pursuant to Articles 55, 56, and 57 of the Penal Code, he should be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other Members of the Commission.)

(No. 10.)—*Sentence on Mîr Mohammad Kasim Raslân.*

We have submitted to your Excellency the proceedings and the evidence adduced at the trial of Mîr Mohammad Kasim Raslân, one of the relations of the Druse Kaimakam.

It has appeared from his own admission that the said Mîr Mohammad was present at the attack on the villages of Baabda and Hadeth, and from the depositions of several Christians, whose names are recorded, that he was one of the leaders of the insurgent bands.

Accordingly, the said Mîr Mohammad, having been a leader of the insurgents who rose and revolted against the subjects of the Porte, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that pursuant to Articles 55, 56, and 57 of the Penal Code, he should be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 11.)—*Sentence on Selîm Jumblâd.*

We have submitted to your Excellency the proceedings and the evidence adduced at the trial of Selim Jumblâd, a Druse Chief, in connection with late events in the Lebanon.

It appears from a general mazbatta, forwarded by the Mudir of that district in reply to the inquiries addressed to him, that the said Selim Jumblâd was a leader and organizer of the Druse insurgent bands during the disturbances of Jezzin, and that he committed various unlawful and base actions, such as plundering and violation.

Although the said Selim Jumblâd denies having committed these crimes, yet his guilt has been established both by the contents of the aforesaid mazbatta,

and by the statements and declarations of the Christian inhabitants of Jezzin examined.

Accordingly, the said Selim Jumblâd, having been found a leader of the insurgents who rose and revolted against the subjects of the Porte, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that, pursuant to Articles 55, 56, and 57 of the Penal Code, the punishment of death should be inflicted on him.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 12.)—*Sentence on Jemal-ed-Dîn Hamdân.*

We have submitted to your Excellency the proceedings and the evidence adduced at the trial of the Druse Chief Jemal-ed-Dîn Hamdân in connection with the late events in the Mountain.

It appears from a mazbatta drawn up by the Christian inhabitants of Jezzin, and forwarded by the Mudir of that district, in reply to information which he was required to furnish, that the said Jemal-ed-Dîn Hamdân was a leader of the Druse bands during the disturbances at Jezzin, and also the murderer of a certain person called Kamar. Although the said Jemal-ed-Dîn Hamdân denies having committed the murder, his guilt has been established, both by the contents of the above-mentioned mazbatta, and by the information given by the Christian inhabitants.

Accordingly as the said Jemal-ed-Dîn Hamdân was a leader of the insurgents, who rose and revolted against the subjects of the Porte, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that, pursuant to Articles 55, 56, and 57 of the Penal Code, the punishment of death should be inflicted on him.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Extraordinary Commission.)

(No. 13.)—*Sentence on Mahi-ed-Dîn Shibli.*

We have submitted to your Excellency the proceedings and the evidence adduced at the trial of the Druse Maha-ed-Dîn Shibli, and inhabitant of Kefr Katra, and agent to Beshîr Bek Abu Neked, who was arrested in connection with the late events of the Lebanon.

In a petition presented by the Khûri Augustin, the actual President of the Convent of Deir Amik, near Deir-el-Kamar, the said Mahi-ed-Dîn Shibli was charged with being the person who strangled the priest Athanasius Naûm, late President of the above-mentioned Convent, who was found strangled in his room during the night of the 7th of March, 1276, and robbed of his money and various articles. The prosecutor was in consequence summoned before the Extraordinary Commission, and minute inquiry made from him as to the matter in question, who stated, that independently of suspicions resting on the said Mahi-ed-Dîn Shibli of having murdered the said President, from the fact of Shibli having been acquainted with the deceased, who was reported to be wealthy, as well as from the fact of his having visited him frequently, he had declared boastfully in the course of the disorders in the Mountain to Bolos Sûsa—a heterodox Greek, and a merchant of Deir-el-Kamar—to Habîb Selûm, and to Yûsef Abu Shaib, that he was the murderer. At his examination Mahi-ed-Dîn Shibli admitted his acquaintance with the deceased, and acknowledged that he repeatedly visited the Convent, but he formally denied the truth of the accusation of murder brought against him.

Thereupon Bolos Sûsa, Habîb Selûm, and Jûsef Shaib were summoned before the Commission and separately examined. Bolos Sûsa stated that on Wednesday night, two days before the attack on Deir-el-Kamar, the said Mahi-ed-Dîn came to the house of Khojah Beshara, an inhabitant of Deir-el-Kamar, and that in the course of a conversation relative to the affairs of the Mountain, during which he insinuated that Deir-el-Kamar would do well to surrender without making any resistance to Beshîr Bek Abu Neked, he said to Khojah Beshara, "It was I who killed the President of Deir Amik." Habîb

Selûm deposed, that on Wednesday night, when Deir-el-Kamar was attacked by the Druses, the said Mahi-ed-Dîn, standing in front of the Governor of the town, cried out in a loud voice, saying, "For the sake of a priest the Christians want to upset the world; it is I who killed the President of Deir Amik—what can they do?" Yûsef Abu Shaib likewise stated that on Wednesday night, two days before the attack on Deir-el-Kamar, the said Mahi-ed-Dîn came to the house of Elias Sûsa and said voluntarily, "You will not deliver up your arms to Beshîr Bek Abu Neked, and you offer resistance: I alone have killed the President of Deir Amik;" and proceeded on his way to the house of the said Beshara Sûsa. These three witnesses at the same time declared that when Mahi-ed-Dîn went to the house of Sûsa and made these confessions, many other persons were present, all of whom, however, were killed during the massacre at Deir-el-Kamar, so that they alone are the only remaining witnesses. They, moreover, confirmed the veracity of their depositions by swearing on their faith through their respective priests.

Although, therefore, the said Mahi-ed-Dîn denies having committed the murder, yet, as besides the commission of this crime, there are several Christians whose names are on record, who declare that during the attack at Deir-el-Kamar he, Shibli, was amongst the insurgent bands, and plundered with them, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that he should be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 14.)—*Sentence on Ali Saîd.*

The Minutes of the trial of Ali Saîd, a Druse of the village of Sulîma, who had been arrested in connection with the recent events of the Mountain, have been submitted to your Excellency.

Ali Saîd was charged with the murder of Khottâr Diâb, a Christian of Andâra, at the commencement of the disturbances in the Mountain, whose head he cut off, and brought to the Druse Chief Khottâr Bek. On being interrogated on the subject, Ali Saîd denied all knowledge of the matter.

The wife of the deceased, who preferred the accusation, then indicated the Druses, Mohammed Abu Asâf, and Mohammed Harb, and Sheikh Kâsim, and other persons who were eye-witnesses of the crime.

Thereupon, the Mudîr of Deir-el-Kamar, of the Commission, reported that in answer to the inquiry which he instituted into the matter, the above-named Mohammed Abu Asâf and Mohammed Harb deposed that they saw the head of Khottâr Diâb in the hands of the accused, and heard from other eye-witnesses that he was his murderer, and that Ali Saîd was a well-known bad character.

As from the purport of the report, it is understood that Ali Saîd did commit the crime in question, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that he should be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 15.)—*Sentence on Beshîr Meri Neked.*

As will appear from the inclosed Minutes of the interrogatory and trial of the Druse Chief, Beshîr Meri Neked, that the women Hanna Fahûm Jenna and Menneh deposed that the said Beshîr Meri Neked killed the Christian Ibrahîm Shamûn, on the occasion of the attack on Deir-el-Kamar, and the Christians Khalîd Shawîsh and Asaad Nakash gave information that he committed various enormities, such as plundering and despoiling.

As, such being the case, the crime of the said Beshîr Neri Neked was apparent, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that he should be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 16.)—*List of Names and Description of the Leaders of the Insurgent Bands in the late Outbreak in the Mountain, who have not been captured, and have fled towards the Haurân.*

1. Khottâr Bek Amâd, commanded at the attack on Zahleh.
2. Beshîr Bek Amâd, commanded at the battle of Deir-el-Kamar.
3. Sheikh Kenj Amâd, commanded at the attack on Zahleh and Deir-el-Kamar.
4. Milhim Bek Amâd, the same.
5. Sheikh Mahmûd Talhûk, commanded at the attack on Hadeth and Ba'abda.
7. Beshîr Bek Neked, one of the greatest miscreants, commanded at the attack on Deir-el-Kamar.
8. Sheikh Mahmûd, commanded at the attack on Zahleh.
9. Sheikh Hamûd Mansûr, one of the greatest miscreants, was present at the different conflicts.
10. Sheikh Mansûr, the same.
11. Ali Bek Hamâdi, a great insurrectionary leader, was present at the attacks on Deir-el-Kamar and Hasbeya.
12. Mahmûd Hamâdi, an insurrectionary leader, present at the attack on Deir-el-Kamar.
13. Kasim Yûsef Hamâdi, a great insurrectionary leader, commanded at the occurrences in the neighbourhood of Sidon.
14. Koweidîr Hamâdi, the same, was present at the attack on Deir-el-Kamar.
15 Milhim Hamâdi, the same.
16 Mustafa Dweik, an insurrectionary leader, was present at Deir-el-Kamar.
17. Kâsim Abd-es-Samad, the same.
18. Rafi Abd-es-Samad, the same.
19. Yûsef Hasan Abd-es-Samad, the same.
20. Kâsim Abu Shakra, the same.
21. Khotâr Abu Shakra, the same.
22. Jadban Abu Shakra, the same.
23. Sulimân Bek Hamâdi, an insurrectionary leader, was present at Deir-el-Kamar.
24. Ismaîl-el-Atrash, an insurrectionary leader, was a leader of the Haurân Druses at the attack on Zahleh.
25. Hazimeh Hawâdi, the same.
26. Hamad Abu Fakr, the same.
27. Koblân Amer, the same.
28. Hamad Azzân, the same.
29. Sulimân Kalkas, the same.
30. Deibris Amer, the same.
31. Fendi Azzân, the same.
32. Yûsef Saru, the same.
33. Waked-el-Hamdân, the same.

In all, thirty-three persons.

From the depositions of the Christians in general, and of the Druse Chiefs and individuals examined, it has appeared that the above-named and described thirty-three persons were leaders in the attacks on Hasbeya, Rasheya, and Deir-el-Kamar, and the other places in the Mountain, and that they committed every species of atrocity and crime. In consequence, however, of their having left their homes, and fled to the Haurân, they have not been, as yet, captured and tried; but we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that on being taken, they should, pursuant to Articles 55, 56, and 57; of the Penal Code, be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and the other members of the Commission.)

Inclosure 5 in No. 229.

TABLEAU indiquant les Personnes compromises dans les événements de la Montagne, arrêtées et jugées, ainsi que le genre de leur Culpabilité et les Punitions infligées.

Numéros des Registres.	Noms des Coupables.	Condition, Profession, et lieux des Résidences des Coupables.	Genre de Culpabilité.	Nature des Crimes.	Peine Prononcée.	Observations.
1	Khurshid Pacha, Gouverneur-Général de Sayda	Vézir, et en activité de service	A manqué aux besoins de ses fonctions	Il n'a été prouvé que son manque aux devoirs de ses fonctions, sans être coupable d'aucun autre crime	Détention perpétuelle dans une forteresse.	
2	Tahir Pacha, Commandant Militaire de Beyrouth	Général de Division de l'armée Impériale	Idem	Idem	Idem.	
3	Nûri Bek	Colonel de l'armée régulière .	Idem	Il n'a pas marché contre les Druses et n'a pas défendu Zahleh	Idem.	
3*	Ali Vasfi	Kéhia de Khurchid Pacha ..	S'est mêlé dans des affaires en dehors de sa compétence	De nombreuses accusations sont portées contre lui	Exclusion perpétuelle des fonctions publiques, et détention provisoire dans une forteresse.	
4	Ahmed Salih	Contrôleur de Beyrouth et Chargé des Affaires des Druses et des Chrétiens	S'est mêlé dans des affaires en dehors de sa compétence	De nombreuses accusations sont portées contre lui	Idem.	
5	Said Bek Jumblâd	Fermier des Moukatas de Chouk et Jezzin, et autres	Auteur et instigateur des troubles de la Montagne, et chef des séditieux	A eu des intelligences avec tous les Druses, et fut le promoteur des troubles	La mort.	
6	Hussein Talhouk	Moukâtadji (fermier) de Gharb-el-Zokain	Chef des séditieux	A dirigé les séditieux dans les troubles de Baabda et de Hadeth	Idem.	
7	As'ad Talhouk	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.	
8	Kâsim Neked	Moukâtadji de Shekar ..	Idem	A dirigé les malfaiteurs dans les premiers désordres de Deir-el-kamar	Idem.	
9	Asa'ad Amâd	Un des Moukâtadjis d'Arkûb	Idem	A dirigé les séditieux pendant les troubles de Zahleh	Idem.	

* *Sic in orig.*

Tableau indiquant les Personnes Compromises, &c.—*continued.*

Numéros des Registres.	Noms des Coupables.	Condition, Profession, et lieux de Résidence des Coupables.	Genre de Culpabilité.	Nature des Crimes.	Peine Prononcée.	Observations.
10	Mir Mohammed Kâsim Reslân	Druse notable	Chef des séditieux	Il s'est mis à la tête de ceux qui ont commis le saccage de Hadeth et Ba'abda	La mort.	
11	Selîm Jumblâd	Un des Chefs Druses . ..	Chef de malfaiteurs . ..	Il a dirigé les séditieux dans les événements de Jezzîn	Idem.	
12	Jémel-ed-dîn Hamadân ..	Un des Cheiks Druses ..	Idem	Non seulement s'est mis à la tête des saccageurs de Jezzîn, mais il a tué le nommé Kamer	Idem.	
13	Mahi-ed-dîn Shibli	Trésorier de Béshîr Neked ..	Meurtrier	A assassiné le Supérieur de Deir Arnik	Idem.	
14	Ali Saîd	Druse de basse classe . ..	Emeutier renommé . ..	A assassiné le nommé Antarali Abu Khotâr Diâb	Idem.	
15	Béshîr Néri	Druse notable	Meurtrier	A tué a Deir-el-Kamar le nommé Ibrahîm, et s'est livré à tous les crimes	Idem.	
16	Behsîr Bek Nasîf Abu Neked	Un des Chefs Druses . ..	Chef des séditieux	Il a dirigé les saccageurs de Deir-el-Kamar	Idem	N'ayant pas encore été arrêté, il a été jugé par contumace.
16	Khattâr Amâd	Idem	Idem	Il s'est mis à la tête des malfaiteurs dans les événements de Zahleh	Idem	Idem.
16	Beshîr Bek Amâd	Idem	Idem	Il a été chef des séditieux pendant les troubles de Zahr-el-Beid	Idem	Idem.
16	Sheikh Kenj el Amâd ..	Idem	Idem	Il a dirigé les malfaiteurs dans les événements de Zahleh et Deir-el-Kamar	Idem	Idem.
16	Milhem Bek Amâd	Idem	Idem	Idem.	Idem	Idem.
16	Sheikh Mahmûd Talhûk ..	Idem	Idem	S'est mis à la tête des saccageurs de Ba'abda et Hadeth	Idem	Idem.
16	Sheikh Nasîf Talhûk . ..	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Sheikh Mahmûd Elaîd ..	Chef Druse	Idem	S'est mis à la tête des saccageurs de Zahleh	Idem	Idem.
16	Sheikh Hamûd Mansûr ..	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem

Tableau indiquant les Personnes Compromises, &c.—*continued.*

Numéros des Registres.	Noms des Coupables.	Condition, Profession, et lieux de Résidences des Coupables.	Genre de Culpabilité.	Nature des Crimes.	Peine Prononcée.	Observations.
16	Sheikh Mansûr Kadi . ..	Chef Druse	Chef des séditieux	S'est mis à la tête des saccageurs de de Hasbeya, Rasheiya, Deir-el-Kamar	La mort	N'ayant pas encore été arrêté, il a été jugé par contumace.
16	Sulimân Bek Hamâdi . ..	Idem	Idem	A la tête des saccageurs de Deir-el-Kamar	Idem	Idem.
16	Mahmûd Hamâdi	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Kuwader Hamâdi	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Milhem Hamâdi	Idem	Idem	S'est mis à la tête des malfaiteurs qui ont commis des crimes en dehors de Saida	Idem	Idem.
16	Kâsim Yûsef Hamâdi ..	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Mustafa Dweik	Idem	Idem	Chef des saccageurs à Deir-el-Kamar	Idem	Idem.
16	Kâsim Marûf Abd-es-Samid..	Druse notable	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Rafi Abu Dijis Abd-es-Samid	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Kâsim Beshîr Abu Shakra ..	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Yûsef Hasan Abd-es-Samid .	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Khottâr Ibn Kâsim Abu Shakra	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Ismaîl-el-Atrash	Grand Chef Druse	Idem	Il a dirigé les crimes de Zahleh, &c.	Idem	Idem.
16	Hezibeh Henîdeh	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Hamûd-el-Fakhr	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Kablân Amar	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Hamûd Azam	Chef Druse	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Selimân-el-Alas	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Dijis Amer	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Kanadi Azam	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Yûsef Sârû	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Waked-el-Hamdân	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.
16	Ghazbân Abu Shakra ..	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem.

Inclosure 6 in No. 229.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, December* 30, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the fifteenth sitting of the Syrian Commission held on the 22nd instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 7 in No. 229.

Protocol of the Fifteenth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, December 22, 1860.

LE vingt-deux Décembre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à deux heures et demie.

Le procès-verbal est lu et adopté avec quelques modifications.

L'ordre du jour appelle l'examen de la question de l'impôt en nature à lever sur les Druses.

Selon M. le Commissaire Britannique, cet impôt, tel qu'il a déjà été reglé, ne peut être levé sans injustice et sans danger pour l'existence même de la nation des Druses. Aux termes de l'arrêté pris par son Excellence Fuad Pacha, chaque Druse contribuable serait contraint de fournir une certaine quantité d'objets ou leur équivalent en argent montant à une somme de 1,100 de piastres. Or il est constant, d'après des renseignements nombreux et dignes de confiance, que la majorité des Druses ne possède pas ces objets, ni leur équivalent en argent, et se trouve dans l'impossibilité matérielle de se les procurer. Cet arrêté a en outre le très grave inconvénient de frapper indistinctement tous les Druses, riches ou pauvres, de la même contribution.

A Damas, on se propose au moins de tenir compte de la capacité relative des contribuables. On les divise en catégories, et il y a même un projet pris en sérieuse considération par la Commission dans lequel la classe la plus pauvre est exemptée de toute contribution. Lord Dufferin croit devoir, au nom de l'humanité, réclamer en faveur des Druses l'adoption de ce système. Provoqués à la guerre civile par l'attitude menaçante des Maronites, les Druses sont certainement moins coupables que les Musulmans de Damas ; et cependant si on frappe Damas d'une contribution de 40,000,000 de piastres et les Druses d'un impôt en nature équivalent par tête à un impôt de 1,100 de piastres, eu égard au nombre des Musulmans de Damas entre lesquels sera réparti l'impôt, les Druses, toute proportion gardée, paieront plus en cinq jours que les Damasquins en cinq mois. Lord Dufferin ne peut s'empêcher de voir là une grande injustice. Il rappelle enfin qu'un certain nombre de villages Druses ont déjà été soumis à des réquisitions et que d'autres ont été complétement pillés. Ne pas tenir compte de ces circonstances et demander aveuglement à tous les Druses, dans tous les villages, une même contribution, ce serait vouloir consommer la ruine matérielle d'un peuple qui a été déjà frappé dans son existence politique. En conséquence Lord Dufferin est d'avis que l'arrêté pris par son Excellence devrait être rapporté.

Fuad Pacha fait observer que cet arrêté, lorsqu'il en a donné lecture, n'a soulevé dans la Commission et même de la part de M. le Commissaire Britannique, aucune objection ; que la perception de l'impôt ne doit pas, comme le dit Lord Dufferin, être effectuée dans le laps de cinq jours, mais seulement commencer dans un délai de cinq jours à partir du jour de la promulgation, ce qui est bien différent ; que par conséquent, les agents chargés de cette perception peuvent y mettre tout le temps nécessaire, et que d'ailleurs, ces mêmes agents ont reçu des instructions qui leur enjoignent de tenir compte des circonstances dans l'exécution de la mesure et d'user de ménagements partout où il le faudrait.

M. le Commissaire Prussien est d'avis que la mesure est urgente et indispensable. Il penche à croire qu'elle n'est point aussi rigoureuse que vient de la présenter Lord Dufferin, dont tous les calculs reposent sur une base

douteuse, c'est-à-dire, sur une estimation probablement beaucoup trop élevée des objets demandés aux Druses.

M. le Commissaire Français a volontiers consenti pour sa part à ce que la mesure de l'impôt sur les Druses fût de nouveau examinée, quant à ses détails, et retardée de quelques jours dans l'exécution, mais il n'admet pas que l'arrêté déjà pris par Fuad Pacha et approuvé par la Commission puisse en principe être rapporté. Il verrait même un grand inconvénient à la prolongation d'un retard qui compromet l'autorité et laisse indécises les populations. Cet impôt, si on veut le considérer au point de vue pénal, est bien loin de correspondre au nombre et à l'énormité des crimes commis par la nation Druse, et ne saurait à aucun titre passer pour une persécution, mais on doit le considérer surtout au point de vue de l'utilité. C'est une mesure d'urgence destinée à mettre dans les mains du Gouvernement une certaine quantité, la plus grande possible, d'objets de première nécessité. La teneur de l'arrêté ne peut donc qu'être très-sommaire, mais c'est au discernement des agents chargés de l'exécuter à l'adoucir et à le tempérer dans l'exécution toutes les fois qu'il en sera besoin. S'il était d'ailleurs démontré d'avance que certains objets seront d'une perception par trop difficile, M. Béclard ne s'oppose pas à ce que, séance tenante, la liste en soit révisée.

M. le Commissaire d'Autriche donne lecture d'une lettre d'après laquelle les Druses seraient hors d'état de payer la contribution fixée dans l'arrêté. En général les Druses n'ont que très peu d'objets mobiliers. Dès qu'ils ont un peu d'argent, ils achètent de la terre. On ne trouvera donc en général chez les Druses ni meubles superflus ni argent comptant. M. de Weckbecker demande s'il ne serait pas convenable d'appliquer exclusivement l'imposition aux riches dont les biens sont déjà sous le séquestre et sur lesquels on pourrait réaliser immédiatement la perception, soit des objets en nature, soit de leur équivalent pécuniaire.

M. le Commissaire de Russie appuie cette proposition. Au fond, dit M. Novikow, il s'agit d'une question pratique, la question de savoir quel est le meilleur moyen à employer pour se procurer les objets de première nécessité dont les Chrétiens ont besoin. Si les Fellahs Druses ne sont pas en état d'en fournir en nombre suffisant, c'est aux Sheikhs des villages qui possèdent des propriétés, et qui ont nécessairement profité de la plus large part du butin, qu'il faut demander ces objets ou l'équivalent en argent; de plus les Mokatadjis Druses étant les principaux contribuables, c'est au Gouvernement qui a séquestré leurs propriétés qu'incombe le devoir de soulager le sort des Chrétiens avec les ressources qu'il peut tirer de ces propriétés.

MM. les Commissaires de France et de Prusse insistent pour que la mesure soit exécutée dans son ensemble contre la masse des Druses, sauf à ne pas poursuivre ceux d'entre eux qui ne possédant rien ou que le strict nécessaire ne pourraient rien donner. M. le Commissaire de Prusse propose l'adoption d'un double principe de solidarité entre les individus d'un même village et les villages d'un même district, et M. le Commissaire de France la radiation de plusieurs objets, tels que les sémences et les bassines en cuivre dont la perception passe pour être trop difficile.

Lord Dufferin admet la possibilité de la mesure avec ces divers tempéraments, et son Excellence Fuad Pacha exprime à ses collègues l'intention où il est de leur envoyer dès le lendemain copie du nouvel arrêté qu'il va prendre conformément à l'opinion moyenne autour de laquelle viennent de se rallier tous les suffrages de la Commission.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha dépose entre les mains de M. le Vice-Président le texte des sentences émanées du Tribunal Extraordinaire siégeant à Beyrout, ce qu'il soumet à l'examen de la Commission.

Avant que la séance soit levée, M. le Commissaire Français interpelle Fuad Pacha relativement à l'impôt extraordinaire dont la ville de Damas doit être frappée. Il désirerait savoir si la mesure a été décrétée conformément à l'avis unanime des membres de la Commission.

Fuad Pacha répond qu'il vient de recevoir une dépêche officielle par laquelle il est informé que son Gouvernement se réserve de décider la manière dont les indemnités seront fixées et payées aux Chrétiens, ainsi que la fixation des impôts à prélever pour les indemnités. Son Excellence ajoute qu'elle éprouve personnellement le besoin d'en terminer au plus vîte avec cette affaire, et qu'elle se propose d'expédier immédiatement des dépêches pressantes à Constantinople pour obtenir que la Sublime Porte hâte sa décision.

M. le Commissaire Français exprime l'étonnement et le profond regret que lui inspire cette décision, puisqu'elle entraînera nécessairement des retards dans l'exécution d'une mesure que tous les membres de la Commission ont unanimement considérée comme étant d'une extrême urgence. Il ne croit pas se tromper en ajoutant que le sentiment unanime des cinq Commissaires est partagé par leurs Gouvernements respectifs.

La séance est levée à six heures.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 8 in No. 229.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) . . . *Beyrout, December* 30, 1860.

I HAVE the honour of transmitting to yonr Excellency copy of a written communication I have addressed to my colleagues and to his Excellency Fuad Pasha relative to the extreme caution to be observed in administering the punishment with which it has been deemed necessary to visit the chief actors in the massacres of Hasbeya, Rasheya, and Deir-el-Kamar.

A glance at this document will sufficiently explain to your Excellency the motives which dictated it; but I would wish more particularly to mention that, having perceived among some of my brother Commissioners a determination to insist upon a severer degree of punishment being inflicted on the Druses than either their crimes deserved or the necessity of the case required, it seemed to me desirable to intervene in such a way as should make them duly sensible of the grave responsibilities we were incurring.

I communicated the accompanying observations to the Commission, and I am happy to say that the four propositions appended to it were generally accepted.

The bearing of the fourth article is especially important, inasmuch as the fact of only fifty-six citizens having suffered at Damascus will keep the number of executions in the Mountain within reasonable limits.

Should it be satisfactorily proved by credible eye-witnesses, as I am afraid it will, that of those already in custody more than 200 or 300 murdered in cold blood multitudes of unarmed men or little children, I do not think it would be an exaggeration of severity if 20 or 30 of their number are required to pay the forfeit with their lives. It is true great excuses may perhaps be made even for crimes so horrible as these, but I am convinced that if we wish to put a stop to the blood-fueds of the Mountain, and the cruel system of vendettas which prevails among all classes of its inhabitants, it will be necessary to make an example of a proportion of those who have carried so hateful a custom to lengths hitherto unheard of, even in the annals of Lebanon warfare.

Inclosure 9 in No. 229.

Communication addressed by Lord Dufferin to his Colleagues in the Syrian Commission.

HER Britannic Majesty's Commissioner has the honour of making the following formal communication to his colleagues relative to the necessity of taking precautions against a careless and unintelligent application of the summary mode of procedure which they have recommended to his Excellency Fuad Pasha in regard to those of the Druse nation who were chief actors in the massacres of Hasbeya, Rasheya, and Deir-el-Kamar.

It will be in the recollection of the Commissioners that, in compliance with an understanding arrived at between the Turkish High Commissioner and themselves, an invitation was conveyed to the religious heads of the various Christian communities to furnish his Excellency Fuad Pasha with sworn lists of those persons the pre-eminent atrocity of whose crimes render them worthy of death. By entrusting the awful task of denunciation to the prelates of the sects, it was hoped that a spirit of merciful discrimination would mitigate the vindictive

animosity which only too naturally animates their respective flocks, and reduce within the scope of Christian justice the numbers of those designated for capital punishment.

But it would appear that this expectation was unfounded, inasmuch as out of the total number of 8,000 grown-up men who constitute the Druse population of the Lebanon, 4,500 heads have been demanded by these holy personages.

It is true the remonstrances of the Turkish High Commissioner induced them subsequently to modify the amount of their requisition for blood, but even so they could only be brought down to the modest figure of 1,300.

Lord Dufferin cannot refrain from expressing his indignation at the spirit of vengeance thus exhibited, and he sees in it a fresh indication of that desire to exterminate the Druse nation which he has already had occasion to allude to as having been, in his opinion, one of the chief causes of the late disturbances in the Mountain.

A circumstance, however, which has accidentally come to his knowledge, and which he now hastens to communicate to his colleagues, has added considerably to the sentiments of abhorrence with which he regards the conduct of those prelates, and fills him with misgivings as to the justice of the denunciations with which they have furnished his Excellency Fuad Pasha.

It would appear that, on the night of the 26th instant, a man from the Deir, of the name of Yusef Shafli, accompanied by a policeman, called at the house of a Druse Sheikh inhabiting Beyrout named Sirham Id, and accusing him of the murder of his cousin at Deir-el-Kamar, on the day of the massacre, proceeded to drag him to prison. Luckily a Christian neighbour interfered, and, by becoming security for the accused, induced the prosecutor to delay his capture. The next morning, however, Yusef Shafli re-appeared, and again attempted to make the Druse his prisoner, but, in the meantime, Sheikh Sirham Id had appealed to an English merchant and several of his Christian neighbours with whom he had been in the habit of daily intercourse throughout the summer, and proved that, on the day of the alleged crime, and for weeks before and afterwards, he had never stirred from Beyrout.

Confounded by such testimony the man from Deir-el-Kamar, though he protested against the interest thus exhibited on behalf of a Druse, agreed to a composition, provided he should receive a certain sum as blood-money. This claim was also abandoned, on the woman from whom the accusation emanated being confronted with the accused. Nevertheless, the unfortunate Druse Sheikh was compelled to remunerate the policeman.

If an outrage of this sort can be perpetrated with impunity within the precincts of Beyrout, and under the eyes of his Excellency Fuad Pasha, we may imagine what will take place among the recesses of the Mountain, where no European or enlightened Christian influence can interpose to check the undiscerning fury of a population maddened by the wrongs they have endured, and encouraged apparently by their spiritual leaders to maintain the ancient cry of blood for blood!

Considerations of this nature have been for some time past pressing in a painful manner on the attention of the British Commissioner, and in order to guard himself against the charge of having participated, however remotely, in the shedding of innocent blood, he has the honour of submitting in writing the following propositions to the consideration of his Excellency Fuad Pasha and of the Commission:—

1st. That no Druse shall be capitally tried by court-martial except on the charge of having murdered in cold blood an unarmed man, woman, or a child.

2nd. That the evidence of two eye-witnesses be considered necessary to secure a capital conviction.

3rd. That in determining the proportion of those who are to suffer capitally, due regard be had to the numbers of the Druse nation who have been murdered with impunity by the Christians, since the arrival of the Commission in Syria.

4th. That a less severe measure of capital punishment shall be dealt out to the Druse nation than that which has been considered adequate at Damascus.

No. 230.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 11, 1861.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, December* 30, 1860.

IN obedience to your instructions to report on the number of Maronite and Greek Christians in the Lebanon, as conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch of the 1st instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a paper with which I have been furnished by M. Novikow, the Russian Commissioner, giving the number of Greeks resident in the Lebanon.

M. Novikow, your Lordship will perceive, does not offer an opinion as to the number of the Heterodox Greeks, but I am assured that they form but an inconsiderable portion of the population of the Lebanon, with the exception, however, of Sidon, where they number a few thousand souls.

My Russian colleague also informs me that, although, in the list with which he has been good enough to furnish me, the total number of Greeks amount to 27,980 souls, yet at the same time he states that in his opinion the true number will be found to be less by 2,000 or 3,000.

Your Lordship will easily understand the difficulty of forming even an approximate estimate of the various creeds of which the population of the Mountain is composed. Only one census, and that an imperfect one, has been made for many years, but I have not failed to bring the matter under the notice of my colleagues, in order that the subject may receive the attention it deserves.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 230.

Statement of the Number of Greeks resident in the Lebanon.

Il y a environ 22,460 Grecs orthodoxes dans la Caimacamîyeh Chrétienne du Liban, et 5,520 dans la Caimacamîyeh Druse ; total 27,980 (orthodoxes des deux sexes).

Les principaux centres de la population orthodoxe dans la Caimacamîyeh Chrétienne sont: El Kûra, Kurnet, Belad Jebeil, Zahleh avec ses dépendances, et Beskinta avec ses dépendances dans le Metu.

Les principaux centres de la population orthodoxe dans la Caimacamîyeh Druse sont : Shuweifât, avec ses dépendances, et Bhamdûn.

La population Chrétienne des districts de l'Anti-Liban, Hasbeya, Rasheya, et Merj Ayûn, est presque en totalité composée de Grecs orthodoxes.

(Translation.)

THERE are about 22,460 orthodox Greeks in the Christian Kaimakamship of the Lebanon, and 5,520 in the Druse Kaimakamship ; total 27,980 (orthodox persons of both sexes).

The principal centres of the orthodox population in the Christian Kaimakamship are :—El Kûra, Kurnet, Belad Jebeil, Zahleh with its dependencies, and Beskinta with its dependencies in the Metn.

The principal centres of the orthodox population in the Druse Kaimakamship are :—Shuweifât with its dependencies, and Bhamdûn.

The Christian population of the districts of the Anti-Lebanon, Hasbeya, Rasheya, and Merj Ayûn, is almost entirely composed of orthodox Greeks.

No. 231.

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 11, 1861.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, December* 29, 1860.

SINCE the date of my last communication to your Lordship, viz., that of December 2nd, I have been in continued attendance upon Fuad Pasha at this

place for the purpose of accompanying his Excellency into the Lebanon, in his projected expedition for the punishment of the Druses. Various circumstances have tended to cause repeated postponements of this movement.

More precise intelligence regarding the actual condition of the Druse population having been subsequently obtained, it was found advisable greatly to reduce the amount of the fine to be exacted from that people, a change necessitating several meetings of the European Commission for the settlement of a new basis. Fuad Pasha latterly formed the opinion that it would give a better hope of success, and create less alarm, should he forego his intention of superintending in person the arrest of the compromised Druses, and, instead, should depute the duty to the detachment already charged with the levy of the forced contribution, his Excellency only appearing on the scene when the arrests had been completed. This plan has therefore been adopted, and Druses, previously denounced, have now been made prisoners, to the amount of several hundreds. His Excellency has to-day intimated his intention of proceeding without further delay to Mokhtara, whither I propose to accompany him, for the purpose of instituting tribunals for the trial of these men. It is further proposed that those condemned to capital punishment should be executed in the Mountain itself, at or near the scene of their crimes, and that as soon as possible thereafter a general amnesty to the Druse nation be proclaimed, excepting a few notorious culprits at present beyond the reach of justice.

I have made these general remarks solely in order to explain to your Lordship the causes which have detained me from day to day at this place, and by no means as a statement or report of local events. Having had the advantage of daily intercourse with Lord Dufferin for some time past, I am aware how impossible it would be for me to add to his Lordship's valuable and comprehensive communications on all such subjects.

No. 232.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 12.)

(Extract.) *Paris, January* 11, 1861.

I HAVE read to M. Thouvenel, in pursuance of the instructions contained in it, your Lordship's despatch of the 9th instant, relating to the affairs of Syria, and to the withdrawal of the French troops from thence.

M. Thouvenel remarked that the reports of M. Béclard and of Lord Dufferin, as to what had passed at the unofficial conference of the 17th ultimo, did not coincide. His Excellency sent for M. Béclard's report, which he read to me, and which certainly makes both the Russian and Prussian Commissioners to hold very positive language as to the necessity of a prolonged stay of the French troops; the expressions, also, of the Austrian Commissioner, according to M. Béclard, implied rather a hope than an expectation that their presence might be dispensed with at the end of six months.

With regard to M. Béclard himself, he describes himself as having, after hearing the different opinions pronounced, and expressing his leaning towards those of Russia and Prussia, remarked that the best mode to render the evacuation certain, would be to proceed in the attempt to constitute a responsible Government in the Lebanon, and thus render the further presence of foreign troops unnecessary.

M. Thouvenel remarked to me that in this last observation of M. Béclard he entirely agreed; but he intimated, at the same time, his conviction that in the present state of the Ottoman Empire, a strong Government in the Lebanon would be found impossible of realisation. He went on to say, that the intention of the Imperial Government was, after the arrival of the next mail from Syria, to address simultaneously to all the great Courts a despatch, calling attention to the Convention of the 5th September, and asking their opinion as to the withdrawal of the troops. The Imperial Government will express no opinion one way or the other, but will be guided in its conduct by the answers which may be returned.

I observed, that no opinions of one Government or another could overrule the stipulations of a Treaty, and that the six months of occupation expired, the French Government would be bound, in good faith, to bring away the troops.

M. Thouvenel did not contest this point, but he said that as he believed in his soul and conscience ("dans son âme et conscience") that the withdrawal of the troops would be followed by a massacre far more extensive than that for which we were now asking redress, or else by a combination of all sects and creeds against the Sultan's authority, the Imperial Government would not take the responsibility of acting alone.

M. Thouvenel professed that the Emperor's greatest desire was to bring away his troops as soon as possible, but urged the necessity of the establishment of a Government in the Lebanon before this could be effected.

I recommended that the French troops should, at all events, be withdrawn from the interior, and as soon as possible concentrated at Beyrout; their presence in the Mountain having no other effect than to excite the Maronites and irritate the Druses.

No. 233.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, January* 14, 1861.

I HAVE received a copy of your Lordship's despatch of the 30th ultimo to Sir H. Bulwer, inclosing a copy of a communication which you had addressed to the several members of the European Commission on the subject of the punishment to be inflicted on the Druse nation; and I have to state to you in reply, that Her Majesty's Government approve of the views which you expressed in that communication.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 234.

Mr. Lowther to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 14.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, January* 12, 1861.

I CONVERSED this morning with Baron Schleinitz on the affairs of Syria.

His Excellency informed me he had latterly been so much occupied that he had really not had time to give the subject the attention the question deserved, but that it appeared to him the time was hardly yet come for the withdrawal of the troops.

I then read to him some extracts of your Lordship's despatch of the 9th of January to Earl Cowley, concluding with the remark it contains, "that before the end of this month the British, French, Austrian, Prussian, and Turkish Commissioners will have formally agreed to the fifteen Articles proposed by Lord Dufferin and M. Béclard."

His Excellency said he was not aware that the Commissioners had already made so much progress in their business; that he was no advocate for the prolonged stay of foreign troops in Syria; that the Commissioners on the spot were best able to judge of the question of whether authority was sufficiently restored to allow them to be withdrawn; that if the proper moment had not arrived, those who undertook to recommend the withdrawal were taking upon themselves a very great responsibility.

I then told him Her Majesty's Government were willing to undertake their share of this responsibility, provided the Ministers of the Porte understood on their part their obligations and risks, and I spoke in the sense of your Lordship's despatch of the 1st instant to Sir Henry Bulwer.

No. 235.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 16.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, January* 4, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a further despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 235.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, January* 1, 1860.

HAVING already had the honour of submitting to your Excellency's consideration a scheme for the general government of the Province of Syria, I propose in this despatch to make a few remarks on the administration of the Lebanon in particular.

Were we actuated by no other considerations than such as regard the tranquillity of the Mountain, I have no hesitation in saying that the only sensible plan would be to deprive its inhabitants of all their anomalous privileges, and to place them under the immediate control of the Turkish Ruler of the province. There is no room for any difference of opinion upon this point. All the bloodshed which has taken place during the last twenty-five years would have been spared had the jurisdiction of the Turks over the Lebanon been unlimited. The various elements which compose its population are incapable of governing either each other or themselves. While perpetual strife has deluged the Mixed Districts with blood, an internecine warfare between the peasantry and their feudal Chiefs has rendered the Christian Kesrouan the theatre of anarchy and crimes not less sanguinary. The important town of Zahleh is always in a state of chronic rebellion against the authority of its Maronite Kaimakam, and the Greek Christians of the Southern Lebanon have shown themselves as ready to fly at the throats of their unorthodox co-religionists as any of their Pagan neighbours.

The independence, therefore, of the Lebanon is an arrangement quite incompatible with good government, and any endeavour to extend the domination of the Maronites over either their Greek or Druse fellow-subjects is a policy as cruel as it is impracticable.

On the other hand, to propose that the intervention of Europe on behalf of those whose misfortunes have excited so much sympathy should become an occasion for despoiling them of their privileges, and handing them over in a still more defenceless condition to the tender mercies of their persecutors, would probably excite the indignant opposition of Catholic Christendom.

It was the consideration of these circumstances that induced me to propose the consolidation of the Lebanon into a single Pashalic, administered by a Christian nominee of the central authority, as the happiest means of reconciling the practical with the sentimental exigencies of the situation.

By such an expedient an extension of jurisdiction will be accorded to the Christian name, the exclusive privileges of the Maronites will be abolished, and an opportunity will be afforded of emancipating the Greek minority from the hateful ascendancy of a rival rite.

As the official attributes of the officer appointed to rule the Mountain will differ in no respect from those of any other subordinate Pasha of the Province, as the Governor-General will select him, and as his continuance in office will depend upon the good pleasure of the central authority, there is little danger of his becoming any impediment to the exercise by the Government at Damascus of that intimate and supreme control over the Lebanon which alone can insure its tranquillity; while the fact of his being elevated, as we may suppose he will be, by education, by knowledge of the world, and by difference of race, above

the petty animosities of the barbarous sects he is called upon to govern, wil ensure to his administration the necessary degree of liberal impartiality.

I do not imagine that there would be any difficulty in finding among the European subjects of the Porte a class of persons suited to the post, and I might even go so far as to point out Ismail Pasha, General Kmety, as an example of the facility with which a proper selection might be made.

Side by side with the Christian Pasha of the Lebanon it will be necessary to erect a system of legal and municipal Councils, so constituted as to give to each race and rite a due share in the administration of their local affairs. It is here that we shall find the opportunity of securing to the Druses so much of their ancient jurisdiction as is compatible with the new system established in the Province, as well as of extending to the Greek community, hitherto most unjustly overlooked, that equality in the civil administration of the Mountain to which their numbers and their respectability entitle them.

Such is the plan which appears to me most likely to reconcile the conflicting interests we are bound to consult.

By this arrangement, a reasonable satisfaction will be given to Catholic opinion in France, the pernicious ascendancy of the Maronite sect will be broken, the counterpoise to be found in the Greek element will have been evoked, the civil independence of the Druses will be preserved, and the control of the Central Government will be rendered as complete and irresistible in the Mountain as in any other portion of its territory.

By no other means, I think, could similar results be obtained. Did we propose to extend Turkish rule unconditionally to the Lebanon, not only would France and Russia protest, but even Austria and all the Catholic Governments of Europe would cry out.

To leave the two Kaimakamships in possession of their ancient attributes would have the appearance of making out to the demon of discord a fresh lease of the Mountain, while the surrender of the Mixed districts to the Turks, unaccompanied by any diminution of the privileges of the Maronites, would prove but a slight improvement on the old system.

It may be said that by the erection of the Mountain into a Pashalic, the fine old feudal system is destroyed. But it is a mistake to suppose that such a system was anything but a curse to the country. The condition of the Christian serfs under the Druse Mokatadjis was very pitiable, and that of the Druse peasantry no better. Moreover, feudal jurisdiction is incompatible with regular government, and if we wish to create an all-powerful central authority at Damascus, it can only be done by converting the irresponsible Chieftains of the Mountain into duly subordinated officials. Under any circumstances, the Druse villages will be governed by their native Sheikhs, and in the Mixed districts they will still retain a proportional share of administrative power. The same observations would apply with equal force to the Christian Mokataas, had not the system already broken down in that part of the Lebanon.

No. 236.

Aali Pasha to M. Musurus.—(*Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Musurus, January* 16.)

Constantinople, le 9 *Janvier*, 1861.

IL résulte d'une dépêche de Lord John Russell, dont l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre vient de me donner communication, que le Gouvernement Britannique approuve le plan soumis par son Commissaire sur l'organisation future de la Syrie. D'après ce plan, il ne s'agirait de rien moins que de l'érection d'une Vice-royauté à l'instar de l'Egypte et des Provinces Danubiennes. Il nous est absolument impossible soit d'adhérer à cette proposition, soit d'admettre la compétence de la Commission Européenne dans cette matière.

Je viens d'exposer à l'Ambassadeur Anglais, et je vous ferai connaître par le courrier prochain, le système militaire et administratif par l'établissement duquel nous pouvons seulement nous rendre responsables de l'avenir de la Syrie.

(Translation.)

Constantinople, January 9, 1861.

IT appears from a despatch of Lord John Russell, which the English Ambassador has just communicated to me, that the British Government approves of the plan for the future government of Syria submitted to them by their Commissioner. According to this plan, the question is neither more nor less than the establishment of a Viceroyalty on the same footing as in Egypt and the Danubian Provinces. It is absolutely impossible for us either to give our consent to this proposition, or to admit the competency of the European Commission to judge in this matter.

I have just been pointing out to the English Ambassador, and by the next messenger will acquaint you with the military and administrative system by the establishment of which we can make ourselves alone responsible for the future of Syria.

No. 237.

Aali Pasha to M. Musurus.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Musurus, January 16.)

Constantinople, le 9 *Janvier*, 1861.

LE projet de Lord Dufferin, embrassant toute la Syrie, et la constituant en un Etat séparé, ne pourra être accepté par la Sublime Porte.

Vous savez que nous avons toujours maintenu le principe de n'admettre l'intervention de la Commission Européenne que dans l'organisation du Mont Liban, et cela dans les limites des arrangements de 1845. Je vous enverrai sous peu notre plan concernant la future administration de la Syrie, plan dont on sera, nous n'en doutons pas, parfaitement satisfait. Vous verrez que le dit plan du Gouvernement Impérial, sans avoir les inconvénients ou plutôt les graves dangers de l'opinion émise par le Commissaire Britannique, permet les mêmes garanties à l'égard des Chrétiens.

(Translation.)

Constantinople, January 9, 1861.

THE project of Lord Dufferin, embracing as it does the whole of Syria and making it into a separate State, could not be accepted by the Sublime Porte.

You are aware that we have always maintained the principle of admitting the intervention of the European Commission only in the organization of Mount Lebanon, and that solely within the limits of the arrangement of 1845. I will shortly send you our plan concerning the future government of Syria, a plan which, we doubt not, will be found perfectly satisfactory. You will see that the said plan of the Imperial Government allows the same guarantees to the Christians, without the inconveniences or rather the serious dangers of the opinion put forth by the British Commissioner.

No. 238.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. Fane.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, January* 16, 1861.

THE question of the further occupation of Syria by the forces of a European Power has become one of so much importance, both as a question of principle and as a question bearing on the tranquillity and prosperity of Syria, that I must desire you to request Count Rechberg to give it his most serious attention.

By a Convention signed in August last, at a moment when Europe had been shocked and disgusted by the accounts of the Syrian massacres, the principal Powers of Europe agreed to send to the assistance of the Sultan, in order to restore tranquillity, 12,000 troops, of whom one-half were to be furnished immediately by France.

The Sultan was a party to this Convention, but his Ministers declared

* A similar despatch was addressed to Mr. Lowther.

openly that his assent was given rather in deference to the opinions and wishes of Europe than from any belief in the necessity or the efficiency of the remedy proposed.

The Convention, and the occupation which it sanctioned, were to endure for six months, and thus expire, therefore, in the month of February next. From the day when that Convention expires, the right of foreign troops to occupy a part of the Sultan's territory expires also.

For the last two months the Ambassador of the Porte in London has been urging upon Her Majesty's Government, by order of the Sultan, the obligation of the European Powers not to continue the occupation of Syria beyond the time fixed by the Convention.

Conceiving this request to be perfectly reasonable, I gave it the support of Her Majesty's Government at Paris, and received from the Ambassador of the Emperor in London the assurance that the Commander of the French troops would receive orders to conform to the terms of the Convention, leaving to Her Majesty's Government the responsibility of recommending the evacuation. This responsibility, I stated, Her Majesty's Government were quite willing to incur.

Soon after this, however, a new incident occurred. Intelligence was received both at Paris and in London, to the effect that M. Béclard, the Commissioner of France, had submitted the question of the evacuation to the judgment of the Commissioners of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

According to our accounts, the Commissioners of Great Britain and Austria declared their opinion to be that, at the end of February, the evacuation might be effected without risk. According to the French report, the opinion of the Austrian Commissioner was not quite so decided. There appears no doubt that the Commissioners of Prussia and Russia expressed their fear that if the foreign troops were withdrawn, the massacres might be renewed. The Turkish Commissioner, the President of the Commission, was absent.

Upon this report the French Government hesitated, and M. Thouvenel has declared his wish to consult the Powers who were parties to the Convention.

The first thing which occurs to Her Majesty's Government upon this subject is, that the terms of the Convention are clear and precise. The Sultan has relied upon them, and would justly impute to the Powers of Europe a breach of faith if they were departed from.

But, in the next place, what is the case for asking the Sultan to extend the Convention for a further period?

Aali Pasha, in his communication to M. Musurus, represents the Maronites and Druses as divided not so much by differences of religion as by political animosities. Each party, violent in its antipathy, he declares wishes to exterminate the other, and these animosities are not assuaged, but inflamed, by the presence of foreign troops believed to be favourable to one of the two rival parties.

I must say that this representation is borne out by the facts, and by the statements of Her Majesty's Commissioner in Syria.

It appears that, from time to time, massacres and murders have desolated the district of the Lebanon. Maronites have been as forward in acts of cruel revenge, and in the indulgence of hatred, as the Druses. Before the massacres of 1860, the Maronites, under the guidance of one of their Bishops, had been preparing arms to a large extent, and were evidently meditating war upon the Druses. Since the French occupation, Maronites have followed the march of the French troops; and when they lit upon a helpless Druse old man or woman alone, have murdered them without mercy. Some twenty or thirty Druses, it is said, were put to death in cold blood by the Maronites during the first advance of the French troops.

At a later period a tax was proposed, and had even been sanctioned at one moment, imposing a payment upon every Druse taxpayer equal to half the amount of a peasant's yearly income. Had it been persisted in, the Druse peasantry must have abandoned their property, and fled from their dwellings. This, in fact, seems to have been the object sought.

Again when the punishment of the Druses was in question, the Christian sects, through their Bishops, demanded that out of 8,000 adult Druses, 4,600 heads should be given to them to satiate their vengeance; so little has the doctrine of forgiveness of injuries been imbibed by these Maronite bishops and their flocks.

In fact, though nominally Christians, they are in reality a fierce and

barbarous race. They seek the extermination of a hostile tribe, and Her Majesty's Government cannot think that the idolatry and superstition of that tribe justify the Powers of Europe in promoting or consenting to their extermination.

In conclusion, it is to be remarked that the utmost alleged in favour of continued foreign occupation is an apprehension in the minds of the Christians of danger to them after the departure of the foreign troops. That apprehension, of course, cannot be removed by any reasonings. Since Fuad Pasha went to Syria no massacres have been committed there. But it is in the nature of foreign occupation to keep alive an apprehension of the dangers which that occupation professes to prevent; and thus, if such apprehensions were to be admitted as reasons for the continuance of foreign occupation, that occupation would, by the effect which it produces, have a tendency to perpetuate itself.

Thus, if the French occupation of Syria were to be prolonged, we should probably find the apprehensions of the Syrian Maronites as strong in 1871 as they are in 1861; unless, indeed, in the mean time, under the protection of the Christian Powers, they had succeeded in exterminating the whole of the inhabitants of the Mountain who are not of their own party.

For these reasons, therefore, Her Majesty's Government are unable to join in any representations to the Porte, with a view of renewing the term of foreign occupation in Syria. As to any resolution on the part of the Powers of Europe to retain a European force in Syria without the assent of the Sultan, that would clearly be an act of war, and is not to be thought of by Powers who profess to entertain towards Turkey sentiments of friendship, and who have together united in guaranteeing her integrity and independence.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

P.S.—You may read this despatch to Count Rechberg.

No. 239.

Lord J. Russell to Mr. Lowther.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, January* 16, 1861.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 12th instant, reporting your conversation with Baron Schleinitz upon the affairs of Syria; and I have to inform you, in reply, that I approve of the language you used upon that occasion.

No. 240.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, January* 16, 1861.

YOUR Excellency will see, by a telegram from Sir Henry Bulwer, that the Porte has it in contemplation to keep 25,000 regular troops in Syria, and to appropriate 200,000*l.* for re-building houses and furnishing an indemnity for Christians in Syria.

If, with these offers, the Sultan couples a demand for the faithful execution of the Convention made in August last, and ratified on the 5th of September, Her Majesty's Government conceive that it will be impossible for the French Government to resist that demand. For France is bound by her Treaty obligations to evacuate Syria when the time has expired during which the Treaty authorizes her to remain, unless all the Contracting Parties to that Treaty should agree, by a fresh diplomatic document, to extend that period. I will not contemplate the case of so violent an infringement of the rights of the Sultan as would be involved in the occupation of his territory by foreign force against his will.

No. 241.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H, Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 16, 1861.

I HAVE received from Lord Dufferin a copy of his despatch to your Excellency of the 23rd ultimo, respecting the course which Fuad Pasha is pursuing in confiscating the estates of Druse Chiefs and of other persons belonging to that community; and I have to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government consider it very desirable that you should call the attention of the Porte to the injustice and inexpediency of this measure.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 242.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 17, 1861.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 1st instant, giving you an account of a conversation which I had had with the French Ambassador respecting the evacuation of Syria by the French troops, I inclose, for your Excellency's information, copies of correspondence which I have since had with Earl Cowley on the same subject.*

I likewise inclose a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Chargés d'Affaires at Berlin and Vienna,† directing them to call the serious attention of the Prussian and Austrian Governments to the question.

Your Excellency will not conceal from the Porte the opinion of Her Majesty's Government as to the propriety and expediency of the retirement of the French troops from Syria at the period stipulated for in the Convention. But although a knowledge of this opinion may serve to support the Turkish Government in resisting any attempts which may be made on the part of other Powers to induce it to consent to the stay of the French troops being prolonged, you will be careful, in your communications with the Porte, to avoid pressing it, against its own inclination, to insist upon the retirement of the occupying force.

The Turkish Government may not feel itself equal to defend the Christians after the departure of the foreign troops, and it might therefore, if left to act for itself, shrink from insisting upon a fulfilment of the terms of the Convention; but it might not hesitate to adopt and favour a measure for which it is very anxious, if it felt that it could relieve itself from any responsibility for consequences by alleging that it had acted in deference to the urgently expressed desire of the British Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 243.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 17, 1861.

I TRANSMIT for your Excellency's information copies of two papers which have been communicated to me by the Turkish Ambassador,‡ containing the Porte's refusal to adopt Lord Dufferin's plan for the future government of Syria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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* Nos. 227, 228, 232, and 240. † No. 238.
‡ Nos. 236 and 237.

No. 244.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 18, 1861.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 31, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the translation of a letter from Fuad Pasha in reply to the one addressed to him by the Grand Vizier on the subject of the complaints of the Jewish inhabitants of Damascus.

His Excelleucy states that there is only one Jew remaining in custody who could not refute the charge of murder brought against him ; and that, although all the formalities required by the special and summary process of trial adopted in Syria have been observed in his case, an exception has been made in his favour to the extent of suspending the sentence given against him, so that he may have every opportunity of coming to a settlement with his prosecutors.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

Inclosure in No. 244.

Fuad Pasha to the Grand Vizier.

(Translation.) 18 *Gemazi-el-evvel,* 1277. (*December* 5, 1860.)

I HAVE been honoured by a letter from your Highness, stating that the British Embassy had informed you, on the part of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Her Britannic Majesty, that the Jewish inhabitants of Damascus were being persecuted, imprisoned, and punished by the Christians, and further, that it was reported that they had purchased at a low price the property which had been plundered, and that they had taken part in the massacre. Your Highness orders me to put a stop to these acts of oppression, if they have really taken place towards those people, and to report the true state of the case.

It would be impossible to prove charges for acts of murder which may have taken place in that outbreak, by the production of proofs as in other ordinary cases. Therefore a general rule has been adopted towards everybody of allowing the bereaved Christian inhabitants to denounce such murderers of their relatives or plunderers of their property as they might recognise, to prosecute their case by the process of confrontation, and to prove it upon oath. When the accused party is unable to repel the charge, he is pronounced to be guilty, and punished according to the degree of his culpability. This plan has, on a former occasion, been submitted to your Highness, and I had been informed, in reply, that it had met with His Majesty's sanction.

Certain Christians having brought a charge of murder and plunder against certain Jews of Damascus, the case was, as usual, referred to the Extraordinary Tribunal; and, as a special exception in favour of that nation, the Rabbins and certain notables were allowed to be present during the trial. The charges could not be proved against most of these Jews, and they were therefore released some time ago, excepting one against whom the charge for murder attained the degree of proof required by the mode which has been adopted as above. As the Jewish defendant could not repel the charge, he was taken into custody, but the execution of his sentence was put off; and if he can produce any strong argument capable of convincing his adversaries, he may yet save himself.

Although exaggerated reports and complaints are current even here, that the Jewish sect during the outbreak got possession of a good deal of property at a cheap rate, they have not had to undergo any sort of annoyance or persecution on account of that report alone. But when any Jew is seen selling things of that kind, orders have been given to the competent authorities to inspect such things with care, in order to ascertain whether they form a portion of the plundered property or not. The only treatment, therefore, they have had to undergo is the exercise of surveillance in this respect

(Signed) FUAD.

No. 245.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 18.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, January* 9, 1861.

YOUR Lordship wishes to know what security the Porte can give, on the withdrawal of the French troops from Syria, for the maintenance of tranquillity and the necessary protection to the Christians. I have had a long conversation with his Highness Aali Pasha on this subject.

He says that the army in Syria will be maintained at 25,000 regular troops, recruited in four Pashalics, namely, Damascus, Sidon, Aleppo, and Adana; and the revenue of these four provinces will be allotted to the expenses of such troops, with the exception, however, of such portion of the receipts of the Custom-house at Beyrout as is assigned to the loans already contracted; the amount thus devoted to the maintenance of the Syrian army being more than sufficient for that purpose. He adds, that the Irregular Cavalry will be organized, and a police force formed in the towns, in which police force the Christian population will be enrolled.

He says that the rebuilding of the houses of the Christians must depend upon the manner in which the proposed indemnity is raised; and the Porte is now considering the subject, and will, within two or three days, inform me of the result. It seems to Aali Pasha, however, that the tax which M. Outrey proposes to levy on Damascus will be the complete destruction of the city, and will be unjust because it will fall principally on the wealthy inhabitants, who opposed the late disturbances. But I do not enter more fully into this question until I hear more clearly what the Porte determines on.

With respect to the conduct, according to Lord Dufferin's despatches, that has been pursued towards the Druses, his Highness concurs with your Lordship in condemning its excessive severity, and will write to Fuad Pasha on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

No. 246.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, January* 18, 1861.

I TRANSMIT, for your Lordship's information, copies of two papers which have been communicated to me by the Turkish Ambassador,* containing the Porte's refusal to adopt your plan for the future government of Syria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 247.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 18.)

(Extract.) *Paris, January* 17, 1861.

AS far as I am aware, the Turkish Government has not even hinted to the French Government any desire that at the expiration of the six months stipulated by the Convention of the 5th September, the French troops should be withdrawn.

No. 248.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 19.)

My Lord, *Paris, January* 18, 1861.

M. THOUVENEL informed me this afternoon that the despatch which I stated to your Lordship in my despatch of the 11th instant his Excel-

* Nos. 236 and 237.

lency was about to address to the Representatives of the Emperor at the great Courts of Europe, with reference to the evacuation of Syria, would be sent off on Monday next. The object of it would be to propose that the Conference should again meet to decide whether the occupation of Syria by foreign troops should be prolonged or not, the French Government not choosing to take upon themselves either the responsibility of continuing it beyond the terms specified by the Convention of the 5th September, or of withdrawing the troops in presence of the certainty which seemed to prevail, that their departure would be followed by fresh disasters. The Conference would best decide the question after hearing the opinion of the different Courts.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 249.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, January* 19, 1861.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 17th instant.

I have to observe to your Excellency that all I have said about the evacuation of Syria was prompted by the constant, pertinacious, and renewed representations of the Ottoman Ambassador in London, who represented himself as instructed to this effect by Aali Pasha, and read extracts of despatches from that Minister.

I have always said to M. Musurus, that if the Ottoman Government thought the stay of European troops necessary to prevent massacre, Her Majesty's Government would acquiesce in their opinion; if not necessary, it was the duty of the Sultan's Minister for Foreign Affairs to address the Five Powers, to express the opinion of Turkey as to the safety of the Christians in Syria, and to specify the guarantees she would offer to secure them against a renewal of massacre.

No. 250.

Sir J. Crampton to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 21.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, January* 11, 1861.

IN obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 18th ultimo,* I did not fail to communicate to Prince Gortchakoff Lord Dufferin's despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer, stating his Lordship's views as to the best means of settling the future government of Syria; and I stated to his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government are disposed to view Lord Dufferin's sketch favourably, but that they were disposed to think that, if adopted, the Governor of Syria should be named with the consent of the Five Powers.

When I placed this despatch in Prince Gortchakoff's hands he was pleased to express himself in terms very favourable to Lord Dufferin personally, and he praised the conciliatory manner in which his Lordship had discharged the duties entrusted to him by Her Majesty's Government. Prince Gortchakoff added that the best understanding had subsisted between Lord Dufferin and the Russian Commissioner. His Excellency then promised to give Lord Dufferin's report an attentive perusal, and to state to me frankly his opinion of the views therein set forth.

On my reminding him yesterday of his promise he repeated his favourable expressions in regard to Lord Dufferin, but added, that giving his Lordship credit for the uprightness of his intentions, and for the clearness and honesty of his views in respect to the evils under which the part of the Ottoman Empire in question was labouring, he could not altogether concur with his Lordship in regard to the remedies by which he proposed to meet them. It was not, for instance, to his taste that a Turkish administration should be established where no Turkish administration now existed, as in the case of the southern division of the Mount Lebanon. This, he thought, would aggravate the evils complained of, and could not meet the approval of the Russian Government.

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* See No. 207.

No. 251.

Mr. Fane to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 21.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, January* 17, 1861.

I HAD a conversation on Monday last with Count Rechberg on the state of affairs in Syria. I brought to his Excellency's knowledge the general nature of the reports addressed to your Lordship and Sir Henry Bulwer by Lord Dufferin, and I pointed out the conclusive evidence which they furnish of the dangers which would attend a prolongation of the military occupation of the province by France. Her Majesty's Government, I said, if they were convinced that there would be great risks in removing the foreign troops from Syria, might be induced to urge upon the Porte a postponement of the evacuation. But as Lord Dufferin's despatches, and all the information which they received, led Her Majesty's Government to a directly opposite conclusion, they entertained the strongest opinion that the stay of the French troops in Syria should not be prolonged beyond the term fixed by the Protocol of the 8th of August.

Count Rechberg said that he thought it highly desirable that the French occupation of Syria should cease at the stipulated period, if this could be done without danger of a renewed massacre of the Christians.

Count Rechberg said that the opinion of the Austrian Commissioner, which was only of a prospective character, would not justify his Excellency in declaring an absolute conviction that the withdrawal of foreign troops from Syria at the expiration of the Convention could be effected with complete safety, although he inclined to the adoption of that opinion. In any case, the occupation of Syria by French troops must not be prolonged for a day beyond the appointed term, without the sanction and authority of the Powers who had signed the Protocol of the 8th of August.

No. 252.

Mr. Lowther to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 21.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, January* 19, 1861.

I, THIS morning, communicated to his Excellency Baron Schleinitz your Lordship's despatch addressed to me on the 16th instant, relative to the question of the further occupation of Syria by the forces of a European Power, and I requested his Excellency to give it his most serious attention. In conformity with your Lordship's instructions, I read the above-named despatch to his Excellency, and when I had concluded, he said he entirely agreed with your Lordship's opinions as expressed in that despatch. There was no doubt that, according to the Convention signed in August, the troops should be withdrawn in the month of February next; but he said, which would be the greater evil—the disorder which may follow the withdrawal of the troops, or an arrangement agreed upon by the Great Powers who have assisted in restoring tranquillity, by which the stay of those troops in Syria might be prolonged? He said, if any one of the parties to the Convention, England for example, is opposed to the prolonged stay of the troops in Syria, there is no doubt the evacuation should take place at the time fixed. He added, "We are very unwilling here to take upon ourselves the recommendation of such a step as the evacuation, and, indeed, I have no very decided opinions upon the subject; I am entirely guided by the reports I received from Syria itself, as the Commissioners there are much better able to judge of the state of affairs than we are."

He said he was most anxious to know the Articles, upon which he learnt the British, French, Austrian, Prussian, and Turkish Commissioners were nearly agreed.

But, said his Excellency, if after the departure of the foreign troops there should be a repetition of the massacres which shocked and disgusted Europe last year, then the different Governments may feel themselves called upon to act in such a manner that it may serve as a "coup de grâce" to the Government of the Sultan.

No. 253.

M. Thouvenel to Count de Flahault.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by Count de Flahault, January 22.)

M. le Comte, *Paris, le 18 Janvier*, 1861.

NOUS approchons du terme fixé par la Convention du 5 Septembre dernier pour la durée de l'occupation en Syrie. J'ai eu plusieurs fois à vous entretenir des intentions du Gouvernement de l'Empereur à ce sujet. Investis de la mission d'exécuter des décisions communes, nous tenons avant tout à remplir les conditions auxquelles nous avons reçu ce mandat. Toutefois, par cette raison même, avant de quitter la Syrie, nous regardons comme un devoir de mettre les Puissances dans le cas d'examiner de concert si le départ du corps expéditionnaire à la date convenue peut s'effectuer sans danger pour la tranquillité, du pays, et il nous semble opportun d'appeler sur ce point leur attention.

Les Puissances ne se sont proposé en Syrie aucun but politique, et le Gouvernement de l'Empereur s'est entièrement associé à leur pensée. Elles poursuivent une œuvre d'humanité; cette œuvre est-elle accomplie? Les Cabinets connaissent comme nous l'état des choses et savent combien la pacification a marché jusqu'ici avec lenteur. La Commission Européenne instituée à Beyrouth avait d'abord à pourvoir aux nécessités les plus urgentes en provoquant, d'un côté, des réparations, de l'autre des châtiments. Ce n'était là cependant qu'une partie de sa tâche, et non la plus importante. Elle devait encore recueillir et proposer aux Puissances les éléments du nouvel arrangement qu'il s'agit de combiner avec le Gouvernement Ottoman pour l'administration de la Montagne. Ce travail, en effet, est le complément indispensable de toutes les autres mesures déjà prises ou à prendre d'un commun accord avec la Porte. Tant qu'il n'est pas achevé, on peut dire que rien n'est fait; car dans l'état de désordre où sont toutes choses en Syrie, l'essentiel est de fixer les conditions du nouveau Gouvernement du Liban et c'est là aussi ce que les Puissances ont voulu.

Non seulement ce vœu n'est point rempli, mais la Commission arrive à peine au terme des questions de répression et d'indemnité pour ce qui concerne le Liban; d'autre part, l'entente n'est pas encore définitive pour l'indemnité à prélever à Damas, et la Porte manifeste la prétention d'évoquer à Constantinople la solution de cette question. La réorganisation administrative a été, à la vérité, abordée récemment dans des entretiens confidentiels. Mais absorbés par d'autres soins, les délégués ne se sont point jusqu'à présent trouvés en mesure de la traiter officiellement, et il serait difficile de déterminer le moment où ils pourront communiquer aux Puissances le résultat de leurs études.

Enfin, M. le Comte, l'incertitude même que ces retards laissent planer sur la réorganisation du Liban entretient les esprits dans un état d'excitation extrême; et les renseignements que nous possédons nous font craindre que le départ de nos troupes ne soit suivi de nouveaux désordres, s'il a lieu avant que les dispositions nécessaires pour garantir la sécurité des populations aient été adoptées.

Devant des considérations de cette nature, tous les Cabinets comprendront que nous attachions beaucoup de prix à dégager notre responsabilité. Si, d'une part, nous entendons demeurer fidèles aux stipulations arrêtées par la Conférence, de l'autre nous ne voulons point que l'on puisse nous reprocher de n'avoir point signalé le danger que nous croyons entrevoir. Nous sommes donc amenés à demander aux Puissances de faire connaître à cet égard leur pensée, en nous réservant simplement d'exprimer la nôtre dans les délibérations, comme signataires de la Convention du 5 Septembre, c'est-à-dire, au même titre que les autres Cabinets.

Nous avons prouvé, par l'insistance que nous avons mise à presser les travaux de la Commission, combien nous désirions pouvoir évacuer la Syrie à la date stipulée, et, encore aujourd'hui, personne ne verrait avec une satisfaction plus sincère que les circonstances nous permissent de réaliser ce désir. Si les Puissances décident qu'il y a lieu de proroger le terme de l'occupation, ayant accepté de fournir l'effectif du corps expéditionnaire nous ne refuserions point, sans doute, de continuer les sacrifices que nous nous sommes imposés pour

prêter au Sultan la co-opération de nos troupes; mais, dans le cas où les Puissances seraient d'avis qu'il convient de désigner l'une ou plusieurs d'entre elles pour participer à cette mission, nous serions prêts à accepter leur concours.

Il me semble, M. le Comte, que le moyen le plus naturellement indiqué pour établir une entente sur ces divers points serait de convoquer la Conférence. Si cette manière de voir obtient l'entier assentiment du Cabinet de Londres, je vous prie de me le faire connaître le plus tôt possible et je provoquerais la réunion des Plénipotentiaires aussitôt que l'adhésion des différentes Cours me serait parvenue.

Vous voudrez bien donner lecture et laisser à Lord John Russell copie de cette dépêche, que j'adresse également aux Représentants de l'Empereur à Berlin, St. Pétersbourg, Vienne, et Constantinople.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) THOUVENEL.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte, *Paris, January* 18, 1861.

WE are approaching the limit fixed by the Convention of the 5th of September last, for the duration of the occupation of Syria. I have had several times to communicate with you as to the intentions of the Government of the Emperor on this subject. Invested with the mission of executing common decisions, our first object is to fulfil the conditions upon which we received this trust. For this very reason, however, we consider it a duty before leaving Syria, to give the Powers an opportunity of examining, in common, whether the departure of the expeditionary force at the date agreed on can be effected without danger to the tranquillity of the country, and it seems to us advisable to invite their attention to this point.

The Powers did not propose to themselves any political object in Syria, and the Government of the Emperor entirely concurred in their view. They are executing a work of humanity: is this work accomplished? The Cabinets know as well as we do the state of affairs, and are aware how slowly the pacification has hitherto progressed. The European Commission instituted at Beyrout had first to provide for the most urgent necessities by requiring on the one hand reparation, on the other, punishment. This, however, was but a portion of its task, and not the most important. It had still to collect and propose to the Powers the elements of the new arrangement which is to be framed in conjunction with the Ottoman Government for the administration of the Mountain. This work, in fact, is the indispensable complement of all the other measures already taken, or to be taken by common agreement with the Porte. So long as it is unfinished, it may be said that nothing has been done; for in the state of disorder in which everything is in Syria, the essential point is to fix the conditions for the new Government of the Lebanon, and this also was the desire of the Powers.

Not only is this desire not accomplished, but the Commission has hardly come to the end of the questions of repression and indemnity as concerns the Lebanon; on the other hand, the agreement is not yet definitive respecting the indemnity to be levied on Damascus, and the Porte is manifesting a pretension to call for the solution of that question at Constantinople. The question of the administrative reorganization has, it is true, been opened recently in confidential communications. But absorbed in other duties, the delegates have not hitherto been able to deal with it officially, and it would be difficult to determine the moment when they will be able to communicate to the Powers the result of their inquiries.

Finally, M. le Comte, the very uncertainty which these delays permit to hang over the reorganization of the Lebanon, keeps men's minds in a state of extreme excitement; and the information which we possess makes us fear lest the departure of our troops should be followed by fresh disorders, if it takes place before the necessary arrangements have been adopted to guarantee the security of the population.

In face of considerations of this nature, all the Cabinets will understand that we attached great value to being released from our responsibility. If, on the one hand, we intend to remain faithful to the stipulations agreed upon by the Conference, on the other, we do not wish to risk being reproached with not having

pointed out the danger which we think we foresee. We are therefore induced to request the Powers to communicate their views on this subject, reserving to ourselves simply the expression of our own in the deliberations, as having signed the Convention of the 5th of September, that is to say, by the same right as the other Cabinets.

We have proved, by the eagerness which we have shown to hasten the labours of the Commission, how much we desired to be able to evacuate Syria at the stipulated date, and, even now, nobody would see with more sincere satisfaction that circumstances permitted us to realise that desire.

If the Powers decide that there is reason for prolonging the term of occupation, having accepted the task of furnishing the effective expeditionary body, we certainly would not refuse to continue the sacrifices which we have imposed on ourselves, in order to afford the Sultan the co-operation of our troops; but in case the Powers should be of opinion that it is advisable to name one or more of themselves to participate in that mission, we should be ready to accept their assistance.

It appears to me, M. le Comte, that the means which most naturally present themselves for establishing an agreement on these various points would be to convoke the Conference. If this view obtains the entire assent of the Cabinet of London, I beg you to communicate the fact to me as soon as possible, and I should invite the meeting of the Plenipotentiaries as soon as the adhesion of the different Courts reaches me.

You will read and give a copy of this despatch to Lord John Russell. I address a similar one to the Representatives of the Emperor at Berlin, St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Constantinople.

Receive, &c.
(Signed) THOUVENEL.

No. 254.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, January* 24, 1861.

I HAVE had the honour to receive from the Count de Flahault a despatch addressed to him by M. Thouvenel, of which I send you a copy.*

In this despatch, of which the tone is calm and dispassionate, the Government of the Emperor recalls to mind the grounds upon which the expedition to Syria was originally undertaken; and it is affirmed, with truth, that the interests of humanity, and not any political object, were the motives of that expedition.

Various reasons are given to show that those objects are not yet accomplished, and the Emperor's Government express a desire to know the opinions of the Powers parties to the Convention of the 5th of September, before executing that part of the Convention which limits the period of occupation to six months.

With this view the French Government proposes to summon the Conference of the Representatives of the Powers at the earliest day upon which it can be assembled.

I do not wish to enter here into a discussion of the various reasons for postponing the term fixed by the Convention for the evacuation of Syria which are given in this despatch.

There is one consideration, however, which appears to Her Majesty's Government of paramount importance, upon which their decision must be founded.

The resolution to send troops to Syria was taken upon a sudden emergency, when all Europe was in a state of horror and indignation at the intelligence of the massacres perpetrated in the Lebanon and at Damascus. The object of the five Powers was to prevent a renewal of those massacres, and to show the fanatical tribes of Syria that such outrages upon humanity could not be committed without punishment and reparation.

At the same time a Commission was appointed, over which an officer of the Sultan was to preside, or has been chosen to preside, to consider and advise upon the means of pacifying Syria. This Commission was, in the first instance, to urge the Sultan's officers to punish the guilty and to afford indemnity to their

* No. 253.

victims. Its further duty, and, as M. Thouvenel says, the most important part of its task was, "to collect and propose to the Powers the elements of the new arrangement which it is proposed to make, with the concurrence of the Ottoman Government, for the administration of the Mountain."

The institution of this Commission, however, was a measure entirely separate from the Convention for sending foreign troops to Syria, and it had objects of which some were entirely separate and distinct from the despatch of troops.

It appears to Her Majesty's Government that it would be a grave error in point of right and in point of policy, if the five Powers were to confound the question of foreign occupation and that of the future administration of the Mountain.

It must be recollected that Syria is a province of the Turkish Empire. The Sultan is the Sovereign of that country, and not the five Powers. The first question to ask, therefore, is whether the Sultan has need of foreign troops to maintain tranquillity in Syria. The next question is, how the Sultan proposes to provide for that tranquillity, and prevent a renewal of the massacres of last June.

If the Sultan engages to do this, and if he shows that he has means to do it, the question of the continuance of foreign occupation at once falls to the ground. If the Sultan will not undertake to secure tranquillity, or if he shall not be able to provide means to do it, further questions may arise. But those questions would be of the gravest nature, and until we know the answer of the Sultan it is not necessary to anticipate them. Suffice it to say that unless the five Powers and the Sultan agree to renew the Convention of last September, that Convention will expire, and the lawful occupation of Syria by foreign troops will terminate with it.

The consideration of the measures necessary for the permanent peace of the Mountain is a more difficult question, and, as M. Thouvenel says, it would be difficult to determine the moment when the Commissioners may be able to communicate to the Powers the result of their labours.

You will now see the conclusion to which my arguments tend. Her Majesty's Government are quite prepared, either in Conference or otherwise, to inquire of the Sultan's Ministers whether the Porte is ready to become responsible for the present tranquillity of Syria, and has provided sufficient means for that purpose.

Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to maintain European troops in Syria until means are found of totally preventing for the future those bloody encounters of hostile tribes which have been for ages the scourge of that country. They care not whether those European troops should belong to France or to any other country. Her Majesty's Government will not agree to become responsible for the future administration of a province of the Sultan by the agency of foreign troops.

You will read this despatch to M. Thouvenel, and give him a copy of it.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 255.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 24.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, January* 10, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 255.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, January* 4, 1861.

I HAVE the pleasure to inform your Excellency that his Highness the Pasha of Egypt, in reply to a suggestion I ventured to make to him some two months ago, on the strength of the friendly relations which on a former occasion subsisted between us, has been good enough to place at my disposal 2,500 bushels of corn for the benefit of the distressed Christians of Syria.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 255.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, January* 12, 1861.

I REGRET to be obliged to inform your Excellency that I have been lately hearing great complaints of the injustice and oppression to which the Druses of the Meten, a Mixed district in the Christian Kaimakamship, are being subjected by the Maronite soldiers of Jusef Keram.

It would appear that about a month ago a certain village, called Abediah, was searched for plundered property by a Turkish official. After everything supposed to be stolen had been restored to the rightful proprietors, an invitation was addressed to the Christian portion of the community to enumerate all the outstanding debts against their Druse neighbours, and Jusef Keram was recommended to quarter such a number of his armed followers in the houses of the inhabitants as would insure a speedy satisfaction of the claims. Such a proceeding naturally gave rise to every species of iniquitous exaction: false accusations were advanced, long-forgotten claims were revived, and a demand was even made for the repayment of liabilities alleged to have been contracted in the days of Mehemet Ali. The unfortunate people in vain appealed against so monstrous an imposition. The soldiery erected themselves into a tribunal, and any one who remonstrated was immediately imprisoned on the charge of complicity in the late massacres.

After everything they possessed had been squeezed out of the inhabitants, the troops moved over to another village, where they began to repeat a similar process of pillage and extortion.

Luckily I received, thanks to the vigilance of Colonel Burnaby, timely intelligence of what was going on, and having had the good fortune to gain the confidence of the Christian Kaimakam, such measures have been taken as will, I trust, prevent for the present a repetition of similar enormities; but I am anxious to acquaint your Excellency with the spirit which has been displayed, in order that you may have an idea of the kind of future in store for the Druses should they ever be handed over to the tender mercies of their Maronite fellow-subjects.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 255.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, January* 12, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that some days ago this town was thrown into considerable agitation by the report that a soldier of Jusef Keram, the Christian Kaimakam, had been murdered by the Druses of a village in the Meten.

Nothing could be more circumstantial than the narrative which reached us. The place where the bullet entered the victim's head, the spot where it came out, the weapon wherewith the crime was committed, the motives which had induced

the Druses to slaughter this particular individual, were minutely described by several eye-witnesses.

Jusef Keram, accompanied by two Turkish officers, started off at midnight to the scene of the tragedy; and for three days society was kept in a state of breathless expectation until news should arrive that all those engaged in the murder had been condignly punished.

It turns out, however, that the whole story was a gross fabrication, arising out of the fact that the man in question had been struck with a stone by the Druse servant of a Christian Emir, whom Jusef Keram accuses of having instigated the assault.

In reference to the above subject I have further to add that, immediately on hearing a rumour of disturbance in the Mountain, Ahmet Pasha went off in person to the spot, leaving orders with a detachment of his soldiers to follow.

This entry of Turkish troops into the Christian Kaimakamship has been considered by my colleagues and by Jusef Keram an unjustifiable infraction of the privileges of the Lebanon. Considering, however, the blame which Khoorshid Pasha has justly incurred for hesitating to interfere with troops when a collision between Christians and Druses was to be apprehended, it is scarcely surprising that his successor should be anxious to show himself more alert on a similar occasion.

Jusef Keram wanted to resign his post, but from this resolution he has been dissuaded.

Inclosure 4 in No. 255.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, January* 12, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that on the 4th instant Fuad Pasha left Beyrout for Moktara, in order to preside over the trials of the Druse prisoners accused of murder by the Christian bishops and notables.

On passing through Deir-el-Kamar, his Excellency was surrounded by crowds of Christian women crying out for blood; and both here and elsewhere similar demonstrations are being organized.

Major Fraser writes me word that his Excellency is greatly embarrassed by the fact of the Christian hierarchy who furnished him with lists of the proscribed having refused to supply the evidence necessary to prove the guilt of those whom they accused. "The whole 1,200," say they, "are worthy of death, and it is not necessary we should descend to particulars."

On receiving intelligence of this circumstance, I recommended his Excellency to announce his intention of setting at large all those against whom no testimony should be forthcoming within the space of a week; and I have also remonstrated with such of my colleagues as enjoy the confidence of the prelates against this unreasonable conduct. I am since informed that their reluctance has been overcome, and that they have condescended to enter into details. It will remain to be seen on the strength of what testimony these personages have been prepared to consign to the hands of the executioner more than a thousand of their fellow-creatures. All that I have observed leads me to believe that the lists of the accused are composed in a great measure of names designated either by chance or by motives of private animosity. In support of this conjecture, I may mention that I have been myself compelled to interfere three several times, to prevent a man known to have been resident in Beyrout while the disturbances were going on, from being carried off to prison on the charge of murder at Deir-el-Kamar, while several other gentlemen of my acquaintance, French, English, and American, have had occasion to do the like.

Major Fraser's presence on the spot, together with other precautions I have taken against either an excessive or unjust effusion of blood, will, I trust, so far succeed in countervailing the unscrupulous spirit of vengeance exhibited by the Maronite priesthood and their associates, as to enable me in a short time to announce to your Excellency that the most guilty, and none but the most guilty, have suffered for their crimes; that an amnesty has been proclaimed; and that the rest of the unfortunate Druse nation has been relieved from further pursuit and persecution.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 255.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, January* 13, 1861.

SOME time since I had the honour of drawing your Excellency's attention to the cruel and indiscriminate persecution to which the whole Druse nation was in danger of being subjected by their Christian fellow-subjects, as well as to the unholy thirst for vengeance which seemed to pervade not only the uneducated classes, but the religious teachers of the Maronite sect; and in successive despatches I have substantiated my impression by narrating to your Excellency the various methods which have been adopted to procure the expulsion or extermination of the obnoxious community from the moment when the Christian rabble celebrated their hour of triumph by a series of atrocities as cold-blooded as any of which they themselves had been the victims, to the late monstrous proscription by the Christian Bishops of two-thirds of the adult Druse population.

Last Monday, to my great surprise, the French Commissioner took advantage of one of our confidential meetings to re-open the question as to what principles were to guide us in our re-organization of the Lebanon, by proposing that the Government of the two Kaimakams should be united in the hands of a Maronite Prince of the House of Shehab; and in support of his suggestion he enlarged in the first place, on the fact of its being our especial mission to render as complete as possible the triumph of the Christian element in the Mountain, and in the next, on the golden era which prevailed when the destinies of the Lebanon were presided over by the great Emir Beshir. The Austrian Representative followed M. Béclard.

Although a little startled by the sudden proposal of a scheme so entirely at variance with the Articles which had been already accepted, and which M. Béclard himself had been good enough to propose to the Commission on our joint behalf, I contented myself with remarking, that in the first place I must deny that the advancement of a Christian or rather Maronite ascendancy, at the expense of the vital interests of their fellow-subjects of the Lebanon, was by any means the object I had been instructed to keep in view. On the contrary, the Commission had been sent to devise the best means of putting an end to the internecine quarrels of two barbarous tribes by some arrangement which should result in the general happiness of the united population.

In the next place, I observed, any resuscitation of the Government of an Emir Beshir must prove a disastrous anachronism. The Emir Beshir had been a savage energetic despot, half Mahometan, a quarter Christian, and a quarter Druse; it is true, by dint of assassinating his enemies, putting out the eyes of his rivals, and terrorizing his subjects, he had contrived to keep the Mountain in subjection; but to imagine that because this exceptional man was a Shehab, any priest-ridden descendant of that effete family could control the fermenting elements we had now to deal with, was likely to prove a most fallacious expectation; and that in conclusion I was so convinced in my inmost conscience of the cruelty and injustice of giving up the Druse nation to the fury of a hostile tribe, to which such an arrangement as that suggested by M. Béclard would be tantamount, that I must decline even to discuss the proposition. Had there been anything wanting to make me appreciate what the Druses might expect, did hey once find themselves in the power of their enemies, the late conduct of the Maronite Bishops would have been sufficient to have opened my eyes. My sole desire, I added, was to arrive at an impartial arrangement. I had been the first to admit the justice of M. Béclard's objection to a continuance of a Druse domination over their Christian fellow-subjects; I had even gone so far as to entertain, subject to the approbation of my Government, his proposition to unite, under a single Christian Pasha the double Kaimakamship, provided only security was taken that such a functionary should be removed, by the circumstances of his position, from all temptation to become the partizan of fanatical religionists, or to betray the interests of his Sovereign. But to continue in the Mixed districts the tyranny of one savage tribe over the other, even though the power was to pass from the hands of Pagans into that of self-called Christians, was what I never could consent to. The Representative of Prussia then

intimated his opinion that if the Lebanon were to be governed by a Christian Pasha, he would certainly have considered it advisable the office should be filled by a person unconnected with the country, and removed from the control of sectarian influences. The discussion terminated by M. Novikow contending that the executive authority of the Lebanon ought to be indigenous, but alternating every year between representatives of the Maronite and Greek interests.

No. 256.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 24.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, January* 11, 1861.

IN continuation of my reply to your Lordship's inquiries respecting the population of the Lebanon, I beg to transmit a Table Mr. Vice-Consul Rogers has been good enough to draw up from materials supplied to him from the Austrian and English Consulates, together with his own remarks upon the subject.

In comparing the numerical proportions of the various communities, it is always to be remembered that the Greek Catholics are to be considered as far more nearly allied to the Maronites in their religious sympathies and national interests than to the Orthodox Greeks.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 256.

Vice-Consul Rogers to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Beyrout, January* 12, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to report that a few days ago, in conformity with your Lordship's instructions, I had the pleasure of an interview with M. de Weckbecker, the Austrian Consul-General, who supplied me with statistics of the population of the Christian and Druse Kaimakamates, which on examination I found to coincide very nearly with the information I had received elsewhere; and that from the British Consulate-General I obtained the statistics of the Anti-Lebanon.

I have reduced all this information to a tabular form, which I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship.

From the peculiarly Oriental repugnance of the natives to registration or counting of their numbers, there is a great difficulty in obtaining any correct statistics, and moreover the Government itself has not any trustworthy data upon which to form a calculation; yet I am happy to say that Mr. C. Graham, who has had a long experience in the Lebanon, has stated his belief that this Table is as nearly correct as possible.

I have, &c.

(Signed) E. T. ROGERS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 256.

TABLE of the Statistics of Mount Lebanon.

Jurisdiction.	Name of District.	Numbers of the Native Inhabitants capable of carrying arms.								Totals of the population in souls.
		Maronites.	Greek Catholics.	Orthodox Greeks.	Total of Christians.	Druses.	Moslems and Metwalis.	Jews.	Totals.	
Christian Kaïmakâmate	Meten, Mokâtat Bekfeya, and Mokâtat Beit Shebâb	2,500	1,000	2,000	5,500	1,300	...	...	6,800	34,000
	Sahel	1,250	150	200	1,600	282	84	...	1,966	9,830
	Kesrawan, Belâd Jebail, Belâd Batrûn and Kûra	12,500	300	2,500	15,300	...	680	...	15,980	79,900
	Zahleh and the plain of Bokâa	120	3,100	400	3,620	120	421	...	4,161	20,805
	Totals of adult males	16,370	4,550	5,100	26,020	1,702	1,185	...	28,907	144,535
	Totals in souls	81,850	22,750	25,500	130,100	8,510	5,925	...	144,535	
Druse Kïmakâmate	The Two Shûfs	250	685	75	1,010	1,700	...	...	2,710	13,550
	Jezzîn	950	500	...	1,450	120	...	...	1,570	7,850
	Jebal Rihan	40	50	...	90	...	190	...	280	1,400
	Arkûb	350	350	...	700	680	...	...	1,380	6,900
	The Two Jords	440	...	...	440	770	...	...	1,210	6,050
	The Two Gharbs	221	200	700	1,121	1,030	27	...	2,178	10,890
	Menasif and Shahâr	740	300	200	1,240	705	...	...	1,945	9,725
	Aklîm Tuffah	200	600	...	800	...	40	...	840	4,200
	Aklîm Karûb	200	400	...	600	...	850	...	1,450	7,250
	Totals in adult males	3,391	3,085	975	7,451	5,005	1,107	...	13,563	67,815
	Totals in souls	16,955	15,425	4,875	37,255	25,025	5,535	...	67,815	
Mudir	Deir-el-Kamar	660	390	...	1,050	140	...	58	1,248	6,240
Governor (appointed by the Governor-General of Damascus)	Hasbeya	The proportions of the different sects not ascertained.			1,600	1,300	800	35	3,735	18,675
Ditto ditto	Rasheya				1,350	2,000	195	...	3,545	17,725
Governor (Druse)	Aklîm Belân				220	640	510	...	1,370	6,850
Ditto ditto	Shâra (Baneas, &c.)				100	420	190	...	710	3,550
Ditto (Metwali)	Baalbek				220	...	1,800	...	2,020	10,100
	Totals of adult males	660	390	...	4,540	4,500	3,495	93	12,628	63,140
	Totals in souls	3,300	1,950	...	22,700	22,500	17,475	465	63,140	
	Entire totals of adult males	20,421	8,025	6,075	38,011	11,207	5,787	93	55,098	275,490
	Entire totals in souls	102,105	40,125	30,375	190,055	56,035	28,935	465	275,490	

NOTE.—To arrive at the population in souls of any district, that of adult males is to be multiplied by 5.—E. T. R.

No. 257.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 24.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, January 13, 1861.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of the Protocol of the sixteenth sitting of the Commission, which was holden on the 29th December, 1860.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 257.

Protocol of the Sixteenth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, December 29, 1860.

LE vingt-neuf Décembre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires, à l'exception de Fuad Pacha représenté par Abro Efendi, étant réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de M. Béclard, Vice-Président, la séance est ouverte à trois heures. Le procès-verbal est lu et adopté avec quelques modifications.

Abro Efendi exprime au nom de Fuad Pacha le regret que son Excellence éprouve de n'avoir pu assister à la séance par suite de son indisposition. Il dépose ensuite entre les mains de M. le Vice-Président le dossier des pièces d'instruction relatives au procès des officiers Ottomans et des Cheiks Druses détenus à Beyrout.

Le Commissaire Français, ayant pris connaissance, ainsi que ses collègues, des jugements, ou pour mieux dire des conclusions sous forme de rapports, soumises à son Excellence Fuad Pacha par le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrout, et que son Excellence a communiquées à la Commission dans la précédente séance, remarque que ces conclusions, en ce qui concerne Kourchid Pacha et les autres fonctionnaires ou officiers Ottomans, ne provoquent que l'application de la peine de la détention dans une forteresse, tandis que la peine de mort, d'après ces mêmes conclusions, est applicable à Said Bey Djomblat et aux autres Chefs Druses. Comme la plus grande part de responsabilité, en principe, semble devoir peser sur les autorités Ottomanes, le Commissaire Français, organe de toute la Commission, exprime le désir de savoir en quoi cette responsabilité a pu être atténuée aux yeux des juges, les pièces communiquées par son Excellence Fuad Pacha ne fournissant à cet égard aucune indication satisfaisante. Il invite donc Abro Efendi à transmettre cette interpellation au Plénipotentiaire Ottoman.

Abro Efendi répond que MM. les Commissaires trouveront sans doute dans le dossier des pièces qu'il vient de déposer, les éclaircissements qu'ils désirent. Il se fera, d'ailleurs, un devoir de transmettre à Fuad Pacha l'interpellation de M. Béclard, et il a lieu de croire que les explications de son Excellence satisferont entièrement la Commission.

M. le Commissaire de Sa Majesté Britannique appelle l'attention de ses collègues sur la nécessité qu'il y aurait, selon lui, de prendre des précautions contre l'application négligente ou inintelligente de la procédure sommaire qu'ils ont recommandée à Fuad Pacha à l'égard des principaux auteurs des massacres de Hasbeya, Racheya, et Deir-el-Kamar. MM. les Commissaires se rappelleront que, conformément à une entente arrêtée entr'eux et le Haut Commissaire Ottoman, les Chefs religieux des différentes communautés Chrétiennes furent invités à fournir à son Excellence Fuad Pacha des listes assermentées, contenant le nom des Druses que leur haute responsabilité dans les événements, ou leur participation aux massacres dans des circonstances aggravantes, rendraient passibles de la peine de mort.

En confiant aux prélats des communautés Chrétiennes la grave tâche de cette dénonciation, on était en droit d'espérer qu'un juste discernement de leur part adoucirait l'animosité vindicative qui emporte trop naturellement, d'ailleurs, leurs troupeaux respectifs, et ramenerait aux proportions d'une justice Chrétienne le nombre de ceux qui seraient désignés pour la peine capitale. Mais il paraît que l'on se trompait en espérant un tel résultat, vu que, sur les 8,000 adultes dont se compose la population Druse du Liban, 4,600 têtes ont été demandées par ces personnages. Il est vrai que les représentations du Haut Commissaire Ottoman les ont déterminées plus tard à réduire le nombre de leurs sanguinaires

réquisitions. Il s'élève cependant encore au chiffre énorme de 1,200 têtes. Lord Dufferin ne peut s'empêcher d'exprimer son indignation à l'égard d'une conduite dictée par un tel esprit de vengeance. Il y voit un nouvel indice du désir d'exterminer la nation Druse, désir auquel il a été déjà plusieurs fois dans le cas de faire allusion et qui est à son avis une des causes principales des derniers événements. Une circonstance que le hasard lui a fait connaître et qu'il s'empresse de révéler à ses collègues, vient d'augmenter encore le sentiment pénible que lui inspire la démarche des prélats, et sa défiance à l'égard de la justice des dénonciations fournies à son Excellence Fuad Pacha. Il paraît que pendant la nuit du 26 courant, un habitant de Deir-el-Kamar, nommé Youssef Ghalleh, accompagné d'un gendarme, se présenta à la maison d'un Cheik Druse résidant à Beyrout, nommé Sirhan, et accusant celui-ci du meurtre de son cousin à Deir-el-Kamar le jour du massacre, manifesta l'intention de l'arrêter pour le conduire à la prison. Heureusement un voisin Chrétien se porta garant de l'innocence de l'accusé, et persuada le plaignant de différer l'arrestation. Le lendemain matin cependant, Youssef Ghalleh se présenta de nouveau pour procéder lui-même à l'arrestation. Mais le Cheik Sirhan fit appel à un négociant Anglais et à plusieurs autres voisins Chrétiens, avec lesquels il était en relations journalières pendant l'été, et prouva que, le jour du crime dont on l'accusait, et pendant plusieurs semaines avant et après, il n'avait pas quitté Beyrout. Confondu par de tels témoignages, l'habitant de Deir-el-Kamar, tout en protestant contre l'intérêt que l'on témoignait à un Druse, déclara qu'il se désisterait de sa poursuite, pourvu qu'on lui donnât une certaine somme en guise de prix du sang. Il fut, d'autre part, obligé d'abandonner sa réclamation, quand il fut démontré, par la confrontation de l'accusé avec la femme du défunt, que ce prétendu coupable était innocent; néanmoins ce malheureux Cheik Druse fut obligé de récompenser les gendarmes.

Si un pareil outrage peut être impunément commis dans l'enceinte même de Beyrout et pour ainsi dire sous les yeux de Fuad Pacha, quelles violences et quelles injustice, ne doit-il pas se commettre dans les gorges de la Montagne, où aucune influence éclairée, Chrétienne ou Européenne, ne peut intervenir pour mettre un frein à la fureur vengeresse d'une population, justement indignée sans doute, mais évidemment encouragée par ses Chefs spirituels à maintenir, dans toute sa vigueur, l'ancien principe du sang pour le sang.

Ces réflexions depuis quelque temps occupent péniblement l'esprit du Commissaire Britannique, et afin de se prémunir d'avance contre l'accusation d'avoir en quoi que ce soit participé à l'effusion du sang innocent, Lord Dufferin a l'honneur de soumettre à son Excellence Fuad Pacha et à la Commission les propositions suivantes :—

1. Qu'aucun Druse ne sera traduit devant le Tribunal Militaire sans être accusé d'avoir assassiné de sang-froid un homme désarmé, une femme, ou un enfant.

2. Que le serment de deux témoins oculaires soit exigé pour servir de base à toute condamnation capitale :

3. Qu'en réglant le chiffre des condamnés à mort, on aura égard au nombre des Druses qui ont été assassinés par les Chrétiens, depuis l'arrivée de la Commission en Syrie ;

4. Que le degré de la peine capitale appliquée à la nation Druse sera moindre que celui qu'on a trouvé suffisant à Damas.

Abro Efendi confirme à certains égards, par de nouveaux renseignements, les appréciations auxquelles vient de se livrer M. le Commissaire Britannique, et constate à son tour que la conduite des prélats Chrétiens ne paraît pas avoir été inspirée par ce sentiment de justice Chrétienne qui devrait la caractériser. Ils ont d'abord dénoncé 4,600 personnes. M. le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman a dû leur faire remarquer qu'il s'agissait uniquement de condamnations à mort, et que le chiffre de leurs dénonciations n'était point en rapport avec la gravité de cette peine. Ils ont alors, sur l'invitation de son Excellence, divisé leur liste en trois catégories, comprenant seulement dans la première le nom de ceux qui doivent être condamnés au dernier supplice. Cette première catégorie renferme encore, au grand étonnement du Haut Commissaire du Sultan, le nom de 1,200 individus, parmi lesquels son Excellence, après avoir communiqué les projets de sentences, se trouvera dans le cas de faire exécuter seulement les plus coupables.

En réponse aux observations de Lord Dufferin et d'Abro Efendi, concernant les dénonciations faites par les évêques Chrétiens, le Commissaire Russe rappelle

que, conformément à ce qui a été convenu entre les membres de la Commission et son Excellence Fuad Pacha, les principaux coupables devaient être signalés par les Chefs spirituels, sur l'indication des Primats Chrétiens eux-mêmes. En présentant les susdites listes, les évêques n'ont fait que remplir strictement le mandat qui leur avait été confié, et qui consistait à servir d'intermédiaires entre le Chef du pouvoir exécutif et leurs coreligionnaires. Il leur eut même été impossible de procéder aux dénonciations de leur propre chef, attendu qu'ils n'avaient pas assisté personnellement aux massacres. On ne saurait donc en aucune façon faire peser sur eux la responsabilité du chiffre plus ou moins élevé des dénonciations. Il y a même grandement lieu de penser, selon M. le Commissaire Russe, qu'ils auront réduit le chiffre primitif des dénonciations faites par leurs ouailles, chiffre qui, d'après les idées reçues dans le pays en matière de droit pénal, devait sans doute comprendre autant d'accusés qu'il y avait eu de victimes.

Quant à la question des condamnations qui seront prononcées dans la Montagne, M. Novikow rappelle que la Commission a établi trois catégories de coupables passibles de la même peine. Elle a posé le principe, mais il ne lui conviendrait nullement d'entrer dans les détails de l'application. Toutefois M. le Commissaire Russe croit devoir ajouter que la seule peine décrétée étant la mort, il avait été bien entendu que cette peine ne serait appliquée qu'aux principaux criminels, et que le triage devrait être effectué avec un soin scrupuleux. La répression des Druses porte un double caractère : celui d'une peine afflictive et celui d'une mesure préventive, destinée à frapper de terreur le reste de la nation, et à lui servir de leçon pour l'avenir. Ce n'est donc pas autant dans le nombre que dans le choix des coupables et dans la recherche des circonstances, susceptibles de donner à l'œuvre de la justice plus de retentissement et d'éclat, que devra consister l'effet moral des exécutions. A cette fin, les condamnés devraient subir leur peine dans les villages mêmes qu'ils habitent, et si toutes les exécutions se faisaient simultanément, à la même heure, sur tous les points de la Montagne, un tel mode de procéder permettrait de réduire dans une certaine mesure le nombre des exécutions. Dans la pensée de M. le Commissaire Russe, l'efficacité de la répression résultera moins de l'application de peines individuelles que d'un ensemble de mesures propres à garantir le pays contre le renouvellement des mêmes calamités. Dans cet ordre d'idées, deux mesures lui semblent impérieusement réclamées par les circonstances, c'est : 1, le désarmement général de la population, qui ne s'effectuerait pas seulement en une fois, mais devrait continuer à s'effectuer sans interruption d'une manière permanente ; 2, la soumission définitive du Hauran, car il n'y aura jamais de sécurité réelle pour les populations du Liban et des contrées environnantes, tant que les fauteurs de désordres seront sûrs d'y trouver une sorte d'asile inviolable.

Enfin et pour clore l'article des répressions à exercer en conséquence des événements de la Montagne, M. Novikow fait observer que les garnisons Ottomanes de Hasbeya, Racheya, et Deir-el-Kamar, qui ont livré aux Druses les Chrétiens placés sous leur protection, sont plus coupables que les Druses eux-mêmes. Jusqu'ici on n'a puni que le Commandant de ces garnisons. M. Novikow est d'avis, et il pense que tous ses collègues sans exception partagent son sentiment à cet égard, que les officiers même subalternes sont tous solidaires de la trahison commise envers les Chrétiens, et que ce ne serait pas trop que de les punir en les dégradant.

Abro Efendi répond que ces officiers, n'ayant point, à vrai dire, de responsabilité directe, puisqu'ils obéissaient aux ordres de chefs supérieurs, déjà condamnés, n'ont point paru mériter de condamnation, mais qu'il entre dans les projets du Gouvernement de les éloigner tous sans exception. En ce qui concerne la simultanéité des exécutions dans toutes les localités habitées par les Druses qui seront condamnés, le vœu émis par M. le Commissaire Russe est entièrement conforme aux propres intentions de Fuad Pacha.

M. le Commissaire d'Autriche désire que, dans l'œuvre de la répression des Druses, Fuad Pacha, tout en pratiquant une justice sévère, évite autant que possible une trop grande effusion de sang. Selon lui, les Représentants des Puissances Chrétiennes ne peuvent que recommander au Plénipotentiaire Ottoman de se montrer avare de la peine de mort.

M. le Commissaire Prussien ne peut s'empêcher de remarquer que rien dans la conduite de Fuad Pacha n'autorise à croire qu'il doive outrepasser les bornes de la justice. Sa tendance est plutôt de rester en deçà, et quand depuis cinq

mois Fuad Pacha n'a pas encore sévi contre un seul Druse, ce n'est pas la miséricorde qu'il semble précisément nécessaire de lui recommander.

M. Béclard est d'avis que la Commission est allée aussi loin que possible dans la voie du sentiment Chrétien, quand elle a décidé que la répression des Druses s'accomplirait surtout en vue de l'avenir, et que l'on ait seulement à frapper trois catégories de coupables: les organisateurs du massacre, les chefs de bandes, et les assassins qui ont commis les plus révoltantes atrocités. Cette triple formule circonscrit dans des limites suffisamment étroites l'œuvre de justice confiée à Fuad Pacha depuis plusieurs mois, et qui vient à peine d'être commencée. Dans une telle occurrence, M. le Commissaire Français pense que la Commission pourrait tout au plus se borner à rappeller à M. le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman les termes de l'entente qui s'est établie à cet égard entre tous les membres de la Commission, et dont mention a été faite dans le procès-verbal de la séance du 14 Novembre. Depuis lors, il n'est survenu aucun incident qui puisse déterminer la Commission à se déjuger, et à proposer de nouvelles bases à la répression des Druses.

Quant au nombre des dénonciations faites par les évêques, il semble à M. le Commissaire Français plus accablant pour la nation Druse que pour les évêques. On a eu recours à leur intermédiaire, parce qu'ils sont par position plus en mesure que toutes autres personnes de recueillir et centraliser les renseignements propres à éclairer la justice. En transmettant à M. le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman les noms de ceux qui leur étaient signalés, ils n'ont fait que remplir exactement le mandat qui leur était confié, et dans cette circonstance ils n'ont agi ni comme évêques ni comme juges, mais comme citoyens. En conséquence, M. Béclard proteste avec énergie contre l'accusation dirigée contre eux, et d'après laquelle ils ne se seraient pas montrés les dignes représentants du sentiment Chrétien. Ils ont présenté une première liste générale, contenant les noms de 4,600 Druses, et puis une seconde liste contenant seulement les noms des 1,200 principaux coupables. Ces chiffres préparatoires ne lient en aucune façon M. le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman. Il y a lieu seulement de remarquer qu'il trouvera probablement dans la seconde liste les organisateurs du complot, les chefs de bandes et les assassins sanguinaires, qui, aux termes de l'arrangement intervenu dans la séance du 14 Novembre, sont seuls passibles de la peine de mort.

M. le Commissaire Prussien appelle l'attention de la Commission sur la manière irrégulière et illusoire dont s'opère à Damas la mesure du désarmement. M. Novikow constate que, lors du voyage des Commissaires à Damas, à peine 1,500 armes avaient été recueillies. M. Béclard fait observer que, tant que les agents de l'Autorité ne croiront pas pouvoir pénétrer dans le harem, les perquisitions dans les maisons Musulmanes ne donneront aucun résultat. M. de Rehfues est d'avis que l'on devrait, sur un avertissement préalable, faire évacuer momentanément la partie des maisons Musulmanes réservée aux femmes pour y procéder aux perquisitions, et que, si cette opération rencontrait trop de difficultés, on devrait lever sur Damas un impôt forcé d'armes et de munitions. Lord Dufferin insiste sur l'utilité de la mesure du désarmement qu'il est essentiel, selon lui, d'opérer partout, à Damas et dans la Montagne. MM. les Commissaires, en terminant cette conversation, reconnaissent tous unanimement que les deux mesures du désarmement et de l'impôt extraordinaire à Damas sont de la plus haute importance. Ils expriment de nouveau à cet égard le profond regret que leur inspire la récente décision prise par la Porte, et les ajournements funestes qu'elle entraine.

La séance est levée à quatre heures et trois-quarts.

(Suivent les signatures.)

No. 258.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 24.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, January* 13, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copy of a despatch I have just received from Major Fraser, in which he details at greater length some

of the facts with which I have already acquainted your Lordship relative to his Excellency Fuad Pasha's proceedings in the Mountains.

I have, &c.

(Signé) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 258.

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Mokhtára, January* 10, 1861.

ALTHOUGH the service in connection with which I had the honour to accompany Fuad Pasha into Mount Lebanon is but commencing, I feel it necessary that your Lordship should be informed of the progress of events, the more so that obstacles, the nature of which I shall immediately explain, are being raised to his Excellency carrying out the final punishment of the Druse prisoners in the manner decided by the European Commission.

Between 700 and 800 prisoners had been collected at this centre from the various Druse districts of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon—persons who had been denounced in lists sent in by the Chiefs of the different Christian sects, as having taken part, as actors or directors, in the recent massacres. His Excellency desiring to select for capital punishment a limited number of those who had distinguished themselves by acts of especial atrocity, caused a Mixed Commission of Civil and Military officers to be formed here, for the purpose of conducting preliminary examinations with a view to such a selection.

When this Commission called upon the Christians present to indicate those they considered most guilty, and to give their evidence in support of such accusation, the Christians, as a body, refused either to indicate or to give evidence against particular prisoners on the general plea that all were guilty and deserving of death. Successive parties of Christians who have arrived here have made the same reply.

I have now discovered an emissary in this village, who waylays witnesses coming to give evidence regarding the murder of their relatives, and induces them to withhold this, recommending them, instead, to lay it before the heads of their sect at Beyrout; otherwise, that the Government will only put a few Druses to death, thus depriving the Christians in general of the full satisfaction they desire.

I was about to arrest this person, who is a man of superior intelligence; but, on further consideration, I thought that by finding employment for him I could defeat his purpose, and at the same time use him as a means of communication with the directors of this movement. I have adopted this plan, and have tried to convince him—I hope with some success—that by the course the Christians are adopting they will utterly defeat their own object.

I have requested him to inform his principals that if no evidence is brought before the Court, which will shortly commence formal trials, the prisoners must inevitably be discharged.

Fuad Pasha is of opinion that this movement has been instigated by Chiefs of sects at Beyrout, in the probable hope, if a summary and sweeping condemnation be not made, of being thus enabled to demand the expulsion from Lebanon of all those denounced by them, amounting in the first lists to 4,500; and even in the second—the first having been rejected by Fuad Pasha as utterly unreasonable—to some 2,000 individuals, including nearly all the principal persons among the Druses.

His Excellency some days ago desired that at least two persons should be sent hither by each village from which prisoners have been taken, and who were cognizant of the alleged crimes. Should these witnesses arrive to-day, as is rather hoped than expected, the trials will commence to-morrow, the examinations having terminated last evening.

I have myself been conducting an inquiry among the Druse prisoners, and not without success, in the hope of thus obtaining information which may hereafter serve to test such other evidence as may be offered. I have had several conver-

sations with Druses since my arrival here regarding their past culpable acts and their present position.

They state, in exculpation of their conduct, that the war was not commenced by the Druses, but by the Christians, who would have attacked them incessantly, until they were either entirely extirpated or driven out of Lebanon; and that, had the Christians succeeded in getting the Druses in their power, they would have acted precisely as the Druses have done to them—an assertion which certainly derives colour from assertions to the same effect recently made to me by the Christians themselves.

The Druses further state, in bar of heavy punishment, that their loss of life has been very severe, amounting to upwards of 1,000 killed, besides very many wounded, not only during the continuance of hostilities, but also since, by Christians, who have utterly pillaged their villages, and murdered, in cold blood, such inhabitants as they could lay their hands upon.

They have offered to produce detailed lists, in proof of these assertions. Should these be furnished, I shall duly transmit them for your Lordship's information.

No. 259.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 24.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, January* 13, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copy of a despatch I have just received from Mr. Wrench, Acting Consul at Damascus, relative to an alleged foray of Druses from the Hauran on a village in the neighbourhood of Damascus. I am rather disposed to wait for further confirmation of the report before receiving it with implicit credit.

In the mean time I have most earnestly impressed upon Fuad Pasha the necessity of restoring such order to the country as shall render it impossible for these rumours to obtain currency. As it is, every designing person will exaggerate the occurrence to whatever degree his fears or his interest may prompt him, and a fresh panic will be communicated to the Christians.

I have suggested to the Turkish Commissioner the expediency of placing General Kmety in temporary command of the troops stationed in the neighbourhood of the Hauran.

It is very much to be regretted that Fuad Pasha should have been so little successful in restoring a sense of security to the Christian population of the province. Whether it is from incompetence, or from a want of money, or from uncertainty as to what his future relations are to be with Constantinople, it is obvious the Turkish Commissioner has afforded plausible occasion of complaint. Nevertheless, I am still of opinion the country is safe. With Fuad Pasha at Damascus, with General Kmety in the Mountain, and Omer Pasha, a very intelligent Circassian officer, at Aleppo, or wherever his services may be required, nothing very irregular can occur. Above all things, if the Porte would authorize a handsome indemnity to be distributed to the sufferers of Damascus and the Lebanon, a feeling of security would return.

I have already written so much on the important subject of the occupation that it is not necessary I should on this occasion trouble your Lordship with any further observations.

Nothing has occurred of late to alter my former impressions, and your Lordship will be able, far better than any one here, to determine what should be done.

Inclosure in No. 259.

Acting Consul Wrench to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Damascus, January* 11, 1861, 1·30 P.M.

I AVAIL myself of the departure of an express from the French Consulate to inform your Lordship of an event that has just occurred, and has taken every one by surprise.

Last night, the Christians of Sahnâyeh, a village two hours to the south of Damascus, were assembled in the house of the Christian Sheikh of the village, when a Druse came in, and informed them that they had better flee, as his co-religionists, who had escaped to the Haurân, were returning to take the property they had left in the village. The Christians believing that the object of the Druses was to massacre them, fled immediately to Darâya, one hour from Damascus.

They had left the village about half-an-hour, when about 200 horsemen arrived there, composed of the Druses of the Haurân, and refugees from Ashrafieh and Sahnâyeh, who plundered all the property of the Christians, and made off to their strongholds.

These Druses, if coming straight from the Haurân, must have passed by the bridge of Kesweh, where a strong force of troops is posted.

Neither the Vali, Mushir, nor Chief of the Police were aware of this outrage noon to-day. The Mushir when informed would not believe it, as he said the Druses could not pass the strong cordon of troops in that direction.

Your Lordship can imagine the effect this news has had, and will have when more generally known, on the minds of the Christians here, who are ready to take affright at the slightest report; proving, as it does, that the villages in the immediate neighbourhood of Damascus are not safe from attacks by the Druses, and it is to be anticipated that the Christians of the outlying villages will flee hither, and that the Christians of the city will do their utmost to escape to Beyrout.

The French Acting Consul is reporting this occurrence to his Commissioner by the present opportunity.

The presence of his Excellency Fuad Pasha would do much to diminish the fears of the Christians.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

No. 260.

Baron Schleinitz to Count Pourtales.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by Count Bernstorff, January 28.)

M. le Comte, *Berlin, le* 16 *Janvier*, 1861.

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir le rapport par lequel vous nous rendez compte d'une conversation que vous avez eue avec M. Thouvenel sur les affaires de Syrie et nommément sur la question de savoir si les circonstances exigent une prolongation des délais stipulés dans la Convention du 5 Septembre pour la durée de l'occupation Française.

M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères a traité le même sujet dans une dépêche adressée le 2 de ce mois à M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, et que j'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-joint en copie. Vous verrez par cette pièce, M. le Comte, que le Cabinet de Paris, en rappelant que c'est au nom des Puissances signataires de la Convention du 3 Septembre qu'il s'est chargée de l'expédition militaire en Syrie, déclare que c'est à elle aussi qu'il appartiendrait de provoquer une entente sur les modifications que la dite Convention pourrait avoir à subir.

Pour exprimer en connaissance de cause une opinion arrêtée à cet égard, il faudrait être édifié plus que nous le sommes encore sur l'état réel des choses en Syrie, et sur les conséquences probables que le départ des troupes Françaises pourrait entrainer. D'après nos renseignements la pacification du pays ne paraît cependant pas, à l'heure qu'il est, suffisamment assurée pour

qu'il soit permis d'espérer qu'il pourrait dès à présent et sans danger être abandonné à lui-même.

Selon nous il serait désirable qu'avant de faire cesser l'occupation Française, la nouvelle organisation politique du pays fût achevée et eût pour le moins un commencement d'exécution. J'ignore si jusqu'au terme assigné par la Convention du 5 Septembre à l'occupation Française un tel résultat pourra être obtenu. D'un côté, le Cabinet du Roi, pour sa part, ne saurait donc vouloir ni assumer ni partager la responsabilité des dangers dont le départ prématuré des troupes Françaises pourrait menacer l'ordre et la tranquillité de la Syrie.

Mais, de l'autre, il est d'avis que la présence de ces troupes en Syrie, puisqu'elle se fonde sur un arrangement survenu entre les grandes Puissances et la Sublime Porte, ne saurait être prolongée au delà du terme fixé par cet arrangement qu'en vertu d'un acte auquel tous les Gouvernements signataires de la Convention du 5 Septembre auraient donné leur adhesion.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) SCHLEINITZ.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte, *Berlin, January* 16, 1861.

I HAVE had the honour to receive the report in which you give us an account of the conversation you had with M. Thouvenel on the affairs of Syria, and particularly on the question as to whether circumstances require a prolongation of the French occupation beyond the time fixed by the Convention of the 5th of September.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs discussed this subject in a despatch addressed on the 2nd of this month to M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, of which I have the honour to transmit to you a copy. You will see by this despatch, M. le Comte, that the Cabinet of Paris, whilst remembering that it was in the name of the Powers who signed the Convention of the 3rd of September that they undertook the military expedition to Syria, declares that it belongs to them to promote an understanding on the modifications which the said Convention might have to bring forward. In order to give a decided opinion on this subject we must be better informed than we are at present on the real state of affairs in Syria, and as to the probable consequences which might ensue on the departure of the French troops. According to our information the pacification of the country does not at present appear sufficiently settled to allow us to hope that it might from this time forward be left to itself without danger.

It appears to us desirable that before putting an end to the French occupation the new political government of the country should be settled, and at least started. I am not sure that this result could be obtained within the time fixed by the Convention of September 5 for the French occupation. On the one hand, the Cabinet of the King, for their part, would not be willing to assume or to share the responsibility of the dangers with which the premature departure of the French troops might menace the order and tranquillity of Syria. But on the other hand, they are of opinion that the presence of these troops in Syria, since it was grounded on an arrangement between the Great Powers and the Sublime Porte, could only be prolonged beyond the time fixed by this arrangement in virtue of an Act to which all the Governments who signed the Convention of the 5th of September should have given their adhesion.

Accept, &c.

(Signed) SCHLEINITZ.

No. 261.

Mr. Fane to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 28.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, January* 24, 1861.

IN obedience to your Lordship's instructions I have read to Count Rechberg your Lordship's despatch addressed to me on the 16th instant. His Excellency interrupted my reading of that despatch several times, in order to express his concurrence in the views it embodied, and his appreciation of the cogent reasoning by which they were supported. There was not a single phrase which called forth any expression of dissent on the part of Count Rechberg.

When I had concluded my reading of the despatch, his Excellency requested me to convey to your Lordship the expression of his best thanks for the communication I had been instructed to make to him, and to add that he shared the views exposed in it, and was desirous to act in complete accord with Her Majesty's Government on the question of the occupation of Syria by foreign troops.

Prince Callimachi has stated to me that he had received communications direct from Fuad Pasha, in which he asserted that the prolonged presence of French troops in Syria was calculated to aggravate, instead of to appease, the animosity of the hostile tribes, and that the means at his command were amply sufficient to enable him to maintain the peace of the province without any foreign aid.

No. 262.

Mr. Lowther to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 28.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, January* 26, 1861.

IN conversation this morning with Baron Schleinitz, I informed him it was your Lordship's opinion that if the stay of the European troops in Syria was not considered necessary by the Ottoman Government, it was the duty of the Sultan's Minister for Foreign Affairs to address the Five Powers to express the opinion of Turkey as to the safety of the Christians in Syria, or to specify the guarantees he would offer to secure them against a renewal of massacre. His Excellency entirely agreed with your Lordship's opinion.

No. 263.

Aali Pasha to M. Musurus.—(*Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Musurus, January* 28.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Le* 16 *Janvier*, 1861.

J'AI l'honneur de vous envoyer, ci-joint, copie d'une lettre que son Excellence Fuad Pacha vient de m'adresser. Elle contient la réfutation de l'accusation lancée gratuitement contre nos autorités militaires au sujet de la première opération qu'elles ont faite dans la Montagne Druse.

Vous voudrez bien, M. l'Ambassadeur, vous en prévaloir pour détruire complètement l'effet que des rapports erronés ont pu produire autour de vous relativement à la conduite de nos troupes, conduite irréprochable sous tous les rapports, et à laquelle sont dus les résultats dont tout le monde reconnaît aujourd'hui la valeur.

Je vous prie, &c.
(Signé) AALI.

(Translation.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *January* 16, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to send to you, herewith, a copy of a letter which his Excellency Fuad Pasha has just addressed to me. It contains a refutation of the accusation gratuitously launched against our military authorities in the matter of the first operation made by them in the Druse Mountain.

You will have the goodness, M. l'Ambassadeur, to avail yourself of it, in order to destroy completely the effect which erroneous reports may have produced about you relative to the conduct of our troops—a conduct in all respects irreproachable, and to which are owing the results whose value is now recognized by all the world.

I beg, &c.
(Signed) AALI.

Inclosure in No. 263.

Fuad Pasha to Aali Pasha.

Le 2 Janvier, 1861.

J'Ai remarqué avec un sentiment bien pénible, dans une des correspondances de nos Ambassades que votre Altesse avait bien voulu me transmettre, une accusation assez grave contre les autorités militaires Ottomanes au sujet de la première opération qu'elles ont faite dans la Montagne Druse. Le Général de Beaufort s'est plaint à son Gouvernement de ce que, non seulement je n'ai pas accepté franchement sa co-opération, mais que j'ai favorisé la fuite des Druses vers le Hauran.

Le Commandant-en-chef du corps expéditionnaire Français a un caractère trop loyal pour ne pas admettre que je lui ai donné toute la part qui a été convenue entre lui et moi dans toutes les opérations faites dans la Montagne; je n'ai rien fait de contraire à cette entente. J'ai accepté toute sa co-opération dans les limites que la Convention de Paris avait tracées, et que l'affaire elle-même pouvait admettre. Si j'ai rendu inutile la présence des troupes Françaises à Damas, ce n'est pas un crime pour moi.

Quant à ce qu'avance M. de Beaufort au sujet de la retraite de quelques Chefs Druses vers le Hauran, il semble nous accuser de leur faciliter les moyens d'échapper à la punition que j'ai été appelé à leur infliger. Ce que j'ai fait avant nos opérations par l'arrestation des Chefs Druses les plus influentes, et ce que je viens de faire dans ce moment-ci en arrêtant près de 1,500 individus dans trois jours, sans porter la moindre perturbation dans la Montagne, où les Chrétiens se rétablissent peu-à-peu, donne un démenti éclatant à toutes ces assertions.

Ceci établi, je passe à l'examen des faits: tout homme qui connaît ce pays et sa configuration topographique n'hésitera pas un moment à déclarer que, quelle que soit la vigilance qu'on puisse mettre, il est de toute impossibilité de couper la retraite aux individns ou à de petites bandes qui, nourris dans ces montagnes, en connaissent tous les détours; ils ont mille issues pour échapper, tout rocher leur sert de route, tandis que, pour ceux qui les poursuivent, ils ne trouvent pas même des chemins pour aller d'un lieu à un autre. J'ai présidé en personne ces opérations; je me suis donné toutes les peines du monde, et je me suis même, je pourrai le dire, exposé à tous les dangers pour faire tomber entre mes mains les coupables qui cherchaient leur impunité dans leur fuite, et nous n'avons pu faire tomber dans nos filets qu'une centaine d'individus. Ce sont ces difficultés qui m'ont fait chercher d'autres moyens qui viennent d'obtenir une réussite complète. Je ne prétends pas avoir une grande compétence dans la tactique militaire; mais je puis m'appuyer sur une autorité que tout le monde doit reconnaître; c'est celle de Férik Ismail Pacha (Général Kmety), qui m'a secondé en personne dans toutes ces opérations, et qui est prêt à répondre à tous les reproches qu'on pourra faire contre nos actes.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) FUAD.

(Translation.)

January 2, 1861.

I HAVE noticed with pain, in one of the despatches from our Embassies which your Highness has sent me, a very serious accusation against the Ottoman military authorities with respect to their first movement in the Druse Mountain. General de Beaufort has complained to his Government that I have not only refused to accept frankly his co-operation, but have also favoured the flight of the Druses towards the Hauran.

The Commander-in-chief of the French expeditionary force possesses too loyal a character not to admit that I have given him all the assistance agreed upon between us in all the operations that have taken place in the Mountain; I have done nothing contrary to this agreement. I have accepted all his co-operation within the limits defined by the Convention of Paris, and that the matter itself would admit. If I have dispensed with the presence of the French troops at Damascus, it is no crime on my part.

As to what M. de Beaufort asserts with respect to the retreat of some Druse Chiefs towards the Hauran, it seems to accuse us of giving them the means of escaping the puishment that I have been desired to inflict on them. All that I did before our operations by the arrest of the most influential Druse Chiefs, and what I have just done by arresting nearly 1,500 persons in three days, without causing the least disturbance in the Mountain, where the Christians are re-establishing themselves by degrees, gives a distinct denial to all these assertions.

Having proved this, I turn to an examination of the facts: every person who knows this country and its topographical formation will not hesitate for a moment to declare that, no matter how much vigilance is exercised, it is totally impossible to cut off the retreat of individuals or small parties of persons who having been bred in the Mountain, know all its windings; they have a thousand means of escape; the whole rock serves them for a road, whilst those who follow them do not even find roads to go from one place to another. I have superintended these operations in person; I have spared no pains, and I can say that I have even been exposed to great danger, in order to obtain possession of the guilty persons who have sought to escape punishment by flight, and yet we have only succeeded in getting hold of 100 persons. Such are the difficulties which have compelled me to seek other means of obtaining complete success. I do not pretend to have much acquaintance with military tactics; but I can rely on an authority that all the world must recognize, that of Ferik Ismail Pasha (General Kmety), who has in person seconded me throughout all these operations, and who is ready to answer any accusations brought against our proceedings.

Receive, &c.
(Signed) FUAD.

No. 264.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 29.)

(Extract.) *Constantinople, January* 18, 1861.

AS I knew the great repugnance the Porte would feel to name a Governor of Syria for ten years, and that any arguments I could individually use in favour of this course would be unavailing, I thought it better to give your Lordship's views every weight by informing Aali Pasha frankly of what you had written to me on the subject, and I ought not to disguise from your Lordship that the language His Highness used on this occasion was very decided. In fact, he said, such an arrangement was a severance of Syria from the Empire, and that the Porte would only consent to it as a consequence of force, which it would resist to the best of its ability.

As Lord Dufferin's later proposition has diminished the term to five years, and I do not know what weight this may have with your Lordship, I thought it

better not to compromise the subject further by discussion here for the moment, and to leave it to your Lordship to state to M. Musurus what, on hearing the Porte's objections, may be your final opinion. I felt it, however, at the same time, my duty to state clearly the view which Her Majesty's Government had taken as to the system of bribery and corruption existing at Constantinople, and the manner in which Pashalics were granted; and I should judge from Aali Pasha's language that he will give your Lordship his firm denial as to the accuracy of the statements which your Lordship has received on this subject, at least as far as the present time is concerned; and profess his willingness, on any case of bribery being proved, to advise the Sultan to inflict the most summary punishment on the delinquents. I am myself obliged in justice to say that I believe the stories circulated at Pera and elsewhere are not to be implicitly believed. I do not, however, mean to deny that very improper appointments are very frequently made. My opinion is recorded in an opposite sense; but I am inclined to think when the choice of a Pasha unfitted for his situation is made, that this is generally to be attributed to influence of other kinds, and not to be considered as the effect of money given or taken by the higher officials. I believe, notwithstanding, that it would be advisable that the person charged with reorganizing Syria should have very extensive power, and that the duration of his office, unless some serious cause for displeasure or dissatisfaction arose, should be fixed.

Upon the whole the most practical course seems to me that the Porte should state its own intentions, which will then have to be discussed by the Great Powers and the Commissioners, and I should trust that on many essential points all parties may agree.

With respect to what your Lordship observes as to the absolute necessity of the Porte providing adequately for the tranquillity of Syria, I have not disguised from the Ottoman Government that any failure on its part in this respect would be equivalent to the loss of all further support from Her Majesty's Government. As to the means now at its disposal for providing adequately for such tranquillity, I do not like, not being on the spot, to hazard any opinion of my own on such a subject, but I have very great faith in Lord Dufferin's judgment, and would be inclined to take his opinion as conclusive.

My general notion is that Aali Pasha and the Grand Vizier would be induced to adopt any reforms in Syria that did not tend to separate that province from the Empire at large, and which might be adopted as general improvements in the other parts of the Sultan's dominions, but I think they will very strenuously and obstinately oppose the establishment of any condition of things in Syria that would be likely to lead to this Province assimilating itself to the peculiar situation of Egypt and the Danubian Provinces.

No. 265.

Memorandum communicated by M. Musurus, January 29, 1861.

IL résulte d'une dépêche télégraphique adressée par son Altesse Aali Pacha à l'Ambassadeur de Turquie à Londres en date du 28 Janvier, 1861, que le Cabinet des Tuileries a proposé à la Sublime Porte de convoquer la Conférence à l'effet de décider la question de savoir si l'évacuation de la Syrie doit être effectuée à l'expiration du terme fixé par la Convention, ou s'il y a lieu de la prolonger. "Vous n'ignorez pas," ajoute Aali Pacha, "que ce que la Sublime Porte désire, c'est de voir l'occupation etrangère cesser à l'expiration du terme fixé, et que le Gouvernement Impérial se croit en état de maintenir tout seul la tranquillité de la Syrie et la sécurité de ses habitants." Enfin, son Altesse Aali Pacha invite l'Ambassadeur à demander à Lord John Russell, et à faire connaître immédiatement et par le télégraphe au Ministère Impérial, quelle est l'opinion du Cabinet Britannique sur la réunion de la Conférence, et, si cette Conférence était convoquée, jusqu'à quel point la Sublime Porte pourrait compter sur un résultat conforme à son désir de faire cesser l'état de choses actuel en Syrie.

(Translation.)

IT appears from a telegraphic despatch addressed by his Highness Aali Pasha to the Turkish Ambassador in London, dated January 28, 1861, that the Cabinet of the Tuileries has proposed to the Sublime Porte to summon the Conference to decide the question whether the evacuation of Syria is to be effected at the expiration of the time fixed by the Convention, or whether it is to be prolonged. "You are well aware," added Aali Pasha, "that what the Sublime Porte wishes is to see the foreign occupation cease at the expiration of the fixed time, and that the Imperial Government considers itself able to maintain alone the tranquillity of Syria and the security of its inhabitants." His Highness Aali Pasha wishes the Ambassador to ask Lord J. Russell what is the opinion of the English Cabinet on the assembling of the Conference, and to make it known immediately by telegraph to the Imperial Government; and if this Conference was to take place, how far the Sublime Porte might count upon a result in conformity with its wish to bring to a conclusion the present state of things in Syria.

No. 266.

Memorandum by Lord J. Russell.

I HAVE informed M. Musurus that Her Majesty's Government cannot give any advice to the Porte respecting the reassembling of the Conference. That Her Majesty's Government will direct the Ambassador of Her Majesty to attend such Conference only in case of the presence of a Representative of the Sultan at the Conference. That it is the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that in case the Porte does not wish to renew the Convention she should declare to the Allied Powers that the Sultan has means to prevent a renewal of massacre, and that until other conditions are agreed to the arrangement of 1845 for the government of the Mountain will remain in force.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

January 29, 1861.

No. 267.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 29.)

My Lord, *Paris, January* 28, 1861.

VARIOUS circumstances have prevented my communicating to M. Thouvenel before to-day your Lordship's despatch of the 24th instant, which contains the answer of Her Majesty's Government to his Excellency's despatch to Count Flahault of the 18th instant relative to the evacuation of Syria.

M. Thouvenel said that he must have the despatch translated before he spoke to me officially upon it, but he noticed at once with expressions of satisfaction the moderate and friendly tone which pervades it. He admitted the correctness of your Lordship's statement that "the institution of the Commission sent to Syria was a measure entirely separate from the Convention for sending foreign troops there, and that it had objects of which some were entirely separate and distinct from the despatch of troops;" but still he said there was so much connection between the institution of a regular Government and the establishment of order and peace, for which latter object, according to the terms of the Convention, the troops had been sent, that he could not entirely separate the one from the other. He could state most solemnly that those who supposed that there was any desire on the part of the Emperor or of his Government to prolong indefinitely the occupation of Syria were entirely mistaken. "Our feeling," he said, "is simply this: that we shall bring our troops away, leaving the people we went to protect in a

worse position than before the late occurrences. The Mountain then had an administration of its own founded on an arrangement between the Five Powers and the Porte. At the present moment there is no Government at all, except the supreme power of the Porte. All that we desire is, that before we go a Government may be installed, which shall not place the Maronites in a worse position than they were. We shall then have done all that under the circumstances it was possible to do, and we can defend ourselves before the Catholic world, should fresh atrocities ensue; but if, in consequence of the departure of our troops, there is a renewal of the massacres the whole blame will fall on us. There is not a post that arrives from Syria that does not bring petition upon petition to the Emperor for continued protection, and it is difficult to abandon altogether these people who have at all times looked to us, for I will not deny that we place a certain value in the preservation of our influence over the Maronites."

I replied that it was a question whether the presence of French troops was not rather a hindrance than a help to any settlement. On the one hand, the Maronites, reckoning on French protection, put forth the most extravagant pretensions; on the other, the Druses were naturally much irritated, and unwilling to come to terms. M. Thouvenel answered that he felt the justice of this remark, but he could assure me he had no desire to support the exaggerated hopes of the Maronites. Let the Commission agree with Fuad Pasha upon a system of government, he cared not what it might be, provided the privileges assured in 1845 were maintained, and he should be perfectly satisfied. But until this should be accomplished he still trusted that the evacuation might not be insisted upon. If the Commission would really set to work, a very short time ought to bring this affair to a conclusion. He did not see why a Government should not be installed before, or at all events very soon after, the commencement of March, particularly if orders were sent to the Commissioners to hasten their work, or if the Porte felt that the withdrawal of the troops depended upon its accomplishment. Let the labours of the Commission be limited to the future administration of the Mountain alone, and there need not be any great delay in bringing that to a practical conclusion.

But, I objected, the Porte may insist on the evacuation of Syria at the period stipulated by the Convention. What then?

"Why then," replied M. Thouvenel, "the troops must go; of that there can be no doubt. Without the Porte's assent they cannot remain. At all events," he concluded, "let us discuss this question calmly when the Conference meets. If it is decided against our wishes, we shall regret it, but we shall respect the decision."

I have, &c.

(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 268.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, January* 30, 1861.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatch of the 28th instant.

Her Majesty's Government trust that, with some further explanations, the question of the evacuation of Syria by European troops may be settled by general agreement.

M. Thouvenel fears that Syria may be left by the French armed force in a worse state than they found it. But to arrive at this conclusion he adopts premises for which, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, there is no solid foundation. He says that the Mountain then had an Administration of its own, founded on an arrangement between the five Powers and the Porte. At the present moment there is no Government at all except the supreme power of the Porte.

The state of the case appears to Her Majesty's Government somewhat different. A Commission has been instituted with a view, not only to insure

the punishment of the guilty and reparation to the sufferers, but to organize an Administration for the Lebanon calculated to ensure peace for the future. This Commission has not yet reported. If its report tends to a more independent action of the Porte's officers in Syria, it will probably be rejected at Constantinople. If the arrangements proposed by the Porte tend to deprive the Christians of their privileges, those arrangements will not be approved of by the five Powers.

The discussions may be protracted, they may be extended over many months, but the inference to be drawn from these circumstances is not that European troops should remain in Syria indefinitely, but that, until new provisions are agreed upon, the arrangements made in 1842, and completed in 1845, should subsist.

It is true that sudden disorders may at times require a prompt remedy. It is true that, after what has occurred, the exercise of authority by a Druse Kaimakam might excite apprehension. But a Christian Kaimakam has been already appointed, and no one can fairly complain of the selection. He exercises, and will continue to exercise, the powers belonging to the Kaimakam of the Christians. He is himself a Maronite of a very fair and conciliatory character. All that appears necessary to Her Majesty's Government, therefore, is—

1. To declare that, until new provisions are agreed upon, the arrangements of 1845 in reference to the security and protection of the Christians of the Mountain remain in full force.

2. That France and Great Britain should take care to maintain, throughout the spring and summer, a naval force on the coast of Syria for the protection and succour of the Christian inhabitants.

Her Majesty's Government are glad to receive the admission of M. Thouvenel, that, if the Porte should insist on the evacuation of Syria at the period stipulated by the Convention, the troops must go.

For the present, the matter must rest on this issue. If the Porte should decline to be a Party to any fresh Convention, stipulating for the continued occupation of Syria, the Convention of September falls to the ground, and the evacuation will take place at the termination of the period during which that Convention is in force. The responsibility of France towards Europe and towards the Maronites will be amply covered by this proceeding.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 269.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, January* 30, 1861.

M. MUSURUS called upon me yesterday, and informed me that he had received a telegram from Aali Pasha dated the 28th instant, and stating that a proposal had been made by the French Government to the Porte for the convocation of the Conference, in order to decide whether the evacuation of Syria should be effected at the period specified in the Convention, or should be deferred. The desire of the Porte, Aali Pasha went on to say, was that the foreign occupation of Syria should close at the time already fixed, and that the Turkish Government considered that it was fully competent to provide alone for the tranquillity of Syria and the security of its inhabitants. Finally, Aali Pasha desired M. Musurus to ascertain the opinion of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the meeting of the Conference, and if it should meet, how far the Porte might reckon upon a result in conformity with its desire to put an end to the present state of things in Syria.

I informed M. Musurus that Her Majesty's Government could not give any advice to the Porte respecting the re-assembling of the Conference. That Her Majesty's Government will direct the Ambassador of Her Majesty to attend such Conference only in case of the presence of the Representative of the Sultan at the Conference. That it is the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that, in case the Porte does not wish to renew the Convention, it should declare

to the allied Powers that the Sultan has means to prevent a renewal of massacre, and that until other conditions are agreed to, the arrangement of 1845 for the government of the Mountain will remain in force.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 270.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 30, 1861.

I TRANSMIT, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a despatch which M. Thouvenel addressed on the 18th instant to the French Ambassador at this Court,* expressing the desire of the Government of the Emperor to ascertain the opinions of the Powers, parties to the Convention which limited the occupation of Syria by foreign troops to six months, in regard to postponing the term fixed by the Convention for the evacuation of Syria.

You will perceive from the inclosed copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Earl Cowley,† the views of Her Majesty's Government on the questions raised in M. Thouvenel's despatch, and I have to instruct you to urge the Porte not to delay sending instructions to its Ministers as to the course which it is prepared to take respecting Syria, and as to its views on the question of a prolonged employment of foreign troops in that country. The Porte should likewise state what security it will give that the massacres shall not be renewed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 271.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 30, 1861.

M. MUSURUS called upon me yesterday, and informed me that he had received a telegram from Aali Pasha dated the 28th instant, and stating that a proposal had been made by the French Government to the Porte for the convocation of the Conference, in order to decide whether the evacuation of Syria should be effected at the period specified in the Convention, or should be deferred. The desire of the Porte, Aali Pasha went on to say, was that the foreign occupation of Syria should cease at the time already fixed, and that the Turkish Government considered that it was fully competent to provide alone for the tranquillity of Syria and the security of its inhabitants. Finally, Aali Pasha desired M. Musurus to ascertain the opinion of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the meeting of the Conference, and if it should meet, how far the Porte might reckon upon a result in conformity with its desire to put an end to the present state of tbings in Syria.

I informed M. Musurus that Her Majesty's Government could not give any advice to the Porte respecting the re-assembling of the Conference; that Her Majesty's Government will direct the Ambassador of Her Majesty to attend such Conference only in case of the presence of the Representative of the Sultan at the Conference; that it is the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that, in case the Porte does not wish to renew the Convention, it should declare to the allied Powers that the Sultan has means to prevent a renewal of the massacre, and that until other conditions are agreed to, the arrangement of 1845 for the government of the Mountain will remain in force.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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* No. 253. † No. 268.

No. 272.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 31, 1861.

WITH reference to what is contained in your Excellency's despatch of the 18th instant, I have to state to you that if the Turkish Government entertain the sentiments which Aali Pasha has expressed to you, they will of course state them when the Report of the Commission on the Affairs of Syria has been made, and has to be considered by the Porte and the Five Powers.

In the meantime the Sultan's Government will, no doubt, consider itself bound to adhere to the arrangements made in 1842 and 1845.

It is not because the Christians have been the victims of massacre and outrage that they are to be deprived of any of the safeguards which, in other years, were solemnly promised to be given to them by the organs of the Sublime Porte.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 273.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, January* 31, 1861.

HAVING communicated to Sir Moses Montefiore a copy of the accompanying letter* from Fuad Pasha to the Grand Vizier respecting the treatment of the Jews of Damascus, I have received from him the letter of which I inclose a copy to your Lordship.

Sir Moses Montefiore adverts to the case of the Jew whom Fuad Pasha states to be still in prison under the charge of murder, and I have to instruct your Lordship to take any steps in your power to ensure that this man should be treated with strict justice, and his further trial be conducted with fairness.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Inclosure in No. 273.

Sir M. Montefiore to Lord J. Russell.

My Lord, *Grosvenor Gate, Park Lane, January* 24, 1861.

I HAVE thankfully to acknowledge your Lordship's favour of the 21st instant, with copy of letter from his Excellency Fuad Pasha to the Grand Vizier.

Permit me, my Lord, in the interests of humanity, to urge your Lordship's attention to that portion of his Excellency's despatch in which he states that there is still a Jew in prison upon the charge of murder. It appears that the charge for murder (as against this person) attained the degree of proof required by the Extraordinary Tribunal; and that, as the accused could not repel the charge, he was taken into custody; but the execution of his sentence was put off, and if he can produce any strong argument capable of convincing his adversaries he may yet save himself.

This seems to me just such a case, of a charge founded upon prejudice, and possibly vindictiveness, as would melt away under the influence of dispassionate inquiry and a calm judgment, and that your Lordship's influence might be so exercised as to produce this happy result.

The saving of a human life, under such circumstances, is no trifling object—

* Inclosure in No. 244.

it is one which, I know full well, will ensure your Lordship's warmest sympathy; and I anticipate, therefore, with perfect confidence, that my hopes and wishes will be fully realized.

I beg, in conclusion, to assure your Lordship that I am deeply sensible of your Lordship's courtesy in causing me to be advised, from time to time, of the information conveyed to your Lordship respecting the Jews of Damascus.

I have, &c.
(Signed) MOSES MONTEFIORE.

No. 274.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 31.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, January* 18, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch I have received from Fuad Pasha in reply to the representations I addressed to his Excellency respecting the persecution of Protestants at Nazareth.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 274.

Fuad Pasha to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Mokhtârah, le* 13 *Janvier*, 1861.

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir la lettre que vous m'avez adressée le 6 Janvier courant, relative aux Protestants domiciliés à Nazareth, qui ont été l'objet de mauvais procédés de la part des Chrétiens Catholiques et Grecs. Le Gouvernement du Sultan dans sa sollicitude toute paternelle ayant reconnu une communauté distincte pour ses sujets qui professent la religion réformée, il lui a octroyé les mêmes privilèges qu'aux autres communautés Chrétiennes, et son désir est qu'ils jouissent de la plénitude de ces privilèges dans tout le territoire Ottoman. Aussi, my Lord, me suis-je empressé d'écrire au Gouverneur de la Palestine, qu'il veille à ce que des pareils actes ne se renouvellent pas, et qu'il mette tous ses soins à sévir contre ce qui serait contraire aux vues libérales du Gouvernement Impérial. Par la même occasion, j'ai adressé de sévères reprimandes aux autorités de Nazareth qui n'ont pas fait respecter les lois de l'Empire dans la circonstance que vous relatez, et j'espère qu'à l'avenir aucun fait de ce genre ne troublera les sujets du Sultan qui professent le Protestantisme.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) FUAD.

(Translation.)

My Lord, *Mokhtârah, January* 13, 1861.

I HAVE had the honour to receive the letter you addressed to me on the 6th instant, relative to the Protestants living at Nazareth having been badly treated by the Catholic and Greek Christians. The Government of the Sultan, with its paternal solicitude, has recognized such of its subjects as profess the reformed religion as a distinct community, and has granted to them the same privileges as to other Christian communities; and its desire is that they should enjoy to the full these privileges in all the Ottoman territory. I also hastened, my Lord, to write to the Governor of Palestine, instructing him to take care that the like acts should not recur, and to be most severe in everything which is contrary to the liberal views of the Imperial Government. I took occasion at the same time to address severe reprimands to the authorities at Nazareth, for not having enforced respect for the laws of the Empire in the circumstance

you mention; and I hope that for the future nothing of the kind will happen to trouble such of the Sultan's subjects as profess the Protestant religion.

Accept, &c.
(Signed) FUAD.

No. 275.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 31.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, January* 18, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, an extract from a despatch which I have received from Major Fraser, dated Mokhtarah, January 15, relative to a further requisition I had forwarded to his Excellency Fuad Pasha from the Protestants of Nazareth.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 275.

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Mokhtârah, January* 15, 1861.

I HAVE since had the honour to read to his Excellency Fuad Pasha the whole of the documents describing the particular acts complained of, together with your Lordship's remarks thereupon.

His Excellency stated that his reprimand to the Mudir, together with his order for the arrest of Michael Jebran, which left Mokhtarah by express on the 7th instant, would have arrived at Nazareth a day or two after the date of Mr. Zeller's last application for redress; that, therefore, there was reason to believe no further disturbance would occur; and his Excellency having written at the same time to Mustapha Pasha, of Acre, to inquire into and report the whole circumstances, he had no doubt this was now being done.

As both the Mudir and Cadi had, however, gravely compromised themselves by their evident bad faith, and connivance at these acts, I have requested the Pasha to suspend both these functionaries from "their respective offices, and to send them to Acre, pending an investigation of their conduct." His Excellency at once agreed to this, and will transmit to Nazareth the necessary instructions in the course of to-day.

No. 276.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 31.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, January* 18, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 276.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, January* 17, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the substance of a letter I have received from Major Fraser, relative to the conduct of the Christian notables on the authority of whose denunciations several hundred Druses have been arrested on the charge of murder.

I have recommended his Excellency Fuad Pasha to act in such a way as to defeat the ill-intentioned efforts of the priesthood, at whose instigation this obstinacy and silence is maintained.

I am happy to say that Joussef Keram has been induced to act in opposition to Bishop Tobia on this occasion; and at his invitation some trustworthy evidence will be forthcoming.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 2 in No. 276.

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Mokhtârah, January* 14, 1861.

THE Christian Deputies assembled here from the different towns and villages of the country had yesterday an interview of two or three hours' duration with Fuad Pasha.

His Excellency told them that his mission to Syria had three objects in view, viz., repression, reparation, and reorganization. That the first had been in a great measure accomplished. With the second he was now engaged; but to bring it to a successful termination he required the aid of the Christians. To the third he would proceed by-and-bye. In the meantime, as a portion of the second measure, he was proceeding with the punishment of the Druses. In order to accomplish this satisfactorily, he required them to point out the most guilty among the prisoners he had arrested, and to furnish him with the evidence against these persons.

The Christians replied that they could not point out individuals further than they had done; that they had already sent in lists of the leaders in the various massacres, all of whom were guilty, and they now awaited the infliction of the penalty these deserved at the hands of the Government.

After a long discussion, to show that the summary punishment of many hundreds of prisoners, without a formal trial, and the opportunity of hearing the evidence against them, or of making such defence as they could, was a course quite inconsistent with justice, and one which would not be permitted by the general sentiment of Europe, which did not demand a wholesale slaughter, the Christians persisted in saying they could give no more detailed evidence than had already been supplied in furnishing the lists above referred to.

His Excellency then informed them that he would have a declaration drawn up to the effect that they refused to point out the principal among the prisoners now detained here, or to give evidence against individuals, which he would require them to sign. This they also said they could not do.

After some warm discussion, during which his Excellency had occasion to say that at this rate it would be difficult to give them satisfaction, but when he had done the best he could to administer justice without their aid, and to place affairs on what he might consider a proper footing, those who were still dissatisfied would be at perfect liberty to proceed to some other portion of the Empire, or to quit it altogether, if they preferred that course,—it was agreed they should consider till to-day, when they would give a final reply.

To-day they appeared before the Commission appointed for the trial of the prisoners, and stated that they adhered to their statement of yesterday. They

could give no further evidence than they had already done in sending in the names of the principal criminals, and that having done so, they now expected satisfaction from the Government.

They were informed that the Government having now assumed the position of Public Prosecutor on the lists sent in, without in any degree denying the value of these lists, yet required the aid of the Christians in furnishing the details and evidence against individuals, in order to assure their legal conviction of crimes which the accused would, in all probability, deny as having been committed by the particular individuals under trial, however certain it might be to have been the work of some Druse or Druses. After many vague replies they always returned to the same—that they could not give the evidence required, nor point out any individual more guilty than their neighbours, referring to the long lists formerly sent in as the only aid they could give.

The Mufti then requested them to make that statement in writing; this they declined to do. He then asked them to allow their reply to be written in Court, and to affix their signatures; they refused this also. They were willing to speak it, but not to write it or to allow it to be written. It was felt impossible to proceed at this rate, and as some indignation was shown by the Court, at the request of the Christians they were again allowed till to-morrow (15th) to make up their minds what they would do.

And thus the matter stands this evening. I ought to say that I have this information of proceedings from Fuad Pasha himself; I had no intimation that they were to appear before the Commission to-day, otherwise I should have sent to watch the proceedings. This morning I was informed they were writing a petition to Fuad Pasha; they appear afterwards to have changed their intention. I have not the slightest doubt, in my own mind, that these deputies are quite capable of furnishing all the information and evidence that Fuad Pasha requires, and withhold it from factious motives and by concerted plan, evidently with a view to arrest the action of the Government unless it comply with their demand for summary and general execution of the Druses whose names they have sent to the number, I believe, of at least 1,200. This idea is borne out by the following facts: I sent yesterday for two of the Hasbeya Deputies; I asked them to point out to me the principal criminals among the prisoners now here; they replied to me as they did to Fuad Pasha—an answer evidently preconcerted. After a good deal of fencing, I said, "I see you know no details; of course you gave no names to the list." One said, "Oh! yes." I said, "Indeed! how many did you give?" "Five." "Will you name them?" "So-and-so," &c. "But you knew no particulars against them?" "Oh! yes, I do. The first I saw kill the old Emir Saad-ed-Deen; the second, I only saw in the Serai at Hasbeya during the massacre; the third, I saw also helping the first to murder So-and-so; the fourth, I saw murder such another person," naming the Emir Jaghja, and so on. I quietly wrote down their statement, by which I found that these two Deputies had been eye-witnesses of several assassinations—several of the assassins being now in prison. Yet, until by a kind of ruse this was extracted, they persisted in telling even me they could point out no one as particularly guilty, and could give no details in evidence, while they were actually capable of giving the very best.

Inclosure 3 in No. 276.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, January 17, 1861.*

HAVING had reason to fear that his Excellency Fuad Pasha was disposed to take advantage of the false position in which the Druses have placed themselves, I have written a despatch to Major Fraser, copy of which I have the honour to inclose, couched in terms calculated to enable that officer to use such language in his confidential communications with his Excellency as shall induce him to act with greater impartiality.

In doing so, I trust your Excellency will not think my expressions too severe. This step has been taken rather as a precaution to guard against a

possible tendency, than as a remonstrance against what has taken place; and in a letter to Major Fraser, I have begged him to be careful to communicate any statements to Fuad Pasha in such a way as shall neither be mortifying nor offensive.

Inclosure 4 in No. 276.

Lord Dufferin to Major Fraser.

Sir, *Beyrout, January* 16, 1861.

YOU are already aware that in my opinion the best chance of obtaining a good government for this country consists in detaching its administration from its present dependence on a distant capital; in rendering the head of the new government personally responsible for what occurs within his jurisdiction; in recommending to his adoption certain improvements in the administrative departments of his Pashalic; and in subjecting his government to such an amount of supervision as is implied by the residence at his Court of Political Agents from the Five Powers.

With guarantees like these, and under the auspices of an able man, it is to hoped that the motley population of Syria will enjoy greater tranquillity and happiness than has yet fallen to their share. The barbarous distinctions which have hitherto divided its inhabitants into innumerable tribes and sects may be expected gradually to soften down; differences of race and of religion will to a certain extent become subordinate to those social relations which a community of interests will establish; and the petty feuds which for so many years have deluged not merely the Lebanon, but every quarter of the province with blood, will become as impossible as they now are in Scotland, or in other countries where a state of society at one time not a whit less disorderly has long since disappeared beneath the beneficent influences of civilization.

Under these circumstances, and with this prospect, I am disposed to think that it will be advisable to abolish the anomalous privileges of the Lebanon, and to assimilate its administration with that of the rest of the Province.

Unhappily, there is one consideration which may induce some hesitation in arriving at so natural a conclusion. For years past the Turks have exhibited towards the Christian and Druse inhabitants of this favoured district an ungenerous and vindictive jealousy. Unable to subject them immediately to their own control, they have encouraged anarchy and created discord, in the hopes of insinuating their own authority. The late events may be considered the result of this policy.

Before, therefore, consenting to deprive these two unhappy tribes of the protection afforded them by their semi-independence, one is naturally anxious to ascertain whether there is any likelihood that the new Governor will take advantage of the circumstance to exhibit towards either of them that traditional ill-will to which they have hitherto been obnoxious. One would hope that an intelligent man, who rightly appreciated his position and his duties, would be ready at once to abandon the inhuman traditions of the Porte upon this subject, and make it a point of honour to deal so considerately with those whom Europe will have thus confided to his charge, as to leave them no room to regret the abolition of their ancient privileges. Some assurance upon this head is absolutely necessary; and a sense of justice will require it as much on behalf of the Druses as of the Christians.

The intervention of Europe, in the opinion not only of Her Majesty's Government, but also in that of the Government of France, as expressed by M. Thouvenel to Lord Cowley, is directed to insure the future well-being of either tribe. Any securities, therefore, that it may be necessary to require for the Christians, are equally to be extended to the Druses. Nay, the future relations of the Druses to the Government ought even to be a matter of greater solicitude than that of the Christians. These latter will always retain the sympathies of Europe, and the slightest inclination exhibited by the Syrian Government to fail in its duties towards them will be unanimously checked by the Representatives of the Five Powers. But a similar anxiety will never be exhibited on behalf of the Druse nation.

To those who have but superficially examined the course of the late events, the Druses are little better than barbarous assassins; any oppression to which they may become subject will probably be a matter of indifference to a majority of the European Governments, and a jealous or designing Viceroy would be able to vent his malice upon them with impunity. Even in the conduct of so enlightened a person as his Excellency Fuad Pasha, a tendency to abet the illicit encroachments of the Central Government is observable.

Taking advantage of the opportunity afforded him by the late disturbances, he has put the Porte in complete possession of half the Mountain; he has sequestered the estates of the Druse aristocracy; he has occupied the palace, and even confiscated the personal property, of the wealthiest of the Druse Chiefs, although its owner has not yet been proved guilty of any direct participation in the late events. He has visited the richer Sheikhs with an indiscriminating severity, which his excessive leniency towards the chief citizens of Damascus renders the more striking; and to crown all, his Extraordinary Tribunal has proposed to the Commission that all the Druse Mokatadjis should be capitally punished, while the Turkish authorities, upon whom alone must rest the principal responsibility of what has occurred, are let off with the lighter penalty. Such incomprehensible conduct would almost lead one to fear that Turkish rule is becoming an impossibility, and that the views of Turkish policy are incorrigible. Although, therefore, we may be willing to harmonise the political privileges of the Mountain with the other institutions of the Province, it can only be on condition that the civil and social rights of all its inhabitants, Christian or non-Christian, are religiously respected.

The right of the Druse nation to the maintenance of an undisturbed existence in the Lebanon, on the slopes of Mount Hermon, in the Wadi-et-Teim, and amid the other ancient habitations of their race, is as indefeasible as that of the Christians to occupy the Kesrouan. Their privileges are immemorial, and Her Britannic Majesty's Government will never be a party to any arrangement which will put them into jeopardy.

I am myself of opinion that if the future administration of the country were conducted on rational principles, it would be far preferable to entrust the protection of those in whom we are interested to its intelligence and impartiality, than to the doubtful safeguard of anomalous and ill-defined privileges. Such privileges are at best a bad expedient invented to protect those who enjoy them against the ill effects of a worse Government.

When a good Government is in operation, they are an embarrassment to the rulers, and a disadvantage to the ruled. If, however, instead of witnessing evidences of a more magnanimous disposition, an inclination is perceptible in Fuad Pasha to take advantage of the false position in which the Druses have been placed by circumstances, the real nature of which is probably better appreciated by his Excellency than by any one else, in order to continue that baneful policy which has at last outwearied the patience of Europe; if the Druse aristocracy are to be destroyed, their possessions indiscriminately confiscated, and the whole nation reduced to a state of servile impotence, in order to gratify the jealousy of a Government which can only maintain its own eminence by debasing those it rules, it will necessarily become a question with me whether I shall be justified in consenting to abolish privileges which the persistent injustice of all Turkish authorities would seem to render indispensable; and whether, after all, it would not be better to accept the invitation of the French to unite Druse and Christian under the ægis of a common independence against the pernicious designs of those whom they have learnt to regard as their common enemy, rather than, as they ought to be, their natural protector.

Under any circumstances, I would beg you to represent these views to his Excellency Fuad Pasha in such a manner as your discretion may suggest, in order that we may ascertain how far it would be prudent to entrust him with authority over the destinies of the inhabitants of the Lebanon.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 276.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, January* 18, 1861.

IN some of my former despatches to your Excellency I have had occasion to allude to the state of disorder which for some time past has been prevailing in the purely Maronite district of Kesrouan.

I now have the honour of transmitting to your Excellency a paper containing certain accusations which the exiled Chiefs of the House of Khazin have preferred against the leader of the insurrection which drove them from their homes.

A perusal of this document will enable your Excellency to perceive that the disorders and the inhuman outrages of which the Lebanon has been for so many years the theatre have been exclusively confined neither to the Mixed districts nor to antagonistic races. In fact, the crimes committed by the Christian followers of Tannus Shahin, on the persons of some of the unfortunate ladies of the Khazin family, exceed anything that has ever been laid to the charge of the Druse nation. It is also, I am assured, a fact too notorious to be disputed, that the rebel leader and his adherents who still remain in undisputed possession of the lands of the exiled Sheikhs, were encouraged and countenanced in their excesses by Bishop Tobia and some of his brother ecclesiastics.

The natural inference from such a condition of affairs would lead one to consider that the so-called privileges of the Lebanon are as conducive to anarchy in the Christian portion of the Mountain as they have been to discord in the Mixed districts; and that the introduction of a strong Government is as necessary in the one quarter as the other.

Inclosure 6 in No. 276.

Accusations brought against Tannûs Shahîn.

ACCUSATIONS contre Tanios Chahine, de Reifoun, dans le Province de Kesrawân:—

1. Pour avoir dans le mois de Novembre 1858, adopté le titre de Sheikh Chabat (Chef des jeunes gens) et après le titre de Bey.

2. Pour s'être mis à la tête d'un mouvement révolutionnaire qui n'avait pour but que d'amener un désordre dans cette province et de produire une désorganisation gouvernementale.

3. Pour avoir excité par ses divers discours un grand nombre des habitants des villages du Kesrawân, et pour avoir nommé parmi eux ses représentants afin de les associer dans ses méfaits et disperser les ordres.

Suivent les noms de vingt-six délégués avec leurs villages.

Ces personnes furent reconnues par le dit Tanios Chahine par l'application du "Chef de l'Association des jeunes gens;" plusieurs parmi eux adoptèrent le titre de Bey.

4. Pour avoir invité les suivants de son partie d'achéter des armes offensives à Beyrout et autres parts.

5. Pour avoir commandé à ses délégués de ramasser des sommes d'argent des bourgeois paisibles afin d'acheter des armes et des munitions de guerre.

6. Pour avoir donné l'ordre à ses délégués de distribuer à ses suivants des armes et des munitions de guerre afin d'organiser leur armement complet.

7. Pour avoir en 1857, soulevé l'étendard d'une insurrection et pour s'être mis à la tête de ses suivants qu'il ordonna de s'assembler chez lui à Reifoun.

8. Pour avoir excité et intimé [*sic*] d'outrages et de chasser les Chefs Feudals de la Province du Kesrawân.

9. Pour avoir dans le courant de la même année au mois de Janvier opéré un grand rassemblement de ses suivants, et s'être rendu avec eux à Gosta afin de massacrer la famille Khazim, qui se mettant en fuite au grand péril de la vie échappèrent au sort qui leur était destiné. Néanmoins les insurgents tirèrent

sur eux des coups de fusils, dont un perça le cheval que montait Abdalla Hottar Khazin.

10. Pour avoir au mois de Juillet de la même année réuni à Azelhoun un petit nombre de ses suivants de la plus mauvaise réputation dans le but de massacrer certains personnages de la famille de Khazim qui s'y trouvèrent encore, et par conséquent ayant été l'instigateur et l'auteur de la mort de la femme de Diab Khazim et sa fille Susanne qui furent fusillées, et des blessures qui furent infligées à la tête de sa seconde fille Naufara par des coups de yataghan, aussi bien que de la destruction de la maison de Nicolas Khazim et de la mise en fuite du reste de cette famille qui se trouvèrent à Azelhoun.

11. Pour avoir ordonné qu'on n'enterre ces victimes: mais qu'on les dépouille de leurs vêtements, et après les avoir laissés dans cet état pour plusieurs jours fit traîner leurs cadavres jusqu'à une muraille qu'on fit écrouler sur eux, autant que le pillage de leurs maisons.

12. Pour avoir agglomeré et confisqué la récolte de la famille de Khazim, leurs chevaux et leurs bestiaux.

13. Pour avoir ordonné qu'on coupe les chemins et pour avoir ordonné de poursuivre dans leur retraite un grand nombre de paysans qui habitaient une autre province, soit Chrétiens ou Metualis, qu'ils ont arrêtés et dépouillés.

14. Pour avoir frappé et emprisonné plusieurs habitants paisibles qui avaient refusé de se soumettre à ses ordres d'insurrection.

15. Pour avoir envoyé de ses agents à d'autres provinces pour inviter leurs habitants à se lever aux armes contre les Chefs feudals et le Gouvernement Local, ce qui amenera une insurrection qui fut suivie de grandes pertes pour les chefs.

16. Pour avoir annoncé par maintes lettres dispersés dans diverses provinces qu'il était le Représentant du peuple suivant la volonté des sept Puissances Européennes, et qu'il était en possession d'ordres honorifiques des dites Puissances qui testifiaient ceci.

17. Pour avoir été une des causes principales du grand mouvement d'insurrection connu au monde par le nom de l'insurrection de Kesrawân contre les Chefs feudals qui emmenera leur chasse de leurs terres et la confiscation de leurs biens; pour rémédier laquelle le Gouvernement Turc n'a su venir en aide quoiqu'il avait le vouloir.

18. Pour avoir intimé à certains de ses suivants d'attaquer et mettre en fuite les officiers et gens du Gouvernement Turc qui étaient venus pour faire restituer certains biens confisqués à Nekach en leur tirant des coups de fusils jusqu'ils leur mis en fuite.*

19. Pour avoir agi d'une telle manière que quand il fut nécessaire un jour d'envoyer une force de la part de la Porte dans le Kesrouan pour calmer une guerre que les Chrétiens avaient commencé contre les Metualis, que cette force était obligée d'aller à Jebeil de crainte d'être attaquée le long de la côte comme ils l'avaient étaient auparavant.

20. Pour avoir écrit une lettre aux habitants de Jebeil dans laquelle il leur dit de ne pas reconnaître l'ordre du Gouvernement Turc et du Kaimakam donné à la force dernièrement arrivée parcequ'il possédait un "billordi" des sept Puissances, qui déclare que la liberté a été donné aux Chrétiens et qu'ils ne sont sujets à personne et que s'ils voulaient être délivrés de l'esclavage, personne ne pouvait les empêcher, ni le Mushir ni le Kaimakam, et dans laquelle il leur dit aussi que s'ils avaient besoin d'aide il leur enverrait une quantité d'hommes, et que si par hasard le Commandant de la force envoyé par le Gouvernement avait l'audace de ne pas reconnaître l'ordre qu'il lui envoie de quitter le pays, qu'il devait lui écrire de suite afin d'amener des hommes de tout côté.

21. Pour avoir élevé le drapeau tricolore de la France pour animer ces habitants à se réunir et le suivre dans l'insurrection susdite.

(Suivent les signatures de sept Sheikhs de la famille Khazim.)

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* *Sic in orig.*

Inclosure 7 in No. 276.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Beyrout, January 18, 1861.

I HAVE reason to know that Fuad Pasha receives instructions from home conceived in a sense different from what he himself would have recommended; and that the endeavour to acquit Khoorshid Pasha and the other Turks at the expense of the lives of the thirty Druse Sheikhs has been inspired from Constantinople.

No. 277.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 31.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, January* 18, 1861.

IN my despatch dated the 13th instant, I had the honour to transmit to your Lordship a despatch from Mr. Wrench, containing a report of a predatory descent by the Druses of the Hauran into the Plain of Damascus; but I stated at the same time that this intelligence required confirmation.

I am happy now to be able to inform your Lordship that the circumstance alluded to turns out to have been a gross exaggeration, and that the rumoured pillage of Christian villages by a Druse horde is reduced to the withdrawal by their rightful owners of a certain amount of Druse property, which had been left with the Druse portion of the inhabitants of the locality in question.

No. 278.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received January* 31.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, January* 18, 1861.

I CONSIDER the presence of the French troops in the country very detrimental to the prestige of the Sultan's authority.

Your Lordship will remember I have already had the honour of stating that I had found myself obliged to request his Excellency Fuad Pasha to interfere on behalf of certain persecuted Protestants of Galilee; and that in consequence a man named Michael Jebran, the author of the outrage complained of, had been put in prison by his Excellency's orders.

It would now appear, from a statement I have just received from Mr. Tannûs, Interpreter to Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate at Jerusalem, who has been sent by Mr. Finn to investigate the affair, that the Latin Guardian of the Franciscan Convent, at the head of fifty or sixty men, has rescued the culprit Jebran.

I do not think a more apposite illustration could occur of the evils I have alluded to.

I have the honour to inclose to your Lordship extracts from Mr. Tannûs' despatch upon the same subject.

Inclosure in No. 278.

Mr. Tannûs to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Jerusalem, January* 14, 1861

THIS afternoon the Mudir informed me that the Guardian of the Franciscan Convent had come to the Serai with fifty or sixty men of his congregation, and

had demanded the immediate release of Michal Jebran. The Mudir alleged that he had not been able to resist their demand, as he had only a few policemen at his disposal, and as he was afraid the Latins would raise an insurrection. He affirmed, however, the Latins had taken Michael Jebran out of prison without his knowledge and consent.

No. 279.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 1, 1861.

SINCE I informed your Lordship of the approbation of Her Majesty's Government of your plan for the pacification of Syria, obstacles of a serious kind have arisen to prevent its final adoption. The Sultan's Ministers, looking upon it as an infringement of the sovereignty of the Porte, and the establishment of a semi-independence, have declared that Turkey will not consent to it.

M. Thouvenel, on the other hand, anxious to preserve the semi-independence of the Christian Kaimakam, as it was settled in 1842 and 1845, declares that France will consider the maintenance of those arrangements an indispensable condition of the future organization.

Both Powers wish the labours of the Commission to be confined to the Lebanon.

Such being the difficulties, and the speedy evacuation of Syria by European troops being very desirable, I have to instruct you—

1st. To preserve the Christian Kaimakamship as settled by the arrangements of 1842-45.

2ndly. To confine the plan of the Commissioners to the government of the Lebanon.

3rdly. To ask from the Porte the immediate contribution of a sum not less than 200,000*l.* for the restoration of Christian villages in the Mountain.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 280.

Aali Pasha to M. Musurus.—(*Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Musurus, February* 2.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Constantinople, le* 22 *Janvier*, 1860.

J'AI l'honneur de vous envoyer, ci-joint, les Articles qui forment la base de l'organisation future de la Syrie.

La Sublime Porte n'hésite pas à déclarer qu'avec un système de cette nature, elle sera parfaitement en état de rétablir et de maintenir l'ordre et la tranquillité dans toute la Syrie.

Nous espérons que cette résolution, qui ne tardera pas à recevoir son exécution, rencontrera l'approbation unanime de toutes les Puissances.

Je n'ai pas besoin d'ajouter que la responsabilité d'accomplir une tâche si difficile ne peut s'assumer que par une liberté d'action proportionnée à la grandeur du devoir. Cet important point sera, nous n'en doutons pas, apprécié vaec bienveillance et équité par les grands Cabinets, qui ne cherchent que la soution satisfaisante de cette malheureuse question.

En communiquant à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique la décision dont il s'agit, vous voudrez bien assurer son Excellence que la Sublime Porte, pénétrée de la gravité des obligations qui lui incombent, et intéressée au suprême degré à voir la tranquilité régner dans une partie si importante de l'Empire, négligera rien pour établir sur des bases solides et durables le système qu'elle vient d'adopter

Vous êtes autorisé, M. l'Ambassadeur, à remettre copie de cette depêche, ainsi que de son annexe, si M. le Ministre vous en témoigne le désir.

Je vous prie, &c.
(Signé) AALI.

(Translation.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Constantinople, January* 22, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to send you herewith the Articles containing the basis for the future government of Syria.

The Sublime Porte does not hesitate to declare that, with a system of this kind, it will be perfectly able to re-establish and maintain order and tranquillity in all Syria.

We hope that this resolution, which will be put into immediate execution, will meet with the entire approbation of all the Powers.

I need not add that the responsibility of accomplishing so difficult a task can only be assumed by a liberty of action in proportion to the greatness of the duty. We do not doubt but that this important point will be appreciated with goodwill and equity by the Great Powers, who only wish for a satisfactory solution of this unfortunate question.

In communicating to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Her Britannic Majesty the decision in question, you will be pleased to assure his Excellency that the Sublime Porte, impressed as it is with the gravity of the obligations which are incumbent upon it, and interested in the highest degree to see tranquillity reign in so important a part of the Empire, will neglect nothing to establish the system it has just adopted upon a firm and lasting basis.

You are authorized, M. l'Ambassadeur, to give a copy of this despatch and of its inclosure to the Minister for Foreign Affairs should he express a wish to that effect.

I beg, &c.
(Signed) AALI.

Inclosure in No. 280.

Articles containing the Bases for the future Government of Syria.

(Traduction.)

1. L'EFFECTIF de l'armée Impériale d'Arabie sera porté au maximum réglementaire, c'est-à-dire, au chiffre de vingt-six mille hommes, et y sera maintenu.

2. Les revenus, autres que ceux des douanes des provinces comprises dans la circonscription de la dite armée, seront affectés à son entretien; dans le cas où ces revenus ne seraient pas suffisants, on aurait recours aux revenus de même nature des autres provinces.

3. Le mode de compléter l'effectif de la dite armée, et le choix de conscrits destinés à cet effet, seront l'objet d'une discussion à part.

4. Un corps mobile de cavalerie, chargé d'empêcher les tribus nomades de dévaster le pays, sera organisé sur le pied de troupes régulières.

5. Le Commandant-en-chef de la dite armée, qui aura aussi le commandement du dit Corps Mobile, sera chargé du maintien de la sécurité publique dans toute la circonscription de l'armée, et en aura la responsabilité.

6. Les agents de la Police des villes et des bourgs seront également sous la juridiction du Muchir de l'armée, mais employés sous les ordres des Gouverneurs-Généraux. Ces agents seront recrutés des Musulmans et des Chrétiens indistinctement.

7. Les provinces de Damas et de Sayda seront gouvernées chacune séparément par un Gouverneur-Général d'un caractère éprouvé et capable.

8. Il sera formé dans chacune de ces deux provinces un Grand Conseil Mixte composé de membres appartenant aux différentes communautés existantes, et ayant des attributions clairement définies.

9. Dans chacune de ces deux provinces il sera également formée une Cour Criminelle Mixte, et composé de membres capables et compétents.

10. Les Conseils des Sandjaks seront assimilés à ceux des provinces quant à leur forme et à leur organisation.

11. Chaque année, à une époque déterminée et fixe, on choisirait dans tout les Sandjaks de la province une personne parmi les Musulmans et une de chaque différente communauté Chrétienne et Juive, tous sujets de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, lesquels seront envoyés au chef-lieu de la province. Là ils devront être réunis au Grand Conseil de la province, qui formera, sous la présidence du Gouverneur-Général, un Conseil-Général dont chacun des membres aura à exposer et à étudier les besoins du pays par rapport à l'agriculture, au commerce, aux mesures de sûreté publique, et à l'assiette des impôts, soit dans l'intérêt particulier de ses commettants, soit dans l'intérêt général de la province. La durée de ce Conseil ne devra pas dépasser le terme de deux mois. Ceux des habitants d'un Sandjak appartenant à une communauté quelconque, et dont le nombre n'atteindra pas le chiffre de mille âmes, n'auront pas le droit d'envoyer de Délégué au dit Conseil.

12. Les procès-verbaux des délibérations des Conseils-Généraux seront immédiatement transmis à la Sublime Porte, qui, après un examen préalable, ordonnera la mise à exécution des mesures y indiqués.

13. Chaque année à l'époque de la réunion des Conseils-Généraux indiqués dans l'Article précédent, un haut dignitaire de la Sublime Porte sera envoyé en Syrie comme Inspecteur-Général.

14. Le Commandant-Genéral de la force armée sera autorisé à prendre d'urgence, et d'accord avec le Gouverneur Civil, toutes les mesures militaires que le maintien de l'ordre et la sécurité des habitants exigeraient.

15. Son Excellence Fuad Pacha restera provisoirement jusqu'à l'établissement de ces Conseils et à la mise à exécution des mesures ci-dessus énoncées.

(Translation.)

1. THE effective force of the Imperial army in Arabia shall be increased to the maximum regulation, that is to say, to the number of 26,000 men, and shall be so maintained.

2. The revenues, other than those of the customs of the provinces comprised in the circumscription of the said army, will be assigned for its maintenance. In case these revenues are not sufficient, recourse will be had to the revenues of the same nature in the other provinces.

3. The mode of completing the effective force of the said army, and the choice of conscripts destined for this purpose, will be the object of a separate discussion.

4. A flying column of cavalry, charged with preventing the wandering tribes from devastating the country, will be organized on the footing of regular troops.

5. The Commander-in-chief of the said army, who will also be in command of the said flying column, will be charged with the maintenance of public security in all the circumscription of the army, and on him will devolve the responsibility.

6. The agents of the police of the towns and boroughs will be equally under the jurisdiction of the Mushir of the army, but employed under the orders of the Governors-General. These agents will be recruited without distinction from the Mussulmans and Christians.

7. The Provinces of Damascus and Sayda will be governed each separately by a Governor-General of a proved and efficient character.

8. A Grand Mixed Council will be formed in each of these two provinces, composed of members belonging to the different existing communities, with their powers clearly defined.

9. In each of these two provinces a Mixed Criminal Court will be also formed, composed of competent and efficient members.

10. The Councils of the Sandjak will be like those of the provinces in form and organization.

11. Each year at a fixed and definite time, there will be chosen in all the Sandjaks of the province, one man from among the Mussulmans, and one from each different Christian and Jewish community, all subjects of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, who will all be sent to the chief town of the province.

There they will be joined to the Grand Council of the province, which will form, under the presidency of the Governor-General, a Council-General, in which each of the members will be called upon to expose and to study the wants of the country as regards agriculture, commerce, measures of public safety, the assessment of taxes, whether in the particular interest of their constituents, or in the general interest of the province. The duration of this Council must not exceed two months. The inhabitants of a Sandjak, to whatever community they belong, and whose numbers do not reach 1,000 souls, will not have the right to send a delegate to the said Council.

12. The *procès-verbaux* of the deliberations of the Councils-General will be immediately transmitted to the Sublime Porte, and after a preliminary examination it will order the execution of the measures therein pointed out.

13. Each year at the time of the assembling of the Councils-General, pointed out in the preceding Article, a high dignitary of the Sublime Porte will be sent to Syria as Inspector-General.

14. The Commander-in-chief of the armed force will be authorized in case of necessity, and in conjunction with the Civil Governor, to take any military measures which the maintenance of order and the security of the inhabitants may require.

15. His Excellency Fuad Pasha will remain provisionally until these Councils are established, and the above-mentioned measures carried into execution.

No. 281.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received February* 2.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, January* 23, 1861.

I INCLOSE a copy of the Turkish project for the government of Syria. As I have but just received it I have not time to discuss its merits.

But it differs in some degree from what I first understood it would be from the verbal explanations given to me, and appears more confused and less comprehensive.

In regard to the indemnity, I certainly thought that if the Porte were able to take this obligation upon itself, at once pay a portion and give Fuad orders to raise the rest in the least oppressive manner, that this course would have been the most desirable; for the plan proposed, as far as I understand it, is liable to objections both on the score of practicability and justice. But it is most essential that there should, at all events, be no delay in this matter, and I have, therefore, pressed the Porte either to propose at once some satisfactory plan of its own, sending the money which it first promised to send by this steamer, or to give Fuad Pasha full powers to act as he may think the case requires. I confess I still think myself that it is most hard to make the most respectable part of the Mussulman population at Damascus pay for the whole mischief that was perpetrated chiefly by the Druses from the Hauran and the rabble of the town, and which ought to have been prevented by the Imperial Government. Moreover, though I have little doubt but that the indemnity to be paid is but an inadequate compensation for the injury sustained, I do not know whether all of it can be paid by the parties on whom it is assessed without the complete ruin of those parties.

I think that by this post Fuad will receive full powers to do whatever he thinks proper; but several Councils have been lately held upon this subject, and I have not heard the result of that which was held last night.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

Inclosure in No. 281.

Articles containing the Bases for the Future Government of Syria.

[See Inclosure in No. 280.]

No. 282.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 2, 1861.

I HAVE informed Lord Dufferin that in consequence of the objections made by the Porte and by France to the adoption of his Lordship's plan for settling Syria, and in order to expedite the withdrawal of European troops from that country, he is first to preserve the Christian Kaimakamship as settled by the arrangements of 1842-45; secondly, to confine the plan of the Commissioners to the government of the Lebanon; and thirdly, to ask from the Porte the immediate contribution of a sum not less 200,000*l.* for the restoration of Christian villages in the Mountain.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 283.

Mr. Fane to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received February* 4.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, January* 29, 1861.

COUNT RECHBERG observed that a Conference for considering the expediency of prolonging the foreign occupation of Syria could not be held if the Porte should refuse to take part in it, since the other Powers could not convene to deliberate upon a question on which no valid decision could be taken without the concurrence of the Ottoman Government.

No. 284.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, February* 4, 1861.

THE Turkish Ambassador at Her Majesty's Court has informed me that the Turkish Government will not object to go into a Conference if it is desired by the Powers of Europe, but that Turkey will not consent to a renewal of the Convention of the 5th of Septemher.

Her Majesty's Government will not object to direct your Excellency to attend the Conference, if all other Powers agree to it; but they cannot consent to any renewal of the Convention of the 5th of September, unless the proposal has the entire and willing assent of the Sublime Porte.

No. 285.

Aali Pasha to M. Musurus.—(*Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Musurus, February* 6.)

Le 20 *Janvier*, 1861.

MON expédition d'aujourd'hui vous apprendra les bases que la Sublime Porte vient d'adopter sur l'organisation future de la Syrie. Je joins ici, pour votre information, le projet de Lord Dufferin, projet dont la simple lecture vous mettra à même d'en juger le mérite et la portée. Mon intention n'est pas de discuter un à un tous les Articles du plan du Commissaire Britannique; le principe qui semble l'avoir dicté, ne pouvant pas être admis par la Sublime Porte, il serait tout-à-fait inutile de s'étendre sur les détails. Tout ce que j'ai donc à vous dire, c'est que le plan en question ne tend à rien moins qu'à ériger une nouvelle Principauté, *quasi* indépendante, soumise à la direction d'une Commission Européenne; en d'autres termes, à séparer la Syrie de la domination Ottomane.

Vous concevrez facilement combien le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale serait désolé, si par malheur le Cabinet de Sa Majesté Britannique, après avoir pris en sérieuse considération la position désastreuse qu'une telle combinaison créerait et à l'ensemble de l'Empire et à la Syrie elle-même, ne revenait pas sur sa première impression; le principe de l'intégrité de

l'Empire Ottoman si énergiquement et, je puis le dire, si efficacement défendu par l'Angleterre, recevrait une nouvelle atteinte dans une de ses plus importantes parties.

Sans doute, les malheurs qui ont frappé les populations du Mont Liban et de Damas sont immenses. Le cœur paternel de notre auguste Souverain a été le premier à s'affliger des horreurs dont ces pays ont été le théâtre.

La Grande Bretagne a eu aussi, il n'y a pas longtemps, des désastres pareils à déplorer et à reprimer dans ses possessions de l'Inde Orientale. Personne n'a songé à accuser l'Administration Anglaise de négligence ou d'incapacité. Comme nous, elle a été surprise par les événements, et comme nous, elle a rempli son devoir en infligeant des punitions sévères aux auteurs des forfaits commis.

Si quelques uns de nos Agents ont pu manquer à leur devoir, le Gouvernement a prouvé qu'il n'entendait pas tolérer de pareils manques ; et il leur a fait payer leur faute au prix de leur sang ou de leur existence politique.

Le Gouvernement Impérial eût mérité la réprobation du monde civilisé, l'Europe eût été en droit et en devoir de penser à substituer un autre état de choses, si la répression n'eût pas été aussi prompte que possible, si par suite de la triste expérience que nous venons de faire, nous n'eussions pas préparé un mode d'administration capable d'empêcher le renouvellement des crimes passés et à garantir la sécurité et la prospérité future des habitants de la Syrie.

Je ne sache pas qu'il y ait un Gouvernement qui ne veuille et qui ne fasse tout ce qui est dans les limites du possible pour maintenir la tranquillité dans son intérieur, et pour faire jouir ses sujets de toute sorte de sécurité. C'est le premier des devoirs de tout Etat régulier. La Sublime Porte apprécie l'importance de ce devoir, et elle s'efforce à le remplir fidèlement. Mais ce but ne peut être atteint qu'à condition d'avoir le libre exercice des droits sans lesquels toute autorité devient illusoire. Ainsi, avec l'introduction du nouveau système que nous avons arrêtée, avec la pleine jouissance de cette liberté d'action inhérente et indispensable à l'indépendance de chaque Gouvernement, la Sublime Porte n'hésiterait pas à déclarer, en face du monde entier, sa conviction intime de pouvoir, par l'aide de Dieu, maintenir l'ordre et la paix dans toute la Syrie ; tandis qu'avec le mode proposé par Lord Dufferin, il serait plus qu'insensé à la Sublime Porte d'assumer la moindre responsabilité à cet égard.

Nous savons que le désir de l'Angleterre et des autres Grandes Puissances n'est point d'amener un démembrement. Elles ne cherchent que le moyen d'élever une digue contre de nouvelles dévastations du torrent insurrectionnel. Nous ne demandons, et nous ne pouvons demander, non plus autre chose. Puisque c'est ainsi, pourquoi souleverait-on des difficultés pour l'adoption des mesures qui, sans avoir les grandes dangers que nous signalons plus haut, offriraient toutes les garanties désirables ? Et pourquoi persisterait-on à préférer un plan dont la première conséquence serait de soustraire la Syrie à la souveraineté du Sultan ? Non, nous sommes convaincus que Lord John Russell, après avoir pris connaissance de notre projet, voudra bien en reconnaître la parfaite suffisance, et qu'il ne refusera pas d'accorder à nos observations sur les inconvénients de l'opinion de son Commissaire une attention bienveillante et amicale.

Vous devez vous rappeler que nous n'avons jamais reconnu la compétence de la Commission Européenne dans l'organisation de la Syrie proprement dite.

Nous avons toujours et formellement déclaré qu'en matière administrative, les délibérations de la Commission ne devaient porter que sur les modifications à introduire dans l'organisation du Mont Liban. Non-seulement notre déclaration réitérée n'a rencontré aucune objection, mais on nous a constamment répondu qu'il ne s'agissait que de réviser le système établi en 1845. Nous pouvons invoquer à ce sujet le témoignage de MM. les Représentants à Constantinople, aussi bien que le texte des instructions identiques données à la Commission.

En résumé, c'est un devoir impérieux et solennel que je remplis aujourd'hui, en vous invitant au nom de la Sublime Porte à soumettre à l'appréciation éclairée de son Excellence le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères les raisons vitales qui nous obligent à ne pouvoir adhérer à aucun prix à la proposition de Lord Dufferin, et à persister dans notre résolution, dont, comme je vous l'ai dit en commençant, mon office en date de ce jour vous donnera les détails.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) AALI.

(Translation.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *January* 21, 1860.

MY despatch of to-day will inform you of the bases that the Sublime Porte has adopted for the future government of Syria. I inclose, for your information, the project of Lord Dufferin. On reading it you will be in a position to form an opinion as to its merit and compass. It is not my intention to discuss one by one the articles of the British Commissioner's plan; as the principle which seems to have dictated it, cannot be admitted by the Sublime Porte, it would be quite useless to enter into details. All then that I have to tell you, is, that the plan in question tends to nothing less than the formation of a new Principality, quite independent, under the direction of a European Commission; in other words, to separate Syria from the Ottoman rule.

You can easily imagine, M. l'Ambassadeur, how grieved the Government of His Imperial Majesty would be, should, unfortunately, the Cabinet of Her Britannic Majesty not return to its former impression, after having taken into serious consideration the disastrous position that such a combination would create, both to the Empire and to Syria itself; the principle of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire so energetically, and I may say so effectually, defended by England, would receive a fresh shock in one of its most important parts.

Without doubt, the misfortunes which have come upon the population of the Lebanon and Damascus are immense. The paternal heart of our august Sovereign has been the first to be grieved at the horrors of which these countries have been the theatre.

Great Britain has also had to deplore and quell, not long since, like disasters in her possessions in India. No one thought of accusing the English Government of negligence or incapacity. Like us, she was surprised by the events, and like us, she performed her duty by inflicting severe punishments on the authors of the crimes.

If some of our agents did neglect their duty, the Government has shown that it would not tolerate such neglect, and they have paid for their fault with their blood, or have been deprived of their political duties.

The Imperial Government would have deserved the reprobation of the civilized world, Europe would have felt it her right and duty to substitute a fresh state of things, if the suppression of these disturbances had not been as prompt as possible, and if, after our sad experience, we had not prepared a plan of Government capable of preventing a recurrence of past crimes, and of guaranteeing the security and future prosperity of the inhabitants of Syria.

I do not know that there is any Government which does not desire and does not do everything that is possible to maintain tranquillity in its interior, and to enable its subjects to enjoy every security. It is the first duty of a well organized State. The Sublime Porte sees the importance of this duty, and endeavours faithfully to accomplish it. But this end can only be obtained by having the free exercise of those rights without which all authority becomes illusive.

Thus, by the introduction of the new system we have resolved on, with the full enjoyment of that liberty of action inherent in, and indispensable to, the the independence of each Government, the Sublime Porte would not hesitate to declare in the face of the world its firm conviction of being able, by the help of God, to maintain order and peace in all Syria; whereas, by the plan proposed by Lord Dufferin, it would be more than madness for the Sublime Porte to assume the slightest responsibility on this head.

We know that the wish of England and of the other Great Powers is not at all to bring about a dismemberment. They only seek the means of raising a dam against new devastations of the insurrectionary torrent. We do not, and cannot, ask for anything else. As this is the case, why should difficulties be raised to the adoption of measures, which, without having all the dangers we have above enumerated, would offer all the desired guarantees? And why should they persist in preferring a plan, the first consequence of which would be to sever Syria from the sovereignty of the Sultan? No, we are convinced that Lord J. Russell, when he has made himself acquainted with our plan, will recognize its perfect sufficiency, and that he will not refuse to give his kind and friendly attention to our observations on the inconveniences of the opinion of his Commissioner. You must remember, M. l'Ambassadeur, that we

have never recognized the competency of the European Commission as to the government of Syria.

We have always formally declared that in administrative matters the deliberations of the Commission should only bear upon the modifications to be introduced into the Government of the Lebanon. Not only has our reiterated declaration received no opposition, but we have been constantly told that it was only a question of revising the system established in 1845. On this subject we can invoke the testimony of the Representatives at Constantinople, as well as the text of the identic instructions given to the Commission.

In conclusion, M. l'Ambassadeur, it is a solemn and peremptory duty that I am this day discharging, in instructing you in the name of the Sublime Porte to submit to the enlightened appreciation of his Excellency the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the real reasons which oblige us to refuse to adhere at any price to the proposition of Lord Dufferin, and to persist in our resolution, of which, as I said in the commencement of my despatch, you will this day receive the details.

Accept, &c.
(Signed) AALI.

No. 286.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 6.)

(Extract.) *Paris, February 5*, 1861.

M. THOUVENEL informs me that the Porte has consented to the reassembling of the Conference on Syrian affairs, and that Vefyk Effendi will be desired to remain in Paris to represent Turkey on this occasion. Instructions for the regulation of his conduct are to be sent to him forthwith.

No. 287.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, February 6*, 1861.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 5th instant, stating that M. Thouvenel had informed you that the Porte has consented to the re-assembling of the Conference on Syrian affairs, and that instructions for his conduct will forthwith be sent to Vefyk Effendi, who will represent Turkey in the Conference.

I have to acquaint your Excellency that, on their part, Her Majesty's Government have no objection to the meeting of the Conference, and you will state to M. Thouvenel that you are authorized to attend it on the part of Her Majesty.

Your Excellency is so fully acquainted with the views of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the affairs of Syria, that I have no special instructions to give to you for your guidance. You should not agree to anything which binds the Porte, unless it should be clearly shown that the course proposed has the sanction and consent of the Sultan.

No. 288.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 8.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, January 27*, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 288.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, January* 24, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the seventeenth sitting of the Syrian Commission, held on the 31st December last.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 288.

Protocol of the Seventeenth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, December 31, 1860.

LE Lundi, trente-un Décembre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout, sous la présidence de Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à deux heures et demie.

Une conversation s'engage entre MM. les Commissaires sur les questions qui ont déjà été examinées dans la précédente séance à laquelle son Excellence Fuad Pacha avait été empêché d'assister par suite du mauvais état de sa santé. Son rétablissement va lui permettre de se rendre immédiatement à Moktara, où les Druses qui viennent d'être arrêtés seront jugés. Son Excellence a fait procéder à de nombreuses arrestations non seulement parmi les Druses, mais aussi parmi les Musulmans Sunnites et les Métualis. On a relâché tous ceux qui n'étaient pas compris dans les listes de dénonciations fournies par les notables Chrétiens, et cette mesure, tout en rétablissant la confiance et en empêchant qu'une sorte de panique ne se répandît dans le pays, aura encore l'avantage de faciliter d'autres arrestations. La Commission sait comment ces listes ont été dressées, et quel nombre de dénonciations elles contiennent. Son Excellence entre dans de nouveaux détails à cet égard, et confirme ceux qui ont déjà été donnés par Abro Efendi dans la précédente séance. Une première liste générale, contenant 4,600 noms, avait été dressée. Fuad Pacha, eu égard au système de pénalité qu'il a résolu d'adopter, conformément au vœu de la Commission, a cru devoir demander aux Evêques une liste des principaux coupables. Les Evêques ont alors dressé trois listes d'accusations, graduées selon le degré apparent de la culpabilité. La première de ces listes contient encore 1,200 noms d'individus accusés comme organisateurs, chefs de bandes, ou assassins sanguinaires; Fuad Pacha cherchera parmi ceux-là les plus grands coupables qui, aux termes de l'arrangement intervenu entre la Commission et le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, sont tous également passibles de la peine de mort. Avant de procéder aux exécutions, Fuad Pacha exprime l'intention où il est de communiquer à la Commission la liste des condamnés et le texte des sentences.

M. le Commissaire Britannique fait part à ses collègues des renseignements qui lui ont été fournis récemment, et d'après lesquels une centaine de Druses environ auraient été assassinés par des Chrétiens depuis l'apaisement de la guerre civile. Cette circonstance, selon Lord Dufferin, mériterait d'être prise en considération pour déterminer le chiffre de ceux d'entre les Druses qui devront subir la peine capitale.

M. Novikow fait observer que ce sont là des assassinats isolés, commis d'individus à individus, et qu'il y en a eu du même genre commis par les Druses contre les Chrétiens. Fuad Pacha répond qu'il y a eu aussi des réclamations de la part des Chrétiens au sujet d'assassinats isolés commis par les Druses; mais on ne sait pas si ces assassinats ont été commis pendant ou après les événements de la Montagne.

M. le Commissaire Prussien rappelle à cet égard qu'il a présenté, il y a deux mois, à Fuad Pacha une liste d'une trentaine assassinats, commis par des Druses contre des Chrétiens. M. Béclard s'engage à donner également le nom des Chrétiens qui ont été victimes d'assassinats isolés depuis l'arrivée du Commissaire de la Sublime Porte en Syrie. Il saisit cette occasion pour

demander à Fuad Pacha quand et comment il compte procéder à la mesure du désarmement, et M. de Weckbecker remarquant que l'esprit de vendetta règne dans tous les pays de Montagne et qu'en général là où la justice est lente et le sang bouillant, les particuliers sont naturellement portés à se faire justice eux-mêmes, M. Béclard insiste sur la nécessité de combattre cette tendance naturelle par une justice prompte et par le désarmement. Il cite à cet égard l'exemple de la Corse où, par l'intervention active du pouvoir judiciaire et un désarmement rigoureux, le Gouvernement Français est arrivé à changer presque complétement les habitudes de la population.

Fuad Pacha répond qu'en Syrie la mesure du désarmement général dépend de la réorganisation que le Gouvernement Impérial veut introduire dans tout l'Empire. Cette mesure suppose, indépendamment d'une force armée régulière, l'institution d'une bonne gendarmerie, la suppression du corps des Bachi-Bozouks, et la création de lignes d'observation sur les confins du désert, car on ne peut désarmer un groupe de population sans désarmer les populations voisines, ni désarmer celles-ci en les laissant exposées aux brigandages des tribus errantes. Il y a là un enchainement qui rend l'exécution de la mesure très difficile. Dans certaines contrées de la Palestine le laboureur conduit sa charrue le fusil sur l'épaule. Comment désarmer cet homme sans lui offrir en compensation la garantie d'une police bien faite et d'un pouvoir public bien organisé? Il en est de même dans toute la Syrie.

L'attention de MM. les Commissaires se porte ensuite sur la situation des familles Chrétiennes restées à Damas et alimentées provisoirement par les secours de l'autorité. Lord Dufferin signale de regrettables irrégularités dans la distribution de ces secours, irrégularités dont Fuad Pacha croit devoir faire retomber la responsabilité sur les Comités Chrétiens chargés de la distribution. Son Excellence déclare qu'elle avait déjà recommandé au nouveau Gouverneur de Damas, Emin Pacha, un contrôle aussi sévère que possible des opérations confiées à ces Comités.

M. Béclard présente une liste de onze Musulmans qui se sont noblement conduits pendant les événements, et qui mériteraient d'être recompensés par le Sultan. Cette liste est appuyée par tous les autres Commissaires, qui se réservent toutefois de signaler à Fuad Pacha, s'il y a lieu, les noms d'autres personnes qui se seraient également distinguées. M. le Commissaire Français croit devoir appeler au contraire les riguenrs trop lentes du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale sur des individus dont la participation à ces mêmes événements est évidente, et qui sont jusqu'à ce jour restés impunis, notamment tous les Mouktars, ou chefs de quartiers, qui sont demeurés en fonctions et qui ont fait une fortune scandaleuse, en exploitant les Musulmans contre lesquels ils devaient sévir.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha promet d'avoir égard à cette double recommandation, appuyée unaminement par tous les membres de la Commission.

M. le Commissaire Français renouvelle l'interpellation qu'il a adressée dans la dernière séance à Fuad Pacha par l'intermédiaire d'Abro Efendi, relativement aux sentences rendues par le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrout contre les officiers Ottomans et les Cheiks Druses. M. Béclard s'attache à bien préciser l'objet de cette interpellation. En ce qui concerne la repression des coupables, le rôle de la Commission et celui du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman ne pourraient être confondus. La Commission doit provoquer le châtiment des coupables, et si le tribunal propose d'appliquer des peines de second ordre à des hommes dont la culpabilité et la haute responsabilité sont reconnues en principe par la Commission, ce n'est pas à la Commission qu'il appartient de rechercher elle-même qu'elles sont les circonstances atténuantes qui ont été prises en considération; c'est au Commissaire Ottoman qu'incombe le soin de les faire connaître. Le texte des sentences ne renferme point à cet égard d'éclaircissements suffisants. Il n'y est fait mention d'aucun fait qui vienne diminuer la responsabilité des officiers Ottomans; elle demeure donc pleine et entière aux yeux de la Commission, qui jusqu'à ce que les preuves à décharge lui soient fournies, se trouve dans l'impossibilité d'exprimer, relativement aux sentences qui lui ont été communiquées, l'avis que Fuad Pacha a bien voulu solliciter de sa part.

Son Excellence le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman répond que le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrout a été par lui mis à même de prononcer ces sentences dans une pleine et entière liberté. Fuad Pacha s'est abstenu de peser en quelque façon que ce fût sur les décisions de ce Tribunal. Il leur donnera force exécutoire par

l'apposition de sa signature, si elles sont conformes à l'intérêt public et à la justice, après avoir toutefois consulté la Commission. Sans, bien entendu, vouloir prendre la défense d'hommes qu'il a fait poursuivre comme criminels, il lui a paru que la différence des peines appliquées aux Cheiks Druses et aux officiers Ottomans avait été, dans la pensée du Tribunal, fondée sur une différence dans le degré de culpabilité et sur le texte même des lois. Aux termes du Code Pénal on ne peut frapper de mort que les auteurs ou les provocateurs de l'assassinat. Or les officiers Ottomans jugés à Beyrout ne sont ni les auteurs ni les provocateurs des massacres. Ce sont des fonctionnaires qui ont commis une faute très grave, celle de ne pas travailler assez activement au maintien de l'ordre. Ils n'ont pas rempli leurs devoirs. Ils ont péché seulement par impuissance et par ineptie. Voilà pourquoi ils sont punis non point de la peine capitale réservée aux auteurs et aux provocateurs, mais de la détention à perpétuité dans une forteresse.

M. Béclard objecte que le Muchir Ahmed Pacha n'était ni provocateur ni acteur dans les massacres de Damas, et que cependant il a été justement puni de mort ; à quoi le Commissaire Ottoman objecte qu'Ahmed Pacha est resté dans une inaction complète, tandis que Kourchid Pasha a au moins essayé d'agir. Il n'est pas resté dans son palais ; il a fait quelques efforts, insuffisants à la vérité ; on ne peut donc le considérer comme complice. Il mérite une peine très sévère, non la mort pourtant.

M. de Rehfues ne voit qu'une différence dans la conduite d'Ahmed Pacha et dans celle de Kourchid Pacha : c'est que l'un n'a rien fait, tandis que l'autre a seulement fait semblant d'agir. Il n'y a point là de circonstance très atténuante.

M. Novikow, pour éclairer sa conscience, aurait besoin de savoir dans quelle mesure les délégués de l'autorité ont pu ne pas se rendre compte de l'effet déplorable des mesures qu'ils avaient prises. Il est particulièrement difficile de s'expliquer comment Tahir Pacha, qui prétend avoir donné au Commandant de Deir-el-Kamar l'ordre formel de maintenir la sécurité de la ville, a pu quelques jours après devenir lui-même la principale cause des massacres.

M. de Rehfues exprime le regret que l'autorité ne se soit pas mise en mesure de saisir chez Tahir Pacha les preuves des communications qui existaient entre lui et les Cheiks Druses.

Lord Dufferin rappelle que 5,000 individus ont été assassinés dans la Montagne en un très court espace de temps. Un événement si épouvantable ne saurait se produire inopinément. Quelqu'un en est responsable. Seulement il peut être difficile, sans un examen approfondi des pièces du procès, de reconnaître à qui appartient cette responsabilité. Lord Dufferin pense que les Commissaires feraient bien de profiter de l'absence de Fuad Pacha pour se livrer à l'étude des documents qui leur ont été communiquées ; après quoi ils transmettraient à son Excellence une note contenant l'expression de leur opinion collective.

Fuad Pacha trouve en conscience que les officiers Ottomans dont ils s'agit sont assez sévérement punis par la détention à perpétuité dans une forteresse. En présence de jugements qui leur appliquent la peine immédiatement inférieure à la peine de mort, il se rend difficilement compte des questions qui viennent de lui être posées par la Commission. Dans le cours de ce procès, dit-il, on n'a point recherché en faveur des officiers des circonstances atténuantes. La peine que le Tribunal propose de leur infliger est la plus élevée de toutes celles que la loi autorise, et avant de leur en infliger une plus rigoureuse encore, Fuad Pacha avoue à la Commission qu'il se trouverait dans la nécessité d'en référer à Constantinople.

MM. les Commissaires de France et de Russie se déclarent prêts à appuyer la motion de Lord Dufferin, et constatent de nouveau que la Commission, après avoir reconnu à plusieurs reprises que la plus grande part de responsabilité dans les événements pesait sur les fonctionnaires Ottomans, ne peut changer à cet égard d'opinion, sans avoir la preuve bien positive qu'elle s'était trompée.

M. de Weckbecker observe qu'il ne peut outrepasser le mandat qu'il a reçu de son Gouvernement, et que, d'après les instructions qui lui ont été envoyées, il ne se croit pas autorisé à s'ingérer dans les jugements prononcés par les Tribunaux Ottomans. Il peut et doit provoquer la punition des coupables, mais non pas réclamer une aggravation de peines. Selon lui, si ce Tribunal absout un coupable, la Commission a le droit de demander la révision de la sentence, mais si

le Tribunal, après voir reconnu la culpabilité, prononce le plus haut degré même de la peine désignée par la loi, comme c'est précisément le cas dans les cinq sentences dont il s'agit, il lui semble que la Commission doit se contenter de cette sévérité.

Cependant M. de Weckbecker, tout en ne reconnaissant à la Commission dont il fait partie aucune compétence judiciaire, croit qu'elle peut demander de plus amples explications sur les motifs de ces jugements. Dans ces explications la Commission trouvera sans doute de nouvelles lumières sur l'origine et les causes des événements dont elle doit chercher à prévenir le retour, en proposant les bases de la réorganisation future du pays, objet le plus important de la tâche qui lui a été confiée. En conséquence M. le Commissaire d'Autriche adhère à la proposition de Lord Dufferin.

Les trois Commissaires de France, de Russie, et de Prusse croient devoir réserver expressément pour la Commission Internationale le droit d'exercer dans toute leur étendue les pouvoirs qui lui ont été conférés. Elle doit provoquer la répression, mais ces expressions veulent dire que non seulement la Commission doit provoquer la punition des coupables, mais qu'elle a le droit aussi d'en provoquer la juste punition. On ne saurait séparer en pareille matière le degré de la peine elle-même, car alors il suffirait que les principaux criminels fussent condamnés à huit jours d'arrêt, pour que le procès étant suivi de condamnation, la Commission n'ait pas le droit d'élever la voix. Une telle conséquence preuve jusqu'à l'évidence que l'interprétation particulière et inattendue donnée à l'instruction collective par M. le Commissaire d'Autriche, ne saurait être admise par ses collègues.

M. de Weckbecker ayant toutefois cru pouvoir accepter la motion de Lord Dufferin et chacun des membres de la Commission s'y étant ralliée, il est entendu que MM. les Commissaires, après un examen attentif des pièces du procès, feront connaître à Fuad Pacha, par la remise d'une note collective, leur opinion sur les sentences rendues contre les Cheiks Druses et les officiers Ottomans par le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrout.

La séance est levée à cinq heures.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 3 in No. 288.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, January* 24, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the eighteenth sitting of the Syrian Commission, held on the 9th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 288.

Protocol of the Eighteenth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, January 9, 1861.

LE neuf Janvier, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires, à l'exception de Fuad Pacha, représenté par Abro Efendi, étant réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de Lord Dufferin, Vice-Président, la séance est ouverte à deux heures et demie. Il est donné lecture du procès-verbal de l'avant-dernière séance (seizième), qui est adopté après quelques légères modifications.

M. le Commissaire Français demande au Délégué de Fuad Pacha des explications touchant un fait qui vient de se produire dans la Montagne. Après quelques scènes de désordre qui avaient eu lieu à Abadié, ce village, compris dans la Caimacamie Chrétienne, a éte occupé par un détachement de troupes Ottomanes, envoyées de Beyrout par Ahmed Pacha. M. Béclard s'étonne qu'une telle mesure, attentatoire aux priviléges de la Montagne, ait été prise sans que les Commissaires en aient même été prévenus. Il ne doute pas que Youssouf

Bey Karam n'ait en son pouvoir tous les moyens nécessaires pour maintenir l'ordre. Il tiendrait donc à savoir pourquoi des troupes Ottomanes ont été envoyées à Abadié, si elles y sont encore, et jusqu'à quand elles y resteront. Il réclame sur ces divers points les explications catégoriques dont il a besoin.

Abro Efendi promet de transmettre à son Excellence Fuad Pacha l'interpellation de M. Béclard. Il donne, en attendant, quelques détails sur les circonstances qui ont provoqué la mesure dont il s'agit. Sur un avis parvenu à l'Autorité que deux Chrétiens venaient d'être assassinés, celle-ci ordonna une enquête qui constata qu'un seul était légèrement blessé par un coup de pierre. Quant à l'envoi d'un détachement de troupes à Abadié, il avait été provoqué par les inquiétudes manifestées par le Caïmacam lui-même au sujet d'intrigues et d'un rassemblement de plus de 1,000 Druses, réunis dans les environs de ce village. Le Délégué Ottoman ajoute que le Caïmacam avait envoyé des zaptiés pour opérer la rentrée des fonds arriérés de l'impôt. Ceux-ci, rendus à Abadié, ont commis des extorsions au détriment des Druses, en les obligeant à leur fournir différents objets que Youssouf Bey, informé du fait, n'a pas tardé à faire restituer en partie. Mais dans l'intervalle les Druses, soit à bout de patience, soit pour se soustraire au paiement d'un impot qui devait les gêner beaucomp dans ce moment, se dispersèrent dans la vallée voisine, ne retournant dans leurs demeures que pendant la nuit. Alors les habitants Chrétiens répandirent l'inquiétude, en s'armant eux-mêmes et en répandant le bruit de cet attroupement. Fuad Pacha, informé de cette nouvelle immédiatement avant son départ, ordonna au Gouverneur-Général d'aller visiter ce village. Rendu sur les lieux, Ahmed Pacha rassembla les habitants, Chrétiens et Druses indistinctement, et après avoir rassuré les uns et exhorté les autres à reprendre leurs travaux, il leur donna l'assurance la plus positive que ni le Gouvernement ni le Caimacam ne permettront jamais qu'une partie de la population exerce des vexations sur l'autre. C'est pour rassurer de fait tant les Chrétiens que les Druses à cet égard qu'un détachement fut expédié à Abadié, détachement que l'Autorité retirera aussitôt que ces inquiétudes auront cessé.

M. Béclard objecte que de deux choses l'une : ou Youssouf Bey Karam est en mesure de garantir le maintien de l'ordre dans la Caimacamie Chrétienne, et alors l'occupation d'Abadié demeure sans explication, ou il n'a en son pouvoir que des forces insuffisantes, et alors il y a vivement lieu de regretter que le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan lui ait confié une tâche sans le mettre en mesure de la remplir.

Lord Dufferin voudrait qu'avant de porter un jugement sur le fait de l'occupation, on sût précisément à quoi s'en tenir sur les événements qui s'étaient accomplis à Abadié. Il parait que Fuad Pacha, ayant envoyé dans ce village, comme partout ailleurs, un agent chargé de se livrer à des perquisitions pour retrouver les objets pillés par les Druses chez le Chrétiens, ces derniers ont jugé à propos de réclamer non seulement la restitution de ce qui leur avait été pris dans les derniers troubles, mais encore le paiement de vieilles créances, remontant à l'époque de l'occupation Egyptienne. Youssouf Bey Karam aurait alors envoyé pour procéder au recouvrement de ces créances une troupe nombreuse de cavaliers, lesquels, ayant vécu pendant plusieurs semaines aux dépens des habitants de ce village, ne l'auraient quitté qu'après l'avoir complétement épuisé. Un seul d'entr'eux y était resté, et c'est celui-là qui a été si fort maltraité. Lord Dufferin est porté à croire que l'on trouvera dans ce double fait d'une réclamation inattendue de créances très-anciennes de la part des Chrétiens, et d'une dilapidation de la part des soldats de Youssouf Karam, l'explication de ce qui vient de se passer.

M. Béclard fait observer que Youssouf Karam a puni de peines corporelles très-rigoureuses ceux d'entre ses gens qui s'étaient rendus coupables d'exactions à Abadié.

M. Novikow rappelle que, d'après les réglements existants, un seul point de la Montagne, Beteddin, peut être occupé par les troupes Ottomanes. En conséquence, l'envoi d'un détachement à Abadié, s'il n'a pas eu lieu sur la demande du Caimacam intérimaire et par suite d'une nécessité réelle, constitue une contravention à des réglements garantis par les Puissances, et qui ne peuvent être modifiés sans leur assentiment.

Abro Effendi répond qu'il n'est nullement dans l'intention de l'autorité de porter une atteinte quelconque à ces réglements, mais qu'il est dans son devoir de rassurer les populations, partout où il est besoin, par un déploiement de force militaire, et de consolider l'autorité du Caimacam. En ce qui concerne

l'objection de M. Béclard que le Gouvernement n'accordait pas une force suffisante à Youssouf Bey, Abro Efendi réplique que le Gouvernement lui a donné une force supérieure à celle dont tous les Caimacams Chrétiens avait disposé jusqu'ici.

M. de Rehfues appelle l'attention de la Commission sur la manière dont la mesure de l'arrestation des Druses s'est opérée. Un grande nombre de ceux qui avaient été dénoncés n'ont pas été arrêtés, et les principaux se sont échappés à prix d'argent. On cite le nom d'officiers qui se sont prêtés à ces coupables intrigues.

Abro Efendi proteste énergiquement contre la possibilité d'un tel fait.

M. Béclard partage toutes les craintes de M. de Rehfues à cet égard. Il aurait fallu, selon lui, prévenir le mouvement général de panique qui s'est produit parmi les Druses, et s'opposer à leur fuite, ainsi que le Général de Beaufort l'a fait si efficacement sur un point.

M. Novikow constate que 500 Druses, inscrits sur les listes, ont pu s'échapper.

Abro Efendi répond que, dans cette masse d'arrestations, il est possible qu'il y ait des individus qui soient parvenus à s'échapper, grâce à l'avertissement qui leur avait été donné par quelques Chrétiens eux-mêmes.

Lord Dufferin ne croit pas que l'on puisse en pareille matière se fier aux rumeurs publiques. Une mesure d'arrestation aussi étendu ne pouvait s'exécuter sans difficulté, et il est naturel que ce soient les plus coupables qui aient pris l'alarme les premiers. M. le Commissaire Britannique saisit cette occasion pour appeler la sollicitude de ses collègues sur l'état de la nation Druse, état qui selon lui n'est plus supportable, et la menace d'une prochaine dissolution.

M. le Commissaire Français regrette que les lenteurs mises à l'exécution des mesures de répression et d'indemnités, déterminent inutilement chez les Druses un malaise qui ne peut servir ni de satisfaction à la justice, ni de réparation aux Chrétiens. Il émet encore une fois le vœu que l'on procède avec rigueur au châtiment exemplaire des principaux coupables, avec promptitude au réglement de la question d'indemnité, et que, ces deux opérations une fois accomplies et la procédure fermée, il y ait entre les Druses et les Maronites une égalité parfaite.

M. Novikow fait remarquer que les deux opérations de la répression et de la réparation ont entre elles une grande affinité, et qu'il serait urgent de les faire marcher de front.

Abro Efendi répond que le refus des Chrétiens de venir déposer devant le Tribunal de Moktara, et fournir les preuves de la culpabilité ou au moins de l'identité des individus arrêtés sur leur dénonciation, n'est pas de nature à activer le résultat définitif des mesures prises par son Excellence Fuad Pacha.

Lord Dufferin a la conviction intime que ce refus, dicté aux Chrétiens par leurs Evêques, a été calculé dans l'intention de provoquer de la part de Fuad Pacha la condamnation en bloc des 1,200 individus désignés par eux dans une première liste comme coupables au premier chef.

M. Novikow répond à Lord Dufferin que les Evêques, à l'intermédiaire desquels on a fait appel pour recueillir les dénonciations et les transmettre, une fois cette transmission accomplie, se sont trouvés obligés en conscience de ne pas aller plus loin. M. Béclard croit savoir que non seulement ils n'ont pas détourné leurs coreligionnaires de se rendre à l'invitation de Fuad Pacha, mais que plusieurs d'entr'eux les y ont même fortement engagés. Si les Chrétiens s'y sont refusés, c'est que le Tribunal de Mokhtara leur a sans doute inspiré moins de confiance que celui de Beyrout, et qu'ayant des doutes sur l'issue de cette procédure, ils ont voulu éviter de s'y compromettre.

M. de Rehfues est d'avis que le nombre restreint des condamnations qui d'après le principe adopté doivent être prononcées, permet à Fuad Pacha de se contenter des dépositions de ceux d'entre les Chrétiens qui ont répondu à son appel.

M. de Weckbecker pense que ce n'est ni dans un sentiment de crainte, ni dans l'hypothèse d'une influence exercée par les Evêques, que l'on peut trouver l'explication de la conduite des Chrétiens dans cette circonstance, mais dans un sentiment particulier aux peuples de ce pays qui ne comprennent encore rien aux formalités de la justice publique. C'est la première fois qu'elle fonctionne devant eux, et qu'on procède ainsi à la répression.

M. le Commissaire Français interpelle Abro Efendi relativement à l'un des

premiers actes accomplis par le nouveau Gouverneur de Damas. Emin Pacha, aussitôt son arrivée, a dissous le Conseil Provincial, et provoqué le renouvellement de cette assemblée par un corps électoral qu'il a institué *ad hoc*. Le résultat de cette opération a été d'exclure du Conseil des hommes honorables que Fuad Pacha y avait conservés, et notamment Salih Agha Mohayeni, homme considérable par sa position et son caractère, et qui, pendant les événements, a recueilli chez lui un grand nombre de Chrétiens. Cette exclusion ne peut qu'encourager les tendances déplorables de la population Musulmane de Damas. La responsabilité de l'élection remontant évidemment à Emin Pacha, M. Béclard regrette que Fuad Pacha n'imprime pas au nouveau Gouverneur de Damas une direction plus conforme à ses propres intentions.

Abro Efendi ne possède aucune information sur les faits rapportés par M. Béclard, mais il conteste dès-à-présent à la Commission le droit de critiquer l'autorité locale sur ses actes administratifs, tels que la nomination ou l'exclusion des membres d'un Conseil, exclusivement placé sous sa dépendance. Il fait observer de plus qu'il ne connait aucun système électoral en Turquie dans les opérations duquel des agents étrangers aient le droit d'exercer une ingérence quelconque. Il ne doute pas d'autre part que le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman ne recommande la personne dont il s'agit à toute la bienveillance des autorités de Damas, eu égard à sa conduite louable vis-à-vis des Chrétiens.

M. Novikow remarque qu'en dehors même du fait de l'élection, la Commission a parfaitement le droit de signaler le fâcheux effet que l'exclusion de Mohayeni aura produit sur l'esprit de la population.

M. Béclard pour son compte n'admet pas qu'aucune restriction puisse être apportée à l'exercice des droits dont la Commission est investie. Jusqu'à ce que la Syrie soit réorganisée, Fuad Pacha est armé de pouvoirs sans limites, et la Commission de son côté a sur tous les actes de l'autorité, pendant cette période transitoire, un droit de censure dont M. le Commissaire de France croit devoir user dans cette circonstance.

La séance est levée à quatre heures et trois-quart.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 5 in No. 288.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, January* 27, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copies of a correspondence which have passed between Major Fraser and myself, respecting the course to be pursued towards the Druse prisoners at Mokhtârah.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 6 in No. 288.

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Mokhtârah, January* 17, 1861.

THE Christian Deputies are leaving Mokhtarah to-day in some haste, without the Pasha having been able to come to any arrangement with them. He called them together the day before yesterday, and in a lengthy speech explained to them that he had called them here for the purpose of assisting him in the punishment of the guilty Druses, whether by giving direct evidence, or by any other information in their possession. That it was not in his power, and he did not pretend to have the intention of putting to death any such number as that demanded in their lists, the most moderate of which contained 1,200 names; but as they had already declined generally to testify against individuals whose names had been placed on that list, he would now ask them to arrange another, of about 200 names of the Druses they conceived to have been most guilty in connection with the late massacres (whether they were now prisoners or yet in

flight), arranged and numbered according to their degree of guilt, from the highest and so on downwards. He wished them, however, to understand he by no means engaged to put any such number to death.

After taking a day to discuss the proposal, they yesterday afternoon replied they were not able to comply with this invitation. That the previous lists having been prepared by the whole people, it would be incompetent for them to draw up another of less extent, and which would invalidate the first, without reference to all who had composed that list, and that they could not supply evidence against individuals without calling on the whole population to furnish it.

The Pasha, finding he could come to no practical result with them, has to-day permitted them to return to their homes.

Inclosure 7 in No. 288.

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Mokhtârah, January* 19, 1861.

IN discussing with Fuad Pasha last evening the basis upon which it would be competent for the Court to record sentence of death against any of the Druse prisoners now under examination here, I felt it necessary to object to the wide scope his Excellency claimed for the optional award of this penalty. I took occasion to remark that I had understood the intention of the European Commission to be that capital punishment should be limited to cases of cold-blooded murder alone, an opinion in which I am confirmed by reference to your Lordship's communication of January 1, addressed to me.

To my objection his Excellency replied that this was by no means the intention of the Commission; on the contrary, it had been decided that individuals coming under any of the following categories should be amenable to capital punishment, viz. :—

1. Those engaged as authors or exciters in connection with the late massacres.

2. Those acting as Chiefs of bands engaged in murdering, burning, or plundering; and

3. Those guilty of cold-blooded murder with their own hands.

His Excellency further stated that your Lordship had certainly laid upon the table a proposition that murder should be the only crime for which sentence of death should be passed, that two eye-witnesses should be required, and that the number of executions should be inferior to those of Damascus, but that these limitations had not been decided upon by the Commission.

Inclosure 8 in No. 288.

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Mokhtârah, January* 23, 1861.

THE labours of the Extraordinary Commission having now been brought to a close, a report of these has been presented to his Excellency Fuad Pasha; comprising, among other documents, a list of nearly 300 persons who have been more or less compromised in the late outbreak.

In consequence of the refusal of the Christians to bear testimony against individuals his Excellency has found much difficulty in establishing distinctly the guilt of any one among the prisoners. And the evidence has necessarily been of a presumptive character.

Under these circumstances, and taking into consideration the number of Druse men, women, and children, amounting to 176 persons who have been murdered by the Christians, besides 85 wounded since the occupation of the Mountain by the French troops, their loss of life during the outbreak amounting to 1,300 men, together with the miserable condition to which they have been reduced by the pillage of their villages, his Excellency considers that the execution of a comparatively small number, in addition to those already condemned at Beyrout, will suffice to give a necessary example for the future, and to meet the demands of a discriminating justice.

His Excellency purposes, therefore, to transmit at once to Beyrout the Report of the Extraordinary Commission, together with his own recommendation thereupon, in the hope that the European Commissioners may be able to sympathize with the views which an anxious inquiry into all the circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the late disastrous events have compelled him to adopt.

His Excellency is further most desirous that the decision of the Commission be re-transmitted speedily, it being hardly possible to continue to hold his position in a petty mountain village with 800 prisoners on hand, who, from the impossibility of finding proper accommodation for such numbers, and from the severity of the weather, are undergoing severe suffering, of which some have even died; while the keeping up supplies over mountain paths for the prisoners, and for the troops who guard them, is, in such weather, difficult in the extreme.

My desire to send these lines by the present express will, I hope, plead my apology for the absence of details, and for the very hurried form of this communication.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER.

Inclosure 9 in No. 288.

Lord Dufferin to Major Fraser.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, January* 23, 1861.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 19th instant, I have to state that, at a meeting of the Commissioners held on the 14th of November, 1860, it was decided that, in dealing with those of the Druse nation implicated in the late massacres, the circumstances of the case precluded the possibility of passing on those found guilty by the summary process it was proposed to adopt, any other penalty than that of death. The reason of such a determination is sufficiently obvious. The gravity of the punishment would itself become a reason for rejecting any but the most direct and trustworthy evidence; would prevent the application of a summary, and therefore imperfect, mode of investigation to complicated and doubtful cases; and would ensure the punishment of the most blood-stained of the assassins. Such a restriction, moreover, had the further advantage of excluding from judicial pursuit those of the Druse nation who merely took up arms in their own defence. This precaution had become all the more necessary from the fact that, in proportion as our investigations elucidated the cause of the disturbances, the clearer it became that the Christians had provoked the Druses into a war of extermination.

In order to leave as little doubt as possible upon so important a subject, it was further agreed that only those who come under one of the three following categories should be considered obnoxious to punishment:—

"1. Les instigateurs, ayant ou non pris part personnellement aux massacres.

"2. Les Chefs de bandes qui ont dirigé les assasins et les incendiaires.

"3. Les individus dénoncés par la voix publique comme ayant commis le plus grand nombre de meurtres, ou comme ayant agi dans des circonstances qui aggravent leur culpabilité."

Armed with these recommendations, his Excellency summoned the Bishops of the various sects, and having communicated to them at large the view of the Commission, requested them to consult with the leading men of the several communities, and present him with the names of those who might be considered deserving of capital punishment.

The result of this invitation was a list of 4,600 persons, whom these ecclesiastics wished, in cold blood, to consign to death. It is, indeed, pretended that they were upon this occasion the mere mouth-pieces of the Christian notables; but any one acquainted with the influence exercised by the prelates of the sects in this country must smile at the introduction of such a flimsy pretext.

In the face, then, of so obvious a determination on the part of the Maronite leaders to procure the wholesale destruction of their enemies, it became incumbent on those whose aim it was to secure the accomplishment of an impartial, though rigorous, justice to guard against the blind vindictiveness of the Christian

prosecutors by devising limitations still stricter than those which had already proved so ineffectual to restrain the unscrupulous denunciations of the priesthood. My own uneasiness on the subject was further enhanced by the fact that, notwithstanding all Fuad Pasha's remonstrances against such unreasonable and cruel conduct, the Bishops could be finally induced to content themselves with nothing less than a demand for 1,200 heads, and that every day was furnishing us with the most startling proofs of the utter untrustworthiness of the denunciations supplied by the Christians.

It was under these circumstances that I submitted to the Commission the four propositions to which you refer. Though we did not come to any vote upon the subject, the proposals, after some desultory discussion, were generally acceded to, and an especial affirmation was accorded to the one which restricted the capital punishment in the Mountain to a lower number than that of the criminals hanged at Damascus.

With regard, however, to the course now to be pursued, I am ready to admit that the fact of the Christians having refused to come into Court, or to enter into any details relative to the comparative guilt of those whom they have denounced, or to afford any evidence to show on what grounds these accusations have been founded, considerably alters the case, and renders it less incumbent on us to insist on the last-mentioned limitation being adhered to. In fact, the degree to which they are to be pressed on his Excellency Fuad Pasha must depend upon the spirit in which he is prosecuting his investigation. If you think he is being actuated by a conscientious desire to bring the really guilty to justice, without reference to other considerations, it may be well to allow him to execute his painful task without interference; if, on the other hand, he seems inclined to take advantage of his present opportunity to destroy the Druse aristocracy by endeavouring to bring the richest of them within the meaning of the original categories, it would be well to insist on a stricter adherence to the recommendation of the Commission. Under any circumstances, I would observe that no considerations of expediency, no desire to get the thing over quickly, no fear of public opinion, ought to induce his Excellency to order any one for execution unless the evidence against him shall amount to a moral certainty of his guilt. On the other hand, we have to deal with an occasion and with a state of society in which a nice adherence to the refinements of European legal practice would be out of place; we must, therefore, content ourselves with taking such precautions as the circumstances of the case admit, and I have not the slightest doubt but that the assistance Fuad Pasha will derive from your impartiality and discernment will enable his Excellency to arrive at a conclusion which will allow us to consider that we have done our duty.

No. 289.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received February* 8.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, January* 30, 1861.

REFERRING to your Lordship's despatch of January 17, I thought it better to make to his Highness Aali Pasha the inclosed communication respecting the withdrawal of the French troops from Syria.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

Inclosure in No. 289.

Sir H. Bulwer to Aali Pasha.

Highness, *Constantinople, January* 29, 1861.

WE have had one or two conversations lately on the subject of the withdrawal of the French troops from Syria, and I think it as well that your Highness should know as clearly as possible the language which Her Majesty's Government holds to me on this subject.

It says: You are not to urge the Porte to insist on the withdrawal of the French troops from Syria if the Porte itself considers that for the peace of the

country those troops ought to remain, and that without them it could not be answerable for the lives and property of the inhabitants. But if the Ottoman Government thinks a foreign force is not required, and that the Ottoman Government deems that without such force it can fulfil the duties of a Government in Syria, and be answerable for the security and tranquillity of the country, then it should state so at once, and clearly.

As for Her Majesty's Government, the assurances of Lord Dufferin certainly tend to create in it a belief that the French army is no longer necessary, and, if the Porte is also of this opinion, Her Majesty's Government will support the view it takes upon this subject. But it is to be honestly and frankly understood that Her Majesty's Government does not, directly nor indirectly, impose, nor attempt to impose, any policy on the Porte which the Porte itself is not predisposed to follow, believing it conscientiously the best for the interests of the Sultan, and the peace of his dominions.

I have advised Her Majesty's Government that you had already informed me that the Porte, acting in this case on its own unbiassed convictions, had determined to require the execution of the Treaty of the 5th of September, and the evacuation of Syria; and, as far as I can ascertain the sentiments of all the members of the Sultan's Government, there is but one feeling on the matter.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

No. 290.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received February* 8.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, January* 30, 1861.

ON receiving Lord Dufferin's despatches relative to the conduct of Fuad Pasha respecting the Druses, I brought the matter at once before the Porte, and Aali Pasha agreeing with me, wrote to his Excellency the Turkish Commissioner enjoining him to act with justice and circumspection, and not to extend the punishment which those who were criminal amongst the Druse tribe deserved, to an unjust and indiscriminate persecution of the whole Druse people.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

No. 291.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received February* 8.)

My Lord, *Paris, February* 7, 1861.

M. THOUVENEL has received a despatch from M. Béclard dated the 17th ultimo, in which he gives an account of a meeting of the Syrian Commissioners to receive a report made by Fuad Pasha of the result of the trial of the Druses, about 300 in number, taken at Mokhtarah.

It appears that Fuad Pasha had informed the Commission that the sentence of death had been awarded to about twenty of them, and that he desired to know whether the Commission would be satisfied with that number; that the Commission had replied unanimously that that number would not be sufficient, and had insisted on the execution of any Druse implicated in any of the massacres which had occurred in any of the Christian villages.

M. Thouvenel thinks that this savoured too much of unnecessary vengeance, and he has therefore written to M. Béclard to say that it is not a holocaust which is wanted, but the execution of one or two of the ringleaders of the Druses with a view of inspiring a wholesome terror among the rest.

I have, &c.

(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 292.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 8.)

(Extract.) *Paris, February 7, 1861.*

I HAVE informed M. Thouvenel that the Porte having consented to the reassembling of the Conference on Syrian affairs, your Lordship had authorised me to take part in them, and I inquired at what period he proposed to convoke a meeting. His Excellency said he would convoke one as soon as Vefyk Pasha should be in possession of his instructions.

No. 293.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February 8, 1861.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 7th instant, reporting a communication made to you by M. Thouvenel of the substance of a despatch from the French Commissioner in Syria, containing an account of a meeting of the Commission to receive Fuad Pasha's Report of the result of the trial of the Druses taken at Mokhtarah.

I have to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government concur with M. Thouvenel in opinion that the execution of one or two of the most criminal of the ringleaders of the Druses will be sufficient to inspire a wholesome fear amongst the rest and to satisfy the ends of justice.

Sir H. Bulwer has been instructed to inform Lord Dufferin that Her Majesty's Government concur in M. Thouvenel's opinion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 294.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February 8, 1861.*

I TRANSMIT, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris,* reporting what M. Thouvenel had stated to him on the subject of M. Béclard's Report of a meeting of the Syrian Commission to receive Fuad Pasha's Report of the result of the trial of the Druses taken at Mokhtarah.

I have informed Earl Cowley that Her Majesty's Government concur with M. Thouvenel in opinion that the execution of one or two of the most criminal of the ringleaders of the Druses will be sufficient to inspire a wholesome fear amongst the rest, and to satisfy the ends of justice; and I have also informed Earl Cowley that you have been instructed to acquaint Lord Dufferin with the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government on this matter.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 295.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, February 9, 1861.*

THE accounts received from Her Majesty's Commissioner in Syria do not announce any change in the opinion entertained by the Commissioner that the French troops ought to be withdrawn at the period fixed by the Convention.

Your Excellency will express this opinion to the Conference as the opinion

* No. 29 .

of Her Majesty's Government. If, however, the Turkish Ambassador has instructions to agree to a prolonged occupation, you will inform Her Majesty's Government of that circumstance. If he has not such instructions, you will not in any way endeavour to persuade him to yield to the desire for a prolonged occupation.

That desire is founded on an opinion that the Turks are unfit to govern Syria. But the question naturally arises, if Turkish authority is unfit to rule in Syria now, why should it be fit at the end of two months, or of six months?

Your Excellency is therefore desired to confine yourself to the question of the Convention of September, and, for the reasons I have repeatedly explained to you, to oppose its renewal.

No. 296.

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 11.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, February* 7, 1861.

I AVAILED myself of an interview which I had with Count Rechberg the day after the arrival of the last messenger, to inform his Excellency of the answer which your Lordship had returned to M. Thouvenel's proposal to summon the Conference of the Representatives of the Powers for the purpose of discussing the propriety of postponing the term fixed by the Convention for the evacuation of Syria; and I read to him the copy of your Lordship's despatch to Earl Cowley of the 24th ultimo.

Count Rechberg thanked me for this communication, and said emphatically that he approved of every word of this despatch.

No. 297.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 11, 1861.

I TRANSMIT, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris,* reporting what the French Minister for Foreign Affairs had said on communicating to him the substance of M. Béclard's report of the meeting of the Syrian Commission to receive Fuad Pasha's Report of the result of the trial of the Druses taken at Mokhtarah.

I have informed Earl Cowley that Her Majesty's Government concur with M. Thouvenel in opinion that the execution of one or two of the most criminal of the ringleaders of the Druses will be sufficient to inspire a wholesome fear amongst the rest and to satisfy the ends of justice.

I have likewise communicated these sentiments of Her Majesty's Government to Sir H. Bulwer, and have instructed his Excellency to inform you of them.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 298.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 11, 1861.

I RECEIVED, in your Excellency's despatch of the 23rd ultimo,† the plan for the pacification of Syria proposed by the Porte, and the circular which accompanied it.

Her Majesty's Government understand that the Lebanon is not comprised in this plan, because the question of the Government of the Mountain is left to the European Commissioners.

Her Majesty's Government lament that no immediate advance of money to

* No. 291. † No. 281.

enable the Syrian Christians to rebuild their houses and return to their former occupations, is contained in the Turkish plan.

Your Excellency will instruct Lord Dufferin to remain at his post until the Commissioners shall have made their report.

You will have learnt by my telegram of the 2nd instant that Her Majesty's Government concur with the Turkish Government in thinking that the proposals of the Commission should be confined to the Government of the Lebanon.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 299.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received February* 12.)

(Extract.) *Paris, February* 11, 1861.

THE Russian Government has notified its assent to the re-assembling of the Conference on Syrian Affairs.

I informed M. Thouvenel that I could not attend a Conference which had any other object than the execution of the Convention of the 5th of September, and that I begged that this might be clearly understood.

M. Thouvenel said that he should be quite ready to oppose any attempt that might be made to involve the Conference in other questions; but he said that he had no reason to believe that any such attempt was meditated.

It is probable that the Conference will meet on Saturday, the 16th instant.

No. 300.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received February* 12.)

(Extract.) *Paris, February* 11, 1861.

THE idea that Her Majesty's Government had been using their influence with the Porte to induce the latter to insist on the withdrawal of the French troops has gained so much ground that I thought it advisable to speak to M. Thouvenel on the subject, and to state to him that, although Her Majesty's Government entertained a very decided opinion upon the expediency of the evacuation of Syria—an opinion which they had frankly communicated to the French Government—they had not sought in any way to impose that opinion upon the Porte; on the contrary, they had abstained from offering any advice to the Porte as to the course which it should pursue.

No. 301.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 12, 1861.

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve of the note which you addressed on the 29th ultimo to Aali Pasha respecting the withdrawal of the French troops from Syria, of which a copy was inclosed in your despatch to me of the 30th of January.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 302.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 13.)

My Lord, *Paris, February 12, 1861.*

WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday's date,* I have the honour to state that Prince Gortchakoff in his despatch agreeing to the proposal of a fresh Conference on Syrian affairs, says that for his part he must decline to accept the responsibility of the consequences which, in his opinion, must follow the departure of the European troops of occupation before the reorganisation of the Government of the Lebanon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 303.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February 14, 1861.*

HER Majesty's Government will instruct Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris to declare in the Conference that Her Majesty will be prepared to station a squadron on the coast of Syria from the 1st of May of this year till the end of the summer.

You may inform the Minister of the Sultan of this intention, and state likewise that it is proposed to renew the discretionary power given to the Admiral of that squadron to land Marines in the case of urgent danger of massacre of British subjects or of the Christian population.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 304.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February 14, 1861.*

YOUR Excellency is authorized to declare, in the Conference, that Her Majesty will be prepared to station a squadron on the coast of Syria from the 1st of May of this year till the end of the summer.

I inclose, for your Excellency's information, copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople upon this subject.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 305.

Lord J. Russell to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

My Lords, *Foreign Office, February 15, 1861.*

I HAVE received the Queen's commands to signify to your Lordships Her Majesty's pleasure that a squadron of her ships should be stationed on the coast of Syria from the 1st of May of this year till the end of the summer; and I have further to state to your Lordships that a discretionary power should be given to the Admiral of that squadron to land Marines in the case of urgent danger of massacre of British subjects or of the Christian population.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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* No. 299. † No. 303.

No. 306.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received February* 16.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, February* 1, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No 306.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, January* 29, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a list of the Druse men, women, and children that have been murdered by the Christians since the Mountain has been the seat of a joint military occupation.

It is melancholy to think that the intention of Europe should have become the signal for the renewal of those very barbarities we have come to put an end to; and this reflection assumes a graver character when we perceive that in addition to the 136 men who have fallen victims to the spirit of retaliation which not unnaturally animates the Maronites, nearly 50 innocent women and 15 children have been either butchered or brutally ill-treated.

As your Excellency is aware, the moment that the news of the first of these assassinations reached my ears, I wrote a despatch to Fuad Pasha, urging upon his Excellency the paramount necessity of at once putting a stop to outrages which if encouraged by impunity must inevitably multiply themselves all over the country.

In reply, I was assured that steps had been taken to put an end to the practices of which I complained; that some of the culprits had been punished; and that there was no danger of any repetition of such crimes. I confess, however, I could never learn that any single individual had been dealt with as he deserved. Since then, vague reports have still kept reaching me, from time to time, of isolated murders committed here and there by the Chrstians in the Mixed districts; and at repeated intervals I have renewed to his Excellency my previous representations.

It was not, however, until Major Fraser accompanied Fuad Pasha to Mokhtarah that we became acquainted with the real extent to which these atrocities had been practised, and that it was known for the first time how many women and children had fallen victims.

Immediately upon the receipt of this intelligence, I wrote a despatch to Major Fraser, copy of which I have the honour to transmit, requesting him to insist upon Fuad Pasha immediately bringing to justice and convicting in the most summary manner the authors of at least some of the more atrocious crimes marked in the list he sent me, or, in the event of his Excellency showing any disinclination to act with vigour, to require him to give an explanation in writing of his refusal.

Happily, Fuad Pasha at once acceded to the request which had been made to him, and sent persons in pursuit of those most notoriously obnoxious to punishment; and before long I hope to be able to report to your Excellency that they have been duly dealt with.

I cannot, however, conclude this despatch without remarking how unfortunate it is that the misconduct of the Christians should thus confuse the justice of their cause, and compel us to include members of their own faith in the list of those we are called upon to punish.

Inclosure 2 in No. 306.

List of the Druses who have been Killed and Wounded since the Military Occupation of Mount Lebanon.

Villages.	Killed.			Wounded.			Total Killed.	Total Wounded.
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Men.	Women.	Children.		
Beisur	2	..	..	4	1	..	2	5
Ainab	3	..	..	1	3	..	3	4
Aital	3	..	..	2	..	..	3	2
B'shetfin	13	2	2	10	..	..	17	10
Kefr Fakud	17	1	..	11	..	..	18	11
Derkusheh	11	1	1	3	..	..	13	3
Kefr Katia	8	..	..	..	..	..	8	
Kefr Him	5	..	4	..	..	..	9	
Dermik	5	..	..	..	..	..	5	
Jahlieh	7	..	..	..	..	..	7	
Deir-el-Kamar	11	9	7	8	..	..	27	8
Kefr Metta	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	
B'tei	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Kefr Nabrakh	3	2	..	7	2	..	5	9
Bârûk	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	4
B'tulûn	4	2	1	3	10	..	7	13
Ain Ozai	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	
Baklin	3	..	..	..	..	..	3	
Ain Bal	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Kefr Him	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Sinkhanie	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
Ain Zibdeh	5	1	..	5	4	..	6	9
Deir-el-Kamar	5	..	..	..	..	..	5	
Derbabih	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	
B'shumun	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Serahmul	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Baruk	7	5	..	..	..	..	12	
Kefr Nabrukh	10	2	..	..	..	..	12	
Derbabeh	5	..	..	4	..	..	5	4
	136	25	15	63	22	..	176	85

Inclosure 3 in No. 306.

Lord Dufferin to Major Fraser.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, January* 23, 1861.

I BEG to acknowledge the receipt of the nominal list with which you have furnished me of Druse men, women, and children, who have been murdered by the Christians; and, in reply, I have to request you to urge upon his Excellency Fuad Pasha the necessity of taking immediate steps to bring the authors of such crimes to justice.

Under present circumstances it may, perhaps, be impossible to punish each individual murderer as he deserves, but, at all events, those who have butchered women and infants in cold blood ought to be dealt with by an equally summary process and with the same severity as the Druses.

I have long since had the honour, not only of remonstrating myself with his Excellency upon this subject, but of acquainting him with the indignation felt by Her Majesty's Government on hearing that such excesses were permitted to go unpunished.

Should the Turkish Commissioner hesitate any longer to bring to justice those who have been concerned in some of the most revolting of the cases of murder noted in your lists, perhaps you would request him to give you his reasons, in writing, for refusing to do so, in order that I may communicate them to Her Majesty's Government, and to our Ambassador at Constantinople.

Inclosure 4 in No. 306.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, February* 1, 1861.

AS your Excellency will have already learnt from my previous despatches, as well as from Major Fraser's Reports, Fuad Pasha has been occupied during the last twenty-two days in superintending the proceedings of the Court-martial established in the Mountain for the trial of those Druses designated as the principal actors in the massacres at Hasheya, Rasheya, and Deir-el-Kamar.

Previously to his Excellency's arrival, upwards of 700 persons had been captured in accordance with the requisitions furnished by the Christian Hierarchy, and were awaiting the opening of the assize. To every one's astonishment, however, when the Christian notables were invited to come forward and furnish the Military Tribunal with such indications as would justify the conviction of the persons they had accused, the Turkish authorities were met by a flat refusal, on their part, to supply any evidence whatever.

Subsequent inquiry has satisfied me that this extraordinary conduct was dictated to the notables by their Bishops, with the twofold object of embarrassing the Government, and of preventing the Court from drawing such a distinction between the degrees of individual culpability as would admit of the condemnation of a lesser number than the extravagant total demanded. Having been, for some time past, aware of the unscrupulous methods resorted to by the leaders of the Maronite party to procure the destruction of a far greater number of their Druse enemies than the exigencies of the severest justice could require; and having very little confidence either in the intelligence or the conscientiousness of a military tribunal composed of Turkish officers, when it was a case in which only Druse interests were concerned, I had invited the Commission to restrict the competence of the Court-martial within the narrowest limits, and in addition to the other precautions adopted at my suggestion, it was especially admitted by all my colleagues that the number of executions in the Mountain ought not to exceed that which had been thought an adequate punishment for the still ranker offences of the citizens of Damascus.

When, however, it became apparent that the obstinate silence of the Christians who appeared for the prosecution was likely not only to defeat their own sanguinary objects, but even the ends of justice, I thought it advisable to recommend Major Fraser no longer to insist on so strict an adherence to the restrictions which had been devised to meet an opposite contingency, but to do his utmost to assist his Excellency Fuad Pasha in obtaining such information as would ensure the conviction of the most blood-stained of the offenders. At the same time I sent Mr. Vice-Consul White to Sidon in order to see what evidence could be obtained against the Druses who had slaughtered and pillaged in that locality, and I recommended his Excellency Fuad Pasha, after he should have condemned the principal assassins to death, to retain in prison 100 of the most compromised of the remainder as hostages for the good conduct of their brethren in the Hauran.

Last Thursday the Commission was assembled at the request of his Excellency's delegate, Abro Efendi, for the purpose of receiving the final report of the Turkish Commissioner's proceedings.

As I shall have the honour of forwarding by the next mail a printed copy of the Minute communicated to us upon that occasion, as well as a Protocol of the Conference which ensued between the Commissioners, I will content myself for the present with simply stating that his Excellency informed us that in spite of every exertion to procure satisfactory evidence against the accused, he had only succeeded in obtaining testimony sufficient to procure the capital conviction of twenty individuals; at the same time, however, he begged to forward a list of 270 persons which he had divided, according to the gravity of the evidence against each, into two categories, of which the first contained fifty-seven individuals, of whose greater or less complicity in late events, though there was no proof, yet there was a fair presumption; while the second and larger one was composed of persons whom the few meagre indications he had been enabled to collect, rendered liable to suspicion.

As to the remaining 400 prisoners, there was not a tittle of evidence against them. It was therefore for the Commission to decide what was to be done;

whether in the first place the execution of twenty persons would satisfy the ends of justice, or, if not, whether it would be possible to transfer to the list of those consigned to death any of the names that appeared in the first of the two other categories.

As to the remaining prisoners against whom no testimony was forthcoming, there was no other course open to him but to propose they should be released. Small-pox had broken out in the place where they were confined; several had already died; it was impossible any longer, in consequence of the snow, to supply so large a number of persons with food, and the severity of the weather would soon necessitate the withdrawal of the garrison that guarded them.

A long discussion then ensued between the Commissioners. I ventured to declare that the only difficulty I felt upon the subject arose from the utter want of evidence. Had the question arisen in regard to a large number of persons whose participation in the massacres had been proved beyond all doubt, I should have no hesitation in admitting that 40, 50, 60, nay, 100 of them might be put to death, without doing any extraordinary violence to the dictates of humanity; but that, on the other hand, my mind revolted against the idea of swelling the number of those condemned to die by the addition of names chosen at hap-hazard from a list of persons whose criminality was attested by indications so unsatisfactory as scarcely to justify a presumption of their guilt. I was ready to admit that the number, 20, seemed but inadequate to represent the retribution which justice might demand from the Druses for the slaughter of hundreds of their fellow-creatures, but it was the perverse conduct of the Christians themselves that had defeated the ends of justice. Moreover, it was to be remembered that the Druse nation had been already most cruelly punished for their crimes; that the sufferings they were now undergoing in the Mountain were excessive; their villages had been pillaged, their harvests despoiled, their property confiscated; most of their Chiefs were in prison or in exile, while by the brutal murder not only of upwards of 100 Druse men, but of more than two score of Druse women and innocent children, the Christians had almost forfeited their claims to any further demand for blood. Although, therefore, I was prepared to admit that, from a political point of view, it might be desirable to have increased the number of those who were to undergo capital punishment, no considerations of that nature would justify us in forcing the tribunal to do violence to their consciences by condemning to death persons who could not be proved to have in any way participated in the massacres.

M. Novikow proposed that in order to escape from the embarrassment in which we found ourselves, his Excellency should be invited to sentence to a lesser penalty those whom it was found impossible to condemn to death. This idea seemed to meet with general acceptance, and it was so completely in accordance with the opinion I had already expressed to Fuad Pasha that I had no difficulty in accepting it, provided it should only be applied to those against whom there was really some tangible proof, as it was impossible to admit that because a man was a priest, because he belonged to a powerful family, because he was vaguely accused by an anonymous enemy, because he possessed "an unprepossessing exterior"—for such were the puerile counts on which a large number were arraigned—that therefore he could be considered compromised.

After some discussion it was agreed that this view of the case should be accepted, and that at the same time that the Commission communicated to Fuad Pasha their opinion that it would have been desirable to have increased the number of capital executions, they were also prepared, in consideration of the difficulties of the situation, to cancel the determination to which they had arrived at a previous meeting, and admit the application of a lesser penalty in all cases where the degree to which the prisoner was implicated, or the extent to which his complicity could be proved, did not admit of the passing of a severer sentence.

A further understanding was unanimously come to by the Commissioners that under no circumstances should the number of those appointed to die exceed fifty, and that all prisoners against whom no testimony was forthcoming might be immediately released.

I think upon the whole your Excellency will see no reason to be dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Commission on this occasion. Notwithstanding that much may be said to excuse the conduct of the Druses, it still remains a

fact that they slaughtered in cold blood upwards of 5,000 unarmed men and children. Let the moral guilt attaching to their excesses be extenuated as it may, no penalty which fails to make such an impression as will prevent the repetition of similar atrocities would be adequate to the occasion.

Now there can be little doubt but that with their notions of blood for blood the execution of only some twenty or five-and-twenty individuals would be regarded by the Christians as a delusive display of severity on the part of the Government, and even by the Druses themselves as no serious indication of the displeasure with which their crimes are regarded by Christendom and by their rulers, while each nation would be confirmed in the fatal conviction that so far from the intervention of Europe being likely to give birth to a new era, there remains a probability that the policy which countenanced late events is still likely to inspire the Councils of those who are to conduct the future administration of the country.

Such a result at the present crisis would be very unfortunate. The reputation of Turkish authority is at too low an ebb to admit of any further strain upon its credit, and although by a very delicate adjustment of the abstract merits of the case, it might be reasonably argued that the Druses have already undergone sufficient punishment for their crimes, the process of reasoning that leads to such a conclusion would be too refined and complicated for the appreciation of those with whom we have to deal.

Such considerations are enhanced by the fact that, in agreeing to keep down the executions in the Mountain below the number of those at Damascus, the Commission has shown a greater moderation than I at one time expected. The unanimity of opinion which now seems to prevail among us on this painful subject is very fortunate, for I am most anxious that Fuad Pasha, in dealing with the Druses, should act in concert with the Commission.

Inclosure 5 in No. 306.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, February* 1, 1861.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 29th ultimo, respecting the murders perpetrated on unarmed Druses since the military occupation of the Mountain, I have now the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a despatch which I have just received from Major Fraser, informing me that, in compliance with my request, as conveyed in my despatch to that officer of the 23rd ultimo, his Excellency Fuad Pasha has taken active measures to endeavour to bring to justice some of the guilty parties.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 6 in No. 306.

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, January* 31, 1861.

I HAD the honour to receive at Mokhtarah your Lordship's despatch of 23rd January, in which I am requested to call the attention of Fuad Pasha to the necessity for at once bringing to justice the authors of the cruel murders of Druse men, women, and children, of which I had transmitted a list to your Lordship, all of which had been perpetrated by Christians since the occupation of Mount Lebanon.

The Pasha, whom I furnished with a duplicate list, together with the names of such supposed assassins as I had been able to procure, showed every readiness to meet your Lordship's views, and immediately dispatched an officer in search of the culprits whose names had then been obtained, with orders to make strict inquiries into the details of all murders which had recently occurred, or might occur during the continuance of his present service, with a view to the immediate arrest of the perpetrators.

His Excellency has since received information that the officer in question is

upon the traces of the criminals, and there is good reason to believe that at least some of these will shortly be in the hands of the authorities.

No. 307.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 16.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, February* 1, 1861.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 18th ultimo I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch which I have received from Major Fraser, reporting the further steps taken by his Excellency Fuad Pasha to inquire into the late persecution of Protestants at Nazareth.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 307.

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Mokhtârah, January* 23, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to state that I have again brought under the notice of Fuad Pasha the continued misconduct of the Mudir and Cadi of Nazareth, together with the forcible release of the prisoner Michael Jebran.

His Excellency, on my previous demand, communicated to your Lordship in my letter of the 15th instant, had ordered the suspension from their offices of the Mudir and Cadi in question, both of whom he had directed to be sent to Acre, pending a formal inquiry into the whole history of the disorderly proceedings complained of. These steps have, doubtless, been already carried out.

With a view, however, to secure a searching and impartial investigation his Excellency has now agreed to send to Nazareth an officer of discretion, one of his own Aides-de-camp, for the purpose of conducting this examination, with instructions to transmit directly to his Excellency, and with the least possible delay, a full report upon the whole subject. Before taking any further step regarding Michael Jebran, the Pasha is desirous of being informed whether this man is an Ottoman or a protected subject; as also whether he is now to be found at Beyrout.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have been informed by Fuad Pasha that the Mudir of Nazareth has been finally dismissed from his post by Achmet Pasha of Beyrout, in consequence of other grave charges against him.

No. 308.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 16.)

My Lord, *Paris, February* 15, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of a note from M. Thouvenel, inviting me to attend a meeting of the Conference on Syrian affairs on Monday next the 18th instant, and a copy of my reply thereto.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 308.

M. Thouvenel to Earl Cowley.

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Paris, le* 13 *Février*, 1861.

AYANT reçu l'adhésion de l'Autriche, de la Prusse, de la Russie, et de la Turquie, à la proposition d'une Conférence, et instruit par votre Excellence que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique y adhère également, j'ai l'honneur de vous inviter à assister à la réunion des Plénipotentiaires le Lundi, le 18 de ce mois, à 11 heures, au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) THOUVENEL.

(Translation.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Paris, February* 13, 1861.

HAVING received the consent of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Turkey, to the proposition of a Conference, and being informed by your Excellency that the Government of Her Britannic Majesty also consents, I have the honour to invite you to attend a meeting of the Plenipotentiaries on Monday, the 18th instant, at 11 o'clock, at the Foreign Office.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOUVENEL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 308.

Earl Cowley to M. Thouvenel.

M. le Ministre, *Paris, February* 13, 1861.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your Excellency's note dated this day, in which you inform me that you have received the assent of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Turkey, to the proposal of a Conference; and that having been apprized by me that Her Majesty's Government adhere equally to the proposal, you invite me to attend a meeting of the Plenipotentiaries on Monday next, the 18th instant, at 11 o'clock.

Presuming that the Conference has been convoked for the sole purpose of taking into consideration the Convention of the 5th of September last, and being informed by your Excellency that the Porte has no objection to its re-assembling for this purpose—these being the conditions on which I am authorized to take part in it—I have the honour to intimate my readiness to meet yourself, and my colleagues of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Turkey, on the day and hour specified by your Excellency.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 309.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 19, 1861.

YOUR Excellency will have received from me by telegraph the instructions by which Her Majesty's Government desired that your conduct should be guided in the Conference on Syrian affairs appointed to be held to-day.

You will have seen by those instructions that Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the presence of the French troops in Syria, instead of securing the peace of the country, serves to encourage the Maronites to attack the Druses, and to retaliate, by the murder of Druse men, women, and children, the wrongs inflicted on the Maronites at the commencement of the outbreak in the course of last summer.

But Her Majesty's Government, as you will have seen, anticipating the possibility of the Turkish Plenipotentiary being willing to consent to the

prolongation of the stay of French troops in Syria until the end of April, were content in that case, and on the clearly expressed ground that the season of the year was unfavourable for the re-embarkation of the troops on an exposed coast, to agree in the concession made by the Porte's Representative, although desiring that the occupation of the country during this extended period should be restricted to the sea-coast.

The great object of Her Majesty's Government is, as I explained to your Excellency, to prevent the continuance of the state of things which, from Lord Dufferin's reports, now prevails in Syria, and to save the Druse population from becoming victims to the atrocities which the Maronites are too ready to exercise against them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 310.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received February* 20.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, February* 10, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 310.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, February* 3, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the nineteenth sitting of the Syrian Commission, held on the 19th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 310.

Report of the Nineteenth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, January 19, 1861.

LE Samedi, dix-neuf Janvier, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires, à l'exception de Fuad Pacha, représenté par Abro Efendi, étant réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de Lord Dufferin, Vice-Président, la séance est ouverte à deux heures. Les procès-verbaux des deux séances précédentes sont lus et adoptés avec quelques modifications.

Abro Efendi, revenant sur les questions examinées dans la précédente séance, expose ce qui suit :—

Les renseignements qu'il a pu recueillir, depuis la séance du 9 Janvier, le mettent en mesure de développer la pensée du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman sur les divers incidents qui ont marqué cette séance.

Il commence par revenir sur la conversation qui a eu lieu dans la précédente séance, avant son ouverture, au sujet du licenciement des garnisons de Hasbeya, Racheya, Deir-el-Kamar, et Damas. Cette mesure n'a pas, dit-il, dès le début de la Mission du Haut Commissaire du Sultan, manqué d'occuper son attention, quoique, ainsi qu'il a été dans le cas de le déclarer précédemment, les Chefs seuls fussent coupables, et que les officiers subalternes et les simples soldats ne fussent pas individuellement responsables des actes des officiers supérieurs, auxquels ils étaient tenus d'obéir. Aussi les bataillons qui avaient fait partie de ces garnisons ont-ils été dissous, et s'ils n'ont pas pu être immédiatement renvoyés de la Syrie,

c'est qu'il a fallu les remplacer par de nouvelles troupes, et réorganiser cette partie de l'armée d'Arabie, dans un moment opportun, et en sorte que le licenciement n'affaiblisse point la force dont dispose le Plénipotentiaire, et qui lui a été jusqu'ici indispensable pour s'occuper de la question fort importante de la pacification du pays qui, dès son arrivée, a occupé plus particulièrement son attention. Mais aujourd'hui le moment de réaliser cette pensée étant arrivé, Fuad Pacha est en correspondance avec le Ministère de la Guerre pour la mise à exécution de la mesure du licenciement.

Quant à la présence d'un détachement de troupes Ottomanes à Abadié qu'on a considéré comme contraire au réglement du Mont Liban, la Commission doit savoir que ce village se trouve dans le district Mixte de la Caimacamie Chrétienne, et qu'il ne peut dans les circonstances actuelles échapper, pas plus que les villages Mixtes, à l'action militaire qui seule peut maintenir le bon ordre entre deux populations naturellement hostiles. Abro Efendi cite à cette occasion la présence d'un détachement Français à Hamana, l'envoi de troupes Ottomanes dans tous les districts Mixtes pour faire des arrestations. Si l'autorité Ottomane avait porté un changement dans l'organisation de la Caimacamie, et si elle avait exercé une ingérence quelconque dans les affaires administratives de cette partie de la Montagne, il y aurait certes alors violation du réglement ; mais rien de pareil n'a eu lieu. L'autorité locale, seul responsable aujourd'hui de la tranquillité du pays, a dû et doit encore prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour maintenir le bon ordre, et empêcher notamment tout conflit dans un district composé de Chrétiens et de Druses. Si le conflit, prévenu par l'envoi d'un détachement de troupes à Abadié, était arrivé sans cet envoie, qu'aurait pensé la Commission, et n'aurait-elle pas fait peser la grave responsabilité qui en serait dérivée sur l'autorité locale ? Ainsi c'est dans ce seul but que la mesure a été prise, et provoquée même par l'avis de Youssouf Bey Karam qui s'était empressé de signaler dans ses propres lettres des intrigues et des rassemblements des Druses. Abro Efendi croit avoir dit dans la précédente séance que le détachement de troupes en question serait retiré d'Abadié, dès que les inquiétudes qui se sont produites de part et d'autre dans ce district auraient cessé. Aujourd'hui que ces inquiétudes ont diminué, et que le Caimacam se croit en mesure de déclarer sous sa responsabilité qu'il n'y a pas lieu de craindre des troubles qu'il saura sans doute prévenir, en s'adressant en cas de nécessité à l'autorité locale pour requérir une force supplémentaire, Abro Efendi déclare que l'autorité Ottomane, ainsi qu'elle en a déjà donné l'ordre, retire elle-même son détachement de troupes, mais il ne cesse de maintenir le droit de cette autorité à occuper, dans les circonstances exceptionnelles que nous traversons, toute partie de la Montagne où la tranquillité lui paraîtrait être compromise. Ce droit ne saurait souffrir aucune contestation du moment où elle est responsable du maintien du bon ordre. Appuyé sur ce droit, le Délégué Ottoman conclut que la Mission Plénipotentiaire ne se croit pas dans l'obligation de demander l'avis de la Commission, toutes les fois qu'il faut agir dans le sens de la conservation de la tranquillité dans le pays.

Abro Efendi revient ensuite sur l'accusation qui a été portée que, lors des dernières arrestations des Druses, 500 coupables ont pu échapper. Tout le monde connaît, dit-il, la promptitude avec laquelle des masses de Druses ont été saisis sans coup férir par les troupes du Sultan. En une seule journée, c'est-à-dire le 23 Décembre, 949 individus, appartenant à la première et à la deuxième catégorie, ont été arrêtées dans deux cercles dans l'intervalle de quelques heures. La Commission connaît aussi l'entente qui a eu lieu dans cette circonstance entre Fuad Pacha et le Général de Beaufort, au sujet de l'établissement d'une ligne d'observation depuis Kab-Elias jusqu'à Djoubdjenin. Le Delégué Ottoman fait remarquer que personne ne saurait prétendre qu'aucune Druse requis par la justice n'ait échappé à l'action militaire, et que les arrestations en masse, difficiles dans une ville, sont infiniment plus difficiles sur une Montagne comme le Liban. Il renouvelle donc ses protestations contre ce qui a été dit de la conduite tenue par les autorités Ottomanes dans cette affaire, et le seul fait qu'il croit devoir constater, c'est que des Druses en fuite sept ont été arrêté par la ligne d'observation du Général, 80 par celle des troupes Ottomanes établies au-delà de Djoubdjenin, et 20 par les détachements placés du côté du Hauran.

D'après les dernières nouvelles qu'Abro Efendi a reçues de Mokhtarah, la situation dans ce village est celle-ci : Les Chrétiens font preuve d'un mauvais vouloir qui paraît puiser sa source dans une arrière-pensée. Ils s'obstinent à refuser leurs dépositions, en se bornant à déclarer seulement qu'il n'y a pas de

Druse qui ne soit coupable, et qu'ils n'ont d'autres dénonciations à faire que celles qui sont portées par le fait même de la confection des listes présentées. Cités à différentes reprises devant le Tribunal de la Montagne, ils se sont abstenus de faire des déclarations ou d'indiquer des témoins, soutenant que tout ce qu'ils avaient à dire était borné aux listes. Les exhortations du Plénipotentiaire pour les amener à éclairer la marche de la justice ont été inutiles. Les notables ont demandé l'autorisation de quitter Mokhtarah, et à l'heure qu'il est, ils doivent être de retour à Beyrout. En présence de ce mauvais vouloir des Chrétiens, il ne reste qu'à établir les différentes catégories des coupables Druses, en prenant pour base les données générales des listes, et les renseignements que le Tribunal de Mokhtarah pourra fournir ou posséder. Le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan, loin de reculer devant une tâche si difficile, ne rentrera à Beyrout qu'après avoir accompli sa mission. Un compte-rendu de ces travaux parviendra au Délégué Ottoman. En attendant, il y a, parmi les prisonniers de Mokhtarah, dix-huit individus compris dans la liste des Chefs Druses de Beyrout; six individus condamnés déjà par contumace par le Tribunal Extraordinaire de cette ville; et plus de 250 qui figurent sur la liste des notables, comme instigateurs, chefs de bandes, et assassins individuellement.

En terminant, Abro Efendi exprime à la Commission le vif plaisir avec lequel le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan donnera, au nom de Sa Majesté Impériale, une marque de satisfaction à chacun de ceux des Musulmans de Damas qui ont bien mérité du pays et de l'humanité, et qui ont été déjà signalé à son attention. Quant à Salih Agha Mouhayeni, le Gouverneur-Général de Damas n'a rien écrit jusqu'ici à l'égard de ce vieillard, qui vient d'être, encore une fois, très vivement recommandé à la bienveillance toute particulière d'Emin Pacha.

Il semble résulter des termes de cette communication que la retraite des troupes d'Abadié n'a été ordonnée que parce que leur présence n'y était plus jugée nécessaire. M. Béclard ne peut admettre, pour son compte, une telle interprétation des faits. Selon lui, les troupes ont été retirées, parce que leur présence à Abadié était illégale, et en conséquence des protestations qui s'étaient élevées dans le sein même de la Commission à la précédente séance. M. le Commissaire Français verrait plus d'un inconvénient à ce que le caractère de la mesure dont il se déclare d'ailleurs pleinement satisfait, fût dénaturé.

M. Novikow observe que les circonstances invoquées par Abro Efendi, comme justification rétrospective de l'envoi des troupes Ottomanes à Abadié ne sauraient remplir l'objet qu'il s'est proposée. Le village d'Abadié fait, il est vrai, partie des districts Mixtes, mais il est situé dans un des districts Mixtes de la Caimacamie Chrétienne où le pouvoir établi par les réglements n'a pas cessé de fonctionner. On ne peut donc le considérer comme étant soumis aux mêmes conditions que les districts Mixtes de la Caimacamie Druse, laquelle est, par suite des circonstances exceptionnelles, administrée par des autorités Ottomanes. En outre, pour que l'occupation du village d'Abadié fût légale, il aurait fallu: 1. Que Youssouf Bey Karam en fît positivement la demande; 2. Que la nécessité de l'occupation fût bien établie. Or, cette demande n'a pas été faite, et Ahmed Pacha, s'étant rendu à Abadié avant l'occupation, avait pu juger par lui-même que l'intervention des troupes Ottomanes dont il reconnaît aujourd'hui l'inutilité était loin d'être nécessaire.

M. de Rehfues est d'avis que la question de légalité a été suffisamment examinée dans la précédente séance, et que l'occupation du village d'Abadié ayant cessé, toute discussion relative à cet incident demeure sans objet.

Lord Dufferin est plus que personne d'avis que le rappel des troupes Ottomanes ayant eu lieu, la discussion n'a plus d'intérêt pratique. Mais en principe, il lui semble très juste de considérer tous les districts Mixtes comme soumis aux mêmes conditions, car, dans tous ces districts, les chances de collision sont exactement les mêmes. Ahmed Pacha a pu craindre que les mouvements qui s'étaient produits à Abadié ne dégénérassent en lutte sanglante, et pour ne pas encourir le reproche fait à son prédécesseur il a dû intervenir avec promptitude. Le retraite des troupes doit satisfaire aujourd'hui toutes les exigences, mais en principe, M. le Commissaire Britannique ne saurait admettre de son côté que, là où des troupes étrangères peuvent résider à titre d'auxiliaires, celles du Souverain, qui constituent la garantie principale du maintien de l'ordre, n'aient pas un droit au moins égal d'occupation.

M. le Commissaire d'Autriche partage l'opinion de Lord Dufferin sur la légalité de la présence des troupes Ottomanes partout où il pourrait y avoir des

troupes Françaises; mais il regrette que, dans la circonstance dont il s'agit, on n'ait pas fait appel en même temps aux troupes de la Turquie et à celles du corps expéditionnaire.

M. le Commissaire Français repousse l'analogie que Lord Dufferin voudrait établir entre des troupes envoyées en Syrie par l'Europe entière pour garantir la sécurité des populations Chrétiennes, sauvegarder leurs privilèges contre toute atteinte, et des troupes dont la seule présence à Abadié était une violation de ces mêmes privilèges. Il fait observer que l'envoi de détachements Français sur certains points des districts Mixtes de la Caimacamie Chrétienne, tels que Zahlé et Hamana, a été motivé par le besoin urgent de porter secours aux habitants, et que, bien loin de provoquer la protestation des autorités et la démission du Caimacam, leur présence a été bénie par la population.

M. Novikow remarque que l'occupation des districts Chrétiens par les troupes Françaises a eu, dès le principe, un caractère plutôt philanthropique et charitable que militaire. Les soldats étaient employés à la reconstruction des maisons. Leur envoi d'ailleurs dans le Meten et à Zahlé avait eu la sanction préalable et collective de la Commission, qui, ayant à se faire représenter par des délégués dans les Comités de reconstruction des villages Chrétiens, a choisi ces délégués parmi les officiers du corps expéditionnaire.

Sans vouloir rentrer dans la discussion relative à la présence des troupes Françaises en Syrie, dont le caractère est explicitement réglé par une Convention internationale, Abro Efendi soutient que, tant que la responsabilité du maintien de l'ordre dans le Liban incombe à l'autorité Ottomane, cette autorité a le droit incontestable d'envoyer des troupes partout où la tranquillité semble compromise.

M. le Commissaire Français donne lecture d'une lettre de M. le Général Commandant-en-chef du corps expéditionnaire au sujet des habitants de Djezzin. Selon M. le Général de Beaufort et d'après les renseignements qui lui ont été fournis, il serait urgent de faire droit à la requête que les habitants de Djezzin viennent d'adresser simultanément à tous les membres de la Commission.

M. de Rehfues appuie la requête des habitants de Djezzin. Aucun secours ne leur ayant été donné, leur misère, dit-il, est extrême, et la mort a fait parmi eux, dans ces derniers temps, encore plus de victimes que les massacres.

M. Novikow émet le vœu qu'un détachement du corps expéditionnaire soit envoyé dans le Djezzin, et mis à même de concourir à la reconstruction des maisons détruites.

Abro Efendi fait observer que la nature des plaintes formulées par les habitants de Djezzin n'est pas précisée, mais il promet de recommander à Fuad Pacha l'envoi dans ce village d'un de ses Aides-de-camp pour faire une enquête sur la véritable situation des plaignants.

M. Béclard communique à la Commission les renseignements qui lui ont été fournis par le Commandant de la station navale Française, touchant la situation de la ville et des environs de Tripoli.

MM. les Commissaires reconnaissent d'un commun accord la nécessité de mesures propres à rétablir la sécurité dans ce pays. Ils signalent particulièrement à l'attention du Gouvernement un certain Ali Bey, ancien Mudir de Merdji Aïoun, qui, par sa conduite et son langage, jette la population Chrétienne de son district dans une alarme continuelle.

Abro Efendi déclare que les derniers rapports reçus par le Gouvernement, ne mentionnent aucun des faits communiqués par M. Béclard, sauf ce qui concerne Mehemmed Bey el Mehemmed, contre lequel diverses accusations ont été portées. M. le Délégué Ottoman transmettra toutefois à son Excellence Fuad Pacha les renseignements et observations qui viennent d'être faites touchant la situation de Tripoli et de Merdji Aïoun.

La séance est levée à cinq heures.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 3 in No. 309.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, February* 5, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the twentieth sitting of the Syrian Commission, held on the 24th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 309.

Protocol of the Twentieth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, January 24, 1861.

LE vingt-quatre Janvier, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires, à l'exception de Fuad Pacha, représenté par Abro Efendi, étant réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de Lord Dufferin, Vice-Président, la séance est ouverte à midi et demi.

Abro Efendi expose que les ordres pressants qu'il a reçus de Fuad Pacha dans la matinée l'ont obligé de proposer à la Commission de se réunir aujourd'hui même pour recevoir communication du résultat des opérations du Tribunal de Moktara. Les instructions du Délégué du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman lui enjoignent en outre de demander à la Commission, séance tenante, un avis concluant sur la résolution finale que son Excellence sent la nécessité de prendre dans un bref délai, afin que la répression n'éprouve plus de retard. Le Délégué Ottoman donne ensuite lecture de la dépêche qu'il a reçue de Fuad Pacha dont il demande l'annexion au procès-verbal, et dépose entre les mains de M. le Vice-Président: (1), le texte du Rapport émané du Tribunal de Moktara; (2), une liste de 290 coupables de première catégorie, divisée en trois classes dont la première comprend 20 accusés que le Tribunal propose condamner à la peine de mort; la seconde 57 accusés; et la troisième 210, sur le sort desquels il n'est pas statué.

Fuad Pacha, dans la lettre dont il a été donné lecture, fait appel aux lumières de la Commission pour savoir quelle serait la limite la plus convenable à apporter à la répression. Il rappelle que Lord Dufferin a proposé, dans une précédente séance, que le chiffre des condamnations à mort prononcées contre les Druses soit inférieur à celui des condamnations du même genre prononcées contre les Damasquins. Si cette proposition est agréée par la Commission, Fuad Pacha pense que le chiffre de 20 condamnations, déjà prononcées par le Tribunal de Moktara, et de 23 par le Tribunal de Beyrout, total 43, sera probablement considéré par la Commission comme suffisant. Toutefois il sollicite de la part de la Commission à ce sujet l'expression d'un avis catégorique.

M. le Commissaire Britannique s'empresse de remarquer qu'en faisant la susdite proposition, il n'avait en vue que les condamnations sommaires du Tribunal de Moktara. Celles qui ont été déjà proposées ou prononcées par contumace par le Tribunal de Beyrout contre les Cheiks Druses, ne devaient pas dans sa pensée entrer en ligne de compte dans la proportion à établir entre les condamnations de Damas et celles de la Montagne.

Après lecture du cahier contenant la liste des 290 accusés et de l'exposé sommaire des charges qui pésent sur eux, MM. les Commissaires expriment chacun tour à tour leur opinion touchant la question qui leur est soumise.

M. de Weckbecker remarque que la culpabilité du plus grand nombre des 290 accusés de Moktara est loin d'être prouvée rigoureusement, mais qu'il y a de fortes présomptions qu'ils sont tous coupables. Dans l'impossibilité où il semble que l'on soit de les punir tous, M. le Commissaire d'Autriche pense que 30 à 40 condamnations à mort seraient un exemple suffisant.

M. le Commissaire de France déclare qu'il lui en coûte beaucoup d'avoir à émettre une opinion en pareille matière, et surtout dans les circonstances présentes. Selon lui, la Commission avait fait tout ce qu'il était en son pouvoir de faire, en établissant, il y a déjà plus de deux mois, que les jugements des plus coupables d'entre les Druses serait sommaire, et que le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman

devait se borner à punir de mort les organisateurs du massacre, les Chefs de bandes, et les assassins les plus sanguinaires. En établissant ces trois catégories de coupables, tous également passibles de la peine capitale, la Commission avait, par ce seul fait et dans une pensée d'humanité, restreint dans de justes limites le châtiment mérité, il faut bien le dire, par la presque totalité des Druses. M. Béclard, pour son compte, avait consenti volontiers à borner ainsi l'œuvre de la justice, mais il ne lui conviendrait, sous aucun rapport, de partager la responsabilité qui incombe tout entière au Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, soit en fixant exactement le chiffre des condamnations à mort, soit en entrant dans le détail des opérations confiées au Tribunal de Moktara. Son Excellence Fuad Pacha semble aujourd'hui vouloir se départir de cette responsabilité. Il est évident qu'il éprouve de l'embarras à condamner à mort des individus sur lesquels pésent les plus graves inculpations, mais qui, pour la plupart, échappent par le défaut de preuves à une condamnation en régle. M. le Commissaire Français se rend facilement compte de cet embarras, mais ce n'est pas aujourd'hui que l'avis de la Commission peut aider Fuad Pacha à en sortir. S'il avait été consulté, il y a quatre mois, alors M. le Commissaire Français aurait conseillé à Fuad Pacha de procéder immédiatement aux arrestations, de ne point donner aux principaux coupables le temps de fuir dans le Hauran, de ne point s'aliéner le témoignage des victimes, en leur inspirant confiance par des mesures de réparation sans cesse ajournées. L'avis de la Commission, alors demandé et suivi, eût en effet prévenu des difficultés devant lesquelles Fuad Pacha se trouve arrêté. Toutefois M. le Commissaire de France répondra, dans la mesure de son pouvoir et selon sa conscience, à l'appel qui lui est adressé, ainsi qu'à tous ses collègues. Il a remarqué que, dans la liste des 290 accusés de Moktara, beaucoup d'entre ces individus avaient avoué leur crime. Ceux-là sans exception, selon M. le Commissaire de France, doivent être condamnés, ainsi que ceux contre lesquels pésent les plus graves accusations, de telle façon pourtant que le chiffre des condamnations à mort prononcées à Moktara ne dépasse pas celui des 80 condamnations prononcées à Damas.

M. de Rehfues ne croit pas que la Commission doive partager en rien la responsabilité qui pése sur le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan. La Commission a naguère tracé la marche, c'était à Fuad Pacha qu'il appartenait de la suivre. M. le Commissaire de Prusse verrait de l'inconvénient à ce que la Commission fixât aux condamnations à mort un chiffre même approximatif, et se prononçât sur le degré de la culpabilité des prévenus, car la conséquence d'une telle immixtion dans l'œuvre de la justice serait évidemment pour elle un partage de responsabilité. Il croit seulement pouvoir en thèse générale exprimer l'opinion que les individus qui sont coupables d'avoir assassiné des femmes, des prêtres, ou des enfants, méritent la mort.

M. Novikow, après avoir fait remarquer que la demande posée par Fuad Pacha se réduit à une simple question de chiffre, rappelle que la Commission a déjà décliné précédemment toute fixation de ce genre. Elle ne peut pas davantage substituer son action à celle des Tribunaux pour déterminer le degré de la culpabilité des prévenus dont la liste vient de lui être communiquée. Elle n'aurait, pour eclairer sa conscience, que des indications vagues et insuffisantes. M. le Commissaire Russe renouvelle donc à son tour toutes les réserves déjà faites par ses collègues de France et de Prusse ; mais il croit devoir proposer à la Commission l'abandon du principe de l'unité de peine qu'elle avait elle-même posé dans la dixième séance, avant qu'il ne fut question de proportionner le chiffre des condamnations de la Montagne à celui des condamnations capitales prononcées à Damas. Alors il n'était question que des principaux coupables, tous également passibles de la peine capitale. Aujourd'hui la Commission est appelée à se prononcer sur le compte de 290 individus qui, pour la plupart, ne rentrent pas dans les trois catégories de grands coupables établies par la Commission. En conséquence M. Novikow croit que pour ceux-là il serait juste d'adopter subsidiairement le principe d'une pénalité secondaire.

M. le Commissaire Britannique ne croit pas que l'on doive attacher une grande importance au chiffre des condamnations. Ce qui importe avant tout, c'est qu'un innocent ne soit pas puni comme s'il était coupable, c'est que le crime soit prouvé. Lord Dufferin ne saurait admettre en aucune façon qu'aucun Druse soit condamné si l'on n'a pas la preuve ou la conviction morale de sa culpabilité. Dans la liste qui vient d'être lue, il y a des individus dont la

culpabilité est affirmée par cela seul qu'ils passent pour avoir été, par exemple, à Zahlé, ou bien parce qu'ils sont dénoncés comme coupables, ou, plus sommairement encore, parce qu'ils sont derviches ou notables. Une justice rendue sur de tels dispositifs serait tout bonnement ridicule et odieuse, et provoquerait l'indignation du monde civilisé. Lord Dufferin a consenti à ce que la procédure du Tribunal de Moktara fut expéditive, cela est vrai ; mais il n'a pas entendu par là que ce Tribunal se départirait des régles observées même par les cours martiales de l'Europe. En conséquence, M. le Commissaire Britannique serait d'avis que la Commission ne prit aucune résolution susceptible d'engager le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman à punir d'une peine quelconque un individu dont la culpabilité ne serait pas démontrée par des preuves morales ou matérielles bien concluantes.

Abro Efendi déclare que le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman ne recule point devant la responsabilité qui lui incombe, et qu'il ne désire faire partager à ces collègues que dans la mesure des lumières qu'ils pourront lui fournir pour éclairer sa marche. Il constate en outre que les débats qui viennent de suivre sa communication n'aboutissent à aucune opinion arrêtée qui puisse être utile au Plénipotentiaire. Ce que le Délégué Ottoman réclame instamment, c'est un avis collectif sur l'objet de sa communication.

En conséquence de cette demande et après en avoir de nouveau délibéré, MM. les Commissaires décident, séance tenante :—

Qu'au point de vue politique, le nombre de vingt condamnations à mort, proposées par le Tribunal de Moktara, n'est pas suffisant.

Tout en adhérant à l'expression de cette pensée collective, Lord Dufferin revient sur la nécessité où il se trouve de dégager sa responsabilité au point de vue judiciaire, et il déclare que dans sa pensée la Commission ne peut, en vue d'un résultat politique, inviter les juges à faire passer dans la première catégorie de coupables des individus dont la culpabilité ne serait pas prouvée.

Il est reconnu ensuite unanimement par la Commission :—

Qu'il y aurait lieu d'appliquer une peine inférieure, telle que celle de la déportation, à ceux d'entre les 290 individus compris dans la liste de Moktara qui n'auront pas été condamnés à la peine de mort, et dont la culpabilité serait reconnue par le Tribunal.

Abro Efendi promet de transmettre cet avis collectif au Plénipotentiaire du Sultan, et ajoute qu'aucune charge sérieuse ne pésant sur les 409 accusés de la deuxième catégorie, ils vont être immédiatement mis en liberté.

Abro Efendi, ayant reçu l'ordre de diriger sur Moktara les Chefs Druses dont le procès a eu lieu à Beyrout, demande à la Commission si elle se trouve en mesure d'émettre un avis collectif sur les sentences du Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrout. Pour assurer la simultanéité des exécutions, il faudra, dit-il, que ces détenus soient envoyés à la Montagne.

La Commission ayant répondu qu'elle ne se trouve pas encore en mesure d'émettre un avis sur les dossiers, dont la traduction n'est pas achevée, et s'étant ainsi opposée à l'éloignement des prisonniers Druses de Beyrout, le Délégué Ottoman s'empresse de faire remarquer qu'en présence de cette objection le Plénipotentiaire devra surseoir aux exécutions, si le principe de la simultanéité des exécutions est maintenu.

Des opinions diverses ayant été échangées à ce sujet, la Commission croit devoir laisser au Plénipotentiaire Ottoman la latitude de procéder immédiatement aux exécutions des condamnés de Moktara, ou d'y surseoir pour les ordonner simultanément avec celles des condamnés de Beyrout.

M. Novikow appelle l'attention de la Commission sur le Hauran, où la répression, commencée par le Tribunal de Moktara, aurait causé une certaine effervescence. D'après les renseignements qui lui sont parvenus, un Sheik Druse, nommé Abou Abdi, parent mais ennemi d'Ismail Atrach, aurait promis de veiller à la sécurité des Chrétiens du Hauran, à la condition d'être muni d'un sauf-conduit pour aller à Damas. Cet individu est recommandé par Faris Amir et par les Chrétiens eux-mêmes. A ce propos M. Novikow émet de nouveau le vœu que des mesures efficaces et sérieuses soient prises contre le Hauran.

Abro Efendi promet de signaler à l'attention du Haut Commissaire l'individu cité par M. Novikow, et d'informer d'ailleurs son Excellence, dès ce soir, de la latitude qui lui est laissée relativement au sursis des exécutions. Le Délégué Ottoman ajoute que ce sursis lui paraît inévitable, vu la fermentation des esprits

dans la Montagne, et l'inconvénient qu'il y aurait à procéder en deux fois aux exécutions.

La séance est levée à cinq heures et demie.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Annex.

Fuad Pasha to Abro Efendi.

Monsieur, *Mokhtârah, le* 24 *Janvier,* 1861.

A MON arrivée à Mokhtara, le Tribunal Extraordinaire que j'avais institué d'office, avait déjà commencé ses travaux, en procédant aux interrogatoires des Druses et autres détenus, au nombre d'environ 800, écroués dans les prisons de ce chef-lieu.

La plupart des accusés s'étant renfermés obstinément dans une complète négation des faits qu'on leur imputait, et ne voulant avouer leur présence durant les événements que dans des endroits où ils étaient allés se battre sans fournir d'autres données sur leurs crimes, l'interrogatoire auquel ils ont été soumis n'a pu amener aucun résultat sérieux. Pour éclairer plus positivement la conscience des juges, et recueillir des renseignements précis et détaillés qui devaient amener une distinction entre les coupables et établir différentes catégories de sentences à rendre, je convoquais les membres Chrétiens des Conseils des Districts et quelques notables pour les inviter à donner les renseignements requis par le Tribunal, que la liste qu'ils m'avaient remise à Beyrout présentait sous un caractère trop général, en ne portant les dénonciations qu'en masse, et en n'en fournissant pas suffisamment contre chaque individu. Lorsque le Tribunal leur demanda de formuler leurs dénonciations sur chaque accusé, ils s'abstinrent de le faire, prétextant que les notables qui se trouvaient à Beyrout étaient plus à même de satisfaire la conscience des juges. En conséquence j'ai renouvelé à ces derniers l'invitation que je leur avais faite avant mon départ de Beyrout de venir à Mokhtara. Après quelques jours d'hésitation qui ont retardé la marche du grand procès de la Montagne, ils arrivèrent ici. Avant leur comparution devant le Tribunal, je les ai reçus moi-même, et je les ai engagés dans les termes les plus encourageants à faire leurs dépositions, en formulant des dénonciations et en fournissant les renseignements qu'ils pouvaient avoir sur les crimes des détenus qui figurent dans la liste qu'ils m'avaient présentée. Ils me répondirent qu'ils avaient déjà fait leurs dénonciations en masse dans la liste susmentionnée; qu'ils n'avaient aucune réclamation à faire contre les particuliers, mais bien contre la masse des Druses; qu'ils se bornaient à soumettre à la justice le contenu de cette liste, et qu'ils refusent de fournir d'autres explications. Interrogés par le Tribunal sur le même sujet et invités à lui donner au moins les renseignements qu'ils avaient dû recueillir pour leur servir de base à dresser la susdite liste, ils lui tinrent le même langage et évitèrent par des réponses évasives à satisfaire aux demandes du Tribunal qui, voulant éviter tout malentendu, s'est vu obligé de leur adresser des questions par écrit, auxquelles ils ont répondu de la même manière. Ci-joint vous trouverez copie de ces demandes et réponses.

Dans l'espoir de leur faire entendre raison, je les ai réunies de nouveau chez moi, et j'ai tâché de leur donner l'assurance qu'il n'avaient à craindre, en faisant ces déclarations, de s'attirer quelque responsabilité vis-à-vis de ceux qui avaient quelques réclamations à faire, puisque nous ne les consultions pas à titre de représentants de la population, mais comme de simples particuliers dignes de confiance et capables de formuler des renseignements sur les accusés dont ils avaient présenté la liste, et que nous n'admettions pas de partie civile dans ces procès, attendu que la société était offensée par les crimes des Druses, et que le Gouvernement Impérial se constituait lui-même partie réclamante. Je leur ai également déclaré que la liste susmentionnée ne présentant pas des données suffisantes sur les crimes des accusés, il était difficile d'établir d'une manière équitable les degrés de culpabilité, et par tant le degré de condamnation encourue par chaque individu; que les dénonciations en masse étant portées contre un nombre très-considérable d'individus, elles ne pouvaient pas être entièrement prises en considération, et que ce serait dépasser les bornes de la justice que

de frapper d'une même peine les chefs et les subordonnés. Les têtes qui doivent tomber, leur ai-je dit, sont celles des hommes qui, par leur position sociale, ont exercé une funeste influence sur la masse, ou qui, par le nombre et l'atrocité de leurs crimes, ont blessé le plus l'humanité ; que de cette manière le nombre des condamnations serait limité à un chiffre que la conscience publique du monde civilisé pût admettre, et que dépasser cette limite serait rendre la justice aussi cruelle que le crime même. Je leur ai aussi expliqué que les condamnations dont nous frapperons les Druses seront d'une nature qui puisse leur servir d'exemple salutaire, mais qu'elles ne doivent et ne peuvent être faites dans un but d'extermination, et que les Chrétiens abandonnant toute idée de vengeance individuelle, doivent se pénétrer de ce sentiment, que dans les punitions nous ne cherchons que le bien de la société.

Les notables Chrétiens ne parurent pas convaincus de ces paroles, et persistèrent dans leur refus ; ils proposèrent seulement de recueillir des renseignements et les dénonciations individuelles des Chrétiens contre les Druses, si on leur donnait le temps matériel pour les obtenir. Cette proposition n'a pu être prise en considération, parce qu'elle changeait la forme du procès que j'avais adoptée d'accord avec la Commission Européenne, et menaçait de retarder à l'infini les jugements que nous voulons rendre aussi sommairement que possible. N'ayant rien pu obtenir par la persuasion, et ayant à peu près perdu une semaine en pourparlers sans résultat, je leur ai accordé, sur leur demande, la permission de s'en retourner chez eux, pour ne pas être taxé de les retenir malgré eux ici pour obtenir des déclarations forcées.

Le Tribunal Extraordinaire, n'ayant donc pu avoir d'autres bases pour se guider dans ses jugements que la liste présentée par les notables Chrétiens assermentés, suivant l'assurance que nous a donnée le clergé, ainsi que les déclarations que les Druses ont faites par devant le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrout et quelques autres données, a dû se servir de ces trois éléments d'indication pour obtenir les degrés de culpabilité. Il a d'abord classé les détenus en deux catégories générales. La première porte tous ceux qui, d'après ces trois indications, le Tribunal présume être les plus coupables. La seconde renferme les noms des détenues qui sont accusés seulement par la liste des Chrétiens ou arrêtés en dehors de ces listes, sans qu'il y ait d'autres preuves ou indications sur leur culpabilité.

Le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Moktarah m'a remis avec son rapport un Tableau, indiquant pour chaque individu de la première catégorie son nom, le lieu de son domicile, s'il est notable, ainsi que l'accusation portée sur la liste des Chrétiens, l'instruction sommaire de son procès et l'opinion du Tribunal sur sa culpabilité. Pour faciliter la recherche des plus coupables, après avoir placé au premier rang des numéros les noms des individus qui, non seulement par leur position, mais aussi par la force des indications, se trouvent sous une grande prévention, il en forme encore trois classes. D'après ces indications la première contient 20 individus, la deuxième 57, et la troisième 210 ; la seconde est plus coupable que la troisième.

Voilà le résultat quoique imparfait, mais consciencieux des travaux de notre Tribunal Extraordinaire qui, entouré de tant de difficultés, n'a pu obtenir des renseignements pouvant donner des témoignages plus à charge et éclairer la justice. L'instruction qui lui a été donnée de mener sommairement les procès, le refus des Chrétiens de faire des dépositions, la dénégation absolue des crimes par les accusés, et l'impossibilité d'admettre leurs co-religionnaires comme témoins à décharge, ont rendu la tâche de ce Tribunal aussi difficile qu'ardue.

On peut désigner par son travail les individus qui doivent subir la peine capitale, si un nombre est fixé et si tous les inculpés qui se trouvent dans la première catégorie ne doivent pas la subir. Je sais d'avance qu'il répugne à tout le monde de dire qu'il faut exécuter un tel nombre d'individus. On a semblé croire que la justice elle-même pouvait en indiquer le chiffre ; mais la nature de la chose même nous force, malgré nous, à prendre une décision pour mettre fin à une situation dont la prolongation est et serait pernicieuse à ceux au nom desquels nous voulons faire justice, et à ceux qui se trouvent sous le coup d'une accusation générale. Il faut donc se prononcer sur la condamnation d'une partie de ceux qui se trouvent, par l'ordre de leur degré de culpabilité, au premier rang des accusés. Si une motion faite au sein de la Commission Européenne par M. le Commissaire de Sa Majesté Britannique était adoptée, le chiffre

des exécutions devrait être inférieur à celles de Damas. Comme indépendamment des individus qui ont été fusilles à Damas, les nombre des exécutés appartenant à la classe civile est de 52 individus, dans la prévision que cette proportion serait acceptée par la Commission, un nombre entre 40 et 50 serait le chiffre de ceux que la justice doit frapper de la plus grande sévérité. Onze Druses jugés à Beyrout dont les procès-verbaux rogatoires ont été communiqués à la Commission, ainsi que 6 autres condamnés dont les procès-verbaux rogatoires n'ont pu encore lui être soumis, forment un total de 17 personnes. En y ajoutant 6 individus condamnés par contumace qui sont tombés entre les mains de la justice, ce nombre se trouve réduit aujourd'hui à 27 par suite des 6 arrestations susmentionnées. En ajoutant à ce nombre les 20 individus qui sont indiqués dans la première classe de la première catégorie, le chiffre des condamnations arriverait à 43 individus.

La Mission Impériale ne voulant se montrer ni faible ni cruelle dans l'accomplisement de sa tâche, a cru devoir recourir à l'appui bienveillant de la Commission pour s'éclairer par ses lumières, Elle prendra en considération ses observations pour diminuer ou pour augmenter le nombre de condamnés à mort, et toutes ses remarques sur leur culpabilité. Si l'énormité de leurs crimes exige d'un côté une trop grande sévérité, de l'autre plus de 150 Drusas assassinés par les Chrétiens après les événements, et 1,200 individus tués pendant la guerre civile, comme ils le soutiennent, doivent entrer dans la balance de la justice. Aussitôt que j'aurai l'avis de la Commission, je sanctionnerai les rapports des tribunaux, et les condamnés de la Montagne, ainsi que ceux qui se trouvent à Beyrout, seront dirigés pour subir leurs condamnations dans les différentes localités, théâtres de leurs crimes, ou dans les villages auxquels ils appartiennent, pour que leur triste fin serve d'exemple salutaire aux autres.

C'est immédiatement après ces exécutions que l'amnistie, ou pour mieux dire la cessation des poursuites judiciaires, sera promulguée, suivant l'entente qui a eu lieu au sein de la Commission, pour les parties du pays dans lesquelles la justice a eu son cours.

Si la Commission ne se trouve pas satisfaite du degré d'éclaircissements que le Tribunal a obtenus, et qu'elle désire voir une instruction plus détaillée, il faut élargir les détenus qui sont de la seconde catégorie, et diriger ceux de la première à Beyrout pour les juger individuellement. La détention prolongée de 800 individus dans une localité comme Mokhtarah nous paraît de toute impossibilité sous tous les rapports.

En vous envoyant le Tableau de la première catégorie avec une liste de tous ceux qui seront condamnés à la peine capitale, ainsi que la liste générale de la deuxième catégorie et le Rapport du Tribunal, je vous prie de les communiquer immédiatement à la Commission, en lui donnant en même temps lecture de la présente, et de me faire savoir sans retard le résultat de ses délibérations.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) FUAD.

Inclosure 5 in No. 310.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, February* 11, 1861.

IN confirmation of an opinion I have already ventured to express to your Excellency, to the effect that the Christian population of the Lebanon are almost, if not quite, as savage as any of their non-Christian neighbours, I beg to transmit to you copy of a petition addressed to me by the wife of a Sheikh of the Khazin family, who, as your Excellency will perceive by a short notice appended to its foot by Mr. Vice-Consul Rogers, has been lately murdered in the most brutal manner by his Christian co-religionists of the Kesrouan.

The very fact that so terrible a crime should be attempted to be hushed up sufficiently indicates the state of society which prevails.

I also take this opportunity of forwarding to your Excellency the substance of some remarks of a Christian Bishop which have been also noted down, for my information, by Mr. Rogers, illustrating the lawless condition of every part of the Lebanon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 6 in No. 310.

Substance of the Petition from the Mother of Milhem Khazin to Lord Dufferin, dated January 14, 1861.

YOUR Lordship is aware that the property of our family has been pillaged, yet I am more unfortunate than others in that my husband has been killed, and I, with my orphan children, am left without any means of subsistence.

I petitioned Fuad Pasha, who, about five months ago, ordered me 300 piastres per month, but I have only received one payment.

Being in great distress, and having no one to apply to save God Almighty and your Lordship, I pray that you will assist us in any way that you may deem expedient.

N.B.—The petitioner has property in many villages of the Kesrouan, but is unable to recover the proceeds. Her late husband, Sheikh Daibis Fayàd el Khazin, of the village of Ghûsta, in the Kesrouan, went to the Patriarch, and was there informed, in answer to his inquiries, that his Excellency Fuad Pasha had issued orders for the restoration of his family to their homes and their rights.

The Patriarch gave him an order for the recovery of some of his dues in the village of Râashin. On his approach to that village, the people of Ashkut, upwards of 100 in number, seized and tortured him. They stripped him, and dragged him on the ground by a rope round his neck. They placed him in an oil-press, and pounded him till his bones were broken. The people of Ghûsta came, and carried the mutilated body to their village, where it was buried.

It is, moreover, stated that the Patriarch has placed an anathema on all who shall give evidence upon this subject, or in any way favourable to the Khazin family; but some people of Deir-el-Kamar, Zahleh, and Beyrout, happened to be present, and are willing to give their evidence.

This statement was made to me by a member of the family, and confirmed by others.

(Signed) E. T. ROGERS.

Inclosure 7 in No. 310.

Vice-Consul Rogers to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, January* 23, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to state that last evening I had the pleasure of meeting Bishop ————.

I found the Bishop an exceedingly intelligent person, and I was much interested in the observations he made. He stated that, in his opinion, the incitement to and cause of all the misfortunes with which this country has of late been afflicted, is the non-punishment of crime. He stated that, exclusive of the blood shed in open civil warfare, between the years 1841 and 1858, or in other words during the space of seventeen years, 780 individual murders have been committed in Mount Lebanon; and that probably since the year 1858 upwards of 300 more have occurred, thus forming a total of about 1,100 in the space of nineteen years, not one of which has been avenged by law.

The Bishop further stated that the great evil amongst the native Christians is, the want of education amongst the women.

The Druse children thus imbibe a certain amount of culture from their mothers.

Considering that these facts might be interesting to your Lordship, I have taken the liberty of submitting them.

No. 311.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received February* 20.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, February* 10, 1861.

FOR the last ten days the Commissioners have been occupied in discussing among themselves some of the various combinations which have been proposed for the future administration of the Lebanon, in connection with a larger scheme for the re-organization of the province, upon which it has been agreed we shall engage as soon as the more pressing subject of the Mountain shall have been disposed of.

I need not weary your Lordship with a description of the various conversations I have had separately with each of my colleagues, or with all of them together.

I determined, without further delay, myself to draw up a sketch for the future government of the Lebanon on the principles I have already had the honour of submitting to your Lordship's consideration in my despatch of the 1st ultimo to Sir H. Bulwer, in the hopes that a plan conceived in a spirit of conscientious impartiality would, at all events, meet with the approbation of a majority of my colleagues. Such, I am happy to say, has been the case; and I now forward the first ten (initialled) Articles of a Memorandum, which is to serve as the groundwork of our Report on the future re-organization of the Mountain.

Your Lordship will perceive that the first Article designates the Governor of the Lebanon as a "Christian" (sujet de la Porte) "dépendant du," &c.; but, to leave no doubt in the minds of our Governments as to the real interpretation put upon the clause by those who agreed to it, I ventured to introduce a reserve to the effect that the individual in question must not be a native of the province. My example was followed by my colleagues of Russia, Prussia, and Austria; and it has thus become the manifest opinion of four out of five of the members of the Commission that, under no circumstances should the Administration of the Mountain be entrusted to a Shehab or to a member of the Maronite race.

The only other points that can become the subject of any serious discussion, are those connected with the composition of the Medjlis, and the circumscription of the compartments into which it may be advisable to divide the Mountain.

It will be necessary to insist strongly on the administrative independence—one of another—of the various nationalities which compose the population of the Lebanon, as well as to institute a system of Mixed Medjlis for the Mixed districts, on equitable principles. Articles IV and VII seem to me already sufficiently to assert and to protect the interests of the minorities, Christian and non-Christian; and I have little doubt but that when we come to settle the actual composition of the respective Councils, the result will be equally satisfactory.

Your Lordship will perceive that M. de Rehfues has added a further reserve regarding the person of the Governor of the Lebanon, to the effect that the Porte must come to an understanding with the Representatives of the Five Powers with respect to the individual they select.

It seems to me that the direct interference of the political Agents of the European Governments with the government of the country is an impossible, and if possible would be a disastrous, expedient. The action of such Representatives should be confined to the exercise of a simply moral influence on the mind of the Governor-General, and it would be most unwise, in my opinion, to give to their representations, even though conveyed in a collective form, any constitutional force. It will be quite enough that they are there, with the power of communicating their views in whatever manner they may consider most effectual. The responsibility of disregarding these remonstrances will be sufficiently great to ensure the Governor-General paying them due attention, except on such occasions when the very fact of his having acted contrary to their desires will be a proof that he was justified in doing so.

In a few days we shall have the whole of the *procès-verbal* of the trials of the Turkish Pashas and Druse Sheikhs in our hands. It is only the difficulty of getting the original Turkish translated that has so long delayed their communication to the Commission. The painful duty of pronouncing an opinion upon the inferences drawn by the Tribunal of Beyrout from the proceedings recorded

in these documents once concluded, the sentences will be passed, and all those implicated in the late massacres, whether in the Mountain or at Saida, will be executed simultaneously. This sad event may be expected to take place within ten days.

Within the same period I am in hopes our Report on the Lebanon will be concluded, and the chief portion of the labours of the Commission terminated.

Inclosure in No. 311.

Réserves Particulières.

NON indigène de la province (réserve de Lord Dufferin).
(Signé) D. & C.

Non indigène; sur le choix duquel la Porte devra s'entendre avec les Représentants des cinq Puissances (réserve de M. Rehfues).
(Signé) R.

Non indigène (réserve de M. de Weckbecker).
(Signé) W.

Non indigène (réserve de M. Novikow).
(Signé) N.

Indigène (reserve de M. Béclard).
(Signé) L. B.

Articles Collectifs.

1. UN Gouverneur Chrétien, pour toute la Montagne, dépendant du . . .

2. Territoire du Liban sera maintenu dans ses anciennes limites, sauf les rectifications jugées nécessaires.

3. Abolition du régime de deux Caimacamies, et des Mokatas.

4. Division du Liban en un certain nombre de circonscriptions administratives, renfermant, autant que possible, des éléments homogènes; c'est-à-dire, appartenant au même culte.

5. Abolition du système féodal, et des privilèges qui s'y rattachent.

6. Egalité de tous devant la loi.

7. Garanties judiciaires et administratives identiques, pour toutes les communautés habitant le Liban.

8. Séparation du pouvoir administratif et judiciaire.

9. Institutions au siège du Gouvernement d'un Medjlis administratif, et d'un Medjlis judiciaire, formant l'un et autre le degré supérieur de juridiction.

10. Il y aura dans chaque circonsciption un Medjlis administratif, et un Medjlis judiciaire, de première instance.

(Suivent les paraphes.)

N.B.—To be continued at next meeting of the Commission.

(Translation.)

Private Remarks ("Réserves").

NOT a native of the province (remark of Lord Dufferin).
(Signed) D. & C.

Not a native; on the choice of whom the Porte should consult with the Representatives of the Five Powers (remark of M. Rehfues).
(Signed) R.

Not a native (remark of M. de Weckbecker).
(Signed) W.

Not a native (remark of M. Novikow).
(Signed) N.

A native (remark of M. Béclard).
(Signed) L. B.

Collective Articles.

1. A CHRISTIAN Governor for the whole Mountain, belonging to . . .

2. The territory of the Lebanon shall be retained in its former limits, with the exception of the alterations deemed necessary.

3. The abolition of the two Kaimakamships, and of the Mokatas.

4. The division of the Lebanon into a certain number of administrative circumscriptions, containing, as much as possible, similar elements; that is to say, belonging to the same religion.

5. The abolition of the feudal system, and the privileges belonging to it.

6. Equality of all persons in point of law.

7. Judicial and administrative guarantees for all the communities who inhabit the Lebanon alike.

8. Separation of the administrative and judicial power.

9. The institution by the Government of an administrative and of a judicial Medjlis, both forming the higher degree of jurisdiction.

10. There shall be in each circumscription an administrative Medjlis, and a judicial Medjlis, of the first rank.

(Here follow the initials).

N.B.—To be continued at next meeting of the Commission.

No. 312.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received February* 21.)

(Extract.) *Paris, February* 19, 1861.

THE Conference on Syrian affairs reassembled this afternoon at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Representatives of the Five Great Powers and of the Porte were present.

M. Thouvenel opened the proceedings by referring to the despatch which he had addressed to the Emperor's Representatives at the Courts of the said Powers on the 18th ultimo; and he recapitulated in a few words the substance of that despatch, with a view of eliciting the opinions of the assembled Representatives. He addressed himself, in the first instance, to the Turkish Ambassador.

Vefyk Efendi said that it would be in the recollection of the Conference, that it had been his duty to object in August last to the idea then entertained of sending foreign troops to Syria, because he had been confident that their presence in that province was not required, and that the Porte could, by its own resources, restore and maintain its authority; that this had proved to be the case, order having been re-established by the sole agency of the Turkish authorities; that Syria was now tranquil, and that he had consequently to require the execution of the Convention of the 5th of September, by the withdrawal of the troops of occupation, of whose conduct, however, he spoke in terms of eulogy.

M. Thouvenel, in thanking Vefyk Efendi for the complimentary expressions which he had employed in speaking of the French troops, added that he could not entertain the same opinion as the Ambassador, that their presence in Syria was no longer necessary. True, Syria was apparently tranquil, but all the accounts received by the French Government went to show that this tranquillity was only upon the surface; that bitter passions were raging underneath, which it was to be feared would break out whenever the troops should be withdrawn. It was known that 7,000 Druses had retired into the recesses of the Hauran; that they were arming afresh; while, on the other hand, not one of the Chiefs declared guilty had as yet been punished; no indemnities had been paid to the suffering Christians; no Government whatever existed in the Mountain. He concluded, therefore, that until satisfaction had been given on the former points, and until a settled Government for the Lebanon had been organized with the help of the European Commission, it was in the interests of the Porte itself that the foreign occupation should be maintained, since a fresh catastrophe might place in peril the very existence of the Sultan's supremacy.

A long and somewhat desultory conversation ensued between Vefyk Efendi and the French Minister. The former argued that if the Commission had not made greater progress in the task entrusted to it, that was no fault of the Porte's, but was a question to be treated between the Commissioners and their respective Governments. "With the Commission, however," said Vefyk Efendi, "I have nothing to do. I am instructed to ask for the execution of the Convention, a matter totally apart from the Commission."

M. Thouvenel, on the other hand, argued that although no positive reference had been made in the Convention to the objects of the European Commission, yet that the two were by the nature of things so intimately connected that the intentions of the Convention could not be said to have been fulfilled until the reorganization of the Lebanon, one of the points which was to occupy the Commission, should have been accomplished.

Turning to Article V, he argued that it implied that if the object which the High Contracting Parties had in view, namely, the pacification of Syria, should not be realized within six months, the occupation might be prolonged. But that pacification could not be said to be realized until there should be a settled government in the Lebanon; while, with regard to other parts of Syria, his Excellency read extracts of a despatch which he had just received from the French Consul at Damascus, relating a conversation which he had had with the Commander-in-chief of the Turkish forces, who, he said, had admitted to him that he had not sufficient troops to maintain order, and that he must have reinforcements from Constantinople before it would be possible to undertake an

expedition against the Hauran. The same despatch alluded to a number of other points which, in the writer's opinion, should be settled before the French troops ought to be withdrawn.

I took up the discussion at this point. I said that to follow out the suggestions contained in the despatch which M. Thouvenel had just read to us would be neither more nor less than to sanction the permanent occupation of Syria.

M. Thouvenel interrupted me by exclaiming that nothing was further from his thoughts; that he wanted no more than to be certain that there would be a responsible Government in the Lebanon whenever the troops of occupation should be withdrawn.

Referring, then, to the argument which M. Thouvenel had employed to establish a connection between the objects of the Commission and those of the Convention, I said that I could not accept it, nor the interpretation put by him on the Vth Article of the latter. The spirit and intention of the Convention, I observed, was to be found in the preamble, which declared the intention of the Sultan to put an end, *by prompt and efficacious measures,* to the effusion of blood in Syria, and His Majesty's firm resolution to ensure order and peace among the populations placed under his sovereignty, for which purposes he accepted the co-operation of Europe. The Articles regulated the manner in which that co-operation was to be given.

With regard to the present state of Syria I said that the reports received by Her Majesty's Government from Her Majesty's Commissioner at Beyrout, differed essentially from those received by the Imperial Government.

In Lord Dufferin's opinion, who, however, did full justice to the happy results obtained by the co-operation of Europe, and more particularly of France, the Sultan was in a position to redeem the pledges which had been given in the preamble of the Convention, without the further assistance of his allies, and, therefore, acting under the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, I must support the request made by the Turkish Representative for the due execution of the Convention.

M. Thouvenel continued to maintain his own views. He expressed more than once his firm conviction that the departure of the troops would be followed by fresh horrors, which, this time, would not stop at Damascus.

I said that all his arguments only tended to prove, in my mind, that the longer the evacuation was delayed, the greater would be the difficulties hereafter thrown in the way of its accomplishment; that I doubted whether, at this moment, the presence of foreign troops was not more pernicious than salutary towards the object which we all had in view. It tended to raise extravagant expectations on the one side, and to keep up irritation on the other, while the authority of the Sovereign was almost in abeyance; nor could I help adding that that occupation did not prevent many acts of atrocity committed by the Christians against the Druses.

M. Thouvenel said that he had no knowledge of any such acts, which were certainly regrettable, if true; but the facts I had alleged only strengthened his conviction of the state of things which would arise were the troops of occupation to be withdrawn.

We had now been for some time in discussion without any progress towards a solution of the question proposed to us. The Russian Ambassador had here and there put in a word in support of M. Thouvenel's arguments. The Austrian Ambassador and Prussian Minister had not opened their lips.

With a view, then, of coming to some conclusion, I said that Her Majesty's Government were of opinion that it might be advisable that the Maritime Powers should station naval squadrons off the coast of Syria as soon as the season would permit of it.

There would be no necessity, I observed, for any Convention for this purpose; but the presence of the ships would insure protection where it was wanted in case of need.

Both M. Thouvenel and General Kisseleff said that ships would be of no use in the Mountain; but I expressed the hope and, indeed, the conviction that the flags on the coast would, with the Turkish forces on land, suffice to insure tranquillity. Besides, I said, there was always the possibility of landing a force.

Prince Metternich asked when the season would permit naval squadrons to

lie off the coast. I replied, that Her Majesty's Government proposed having one there on the 1st of May. The Prince then suggested that it might be possible to come to an understanding which might suit all parties. Might not the occupation be prolonged until the arrival of the squadrons, say, until the 1st of May?

Vefyk Efendi said that he would not stand in the way of an arrangement of the kind, provided he had the assurance that the foreign troops would have left Syria on the date in question. I said that it must be matter of a fresh Convention. This was contested by the Russian Ambassador, but after a short discussion, agreed to as necessary by the other Representatives. When, however, we came to discuss the terms of the new Convention, M. Thouvenel objected to making the term of the 1st of May absolutely binding. He reiterated all his former arguments of the necessity of a recognized Government in the Lebanon before the troops should be withdrawn; but he asserted that if that Government were to be installed to-morrow, he would abandon the Lebanon to its fate the next day. He proposed then the signature of a short Convention, prolonging the occupation to the 1st of May, with an understanding that the Conference should re-assemble again in April to decide the moment of evacuation. In the meantime, the different Governments might send instructions to their Commissioners to hurry the project for the re-organization of the Lebanon.

I said that M. Thouvenel's proposal kept the whole question open; that one unwilling member of the Commission might cause delays without end.

M. Thouvenel replied, that he would not object to fixing a day on which the Commission must be ready with its Report. The Commissioners might then proceed with it to Constantinople, and, unless the Porte made unnecessary delays, the whole matter might be settled in a comparatively short time.

It was not in the power either of the Turkish Ambassador or of myself to accept M. Thouvenel's proposal; and, as it was evident that nothing more was to be obtained by discussion, I proposed that the Conference should adjourn, in order that the Representatives might refer to their respective Governments.

It was agreed that the following Minute should be made of the result of the sitting:—

"A la suite de la discussion qui a eu lieu le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman a admis qu'il pourrait transmettre à sa Cour une proposition qui tendrait à signer une Convention prolongeant pour tout délai le terme de l'occupation au 1 Mai."

No. 313.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 21, 1861.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 19th instant, reporting what had passed in the Conference on Syrian affairs, and I have to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the language which you held on that occasion.

Her Majesty's Government have only to impress upon your Excellency the instruction conveyed to you by telegraph, and repeated in my despatch of the 19th instant, not to agree to any prolongation of the French occupation beyond the 1st of May. An agreement to prolong the stay of the European troops till some undefined and undiscovered organization of the Mountain has been completed, would, probably, lead to a foreign occupation as long as that which has taken place in the Roman States.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 314.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 21, 1861.

YOU will see by Lord Dufferin's despatch dated the 10th February, a copy of which is in your possession, that he expected that, within ten days, the execution of the Druses engaged in the massacres would take place. He was in hopes that within the same period the Report of the Commissioners on the Lebanon would be concluded, and the chief portion of the labours of the Commission terminated.

Your Excellency will see, therefore, that a prolongation of the European occupation to the 1st of May ought to be amply sufficient, in point of time, for that organization of the Mountain upon which M. Thouvenel so strongly insists.

If, however, it is meant that the wished-for organization is to be delayed till the Representatives of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia have yielded to the exclusive Maronite supremacy, ten years may elapse before that submission is obtained.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 315.

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received February* 18.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 16, 1861.

IN reply to my inquiry of Baron Schleinitz this morning, as to the period when the projected Conference at Paris on the affairs of Syria would meet, his Excellency informed me that he believed that the Conference would be held in that capital in a day or two.

I inquired further of his Excellency what instructions he had sent to the Prussian Representative at Paris on that question.

Baron Schleinitz stated that he had written to Count Pourtalès to say that the Prussian Government could not consider that the state of the Mountain was such as to preclude all fears of a renewal of disorder. He considered that if the foreign troops were now removed, and that similar atrocities to those which had necessitated their presence were to be renewed, a spirit of indignation would be raised against Turkey which would compromise the very existence of the Empire, and possibly be its deathblow ("lui donnerait son coup de grace"); consequently the Prussian Government could not take upon themselves the responsibility of recommending their withdrawal.

His Excellency was of opinion that a limit for the occupation should be laid down; and he seemed to think that the period for the closing of the labours of the Commission, when a settled Government of the Mountain should be installed, would be the natural and more desirable period.

At the same time, his Excellency fully agreed that no prolongation of the occupation could be assented to in opposition to the wishes of the Sultan; and he further supported the principle that the unanimity of the Powers was requisite, and that the question could not be decided by a majority in the Conference.

His Excellency stated that he believed that an arrangement would be come to between Her Majesty's Government and that of the Emperor of the French, which would remove all further difficulties with respect to this question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 316.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, February* 21, 1861.

HER Majesty's Government have no objection to the proposal to fix a day when the Report of the Commission must be signed. That day should be a very early one.

No. 317.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 23.)

(Extract.) *Paris, February* 22, 1861.

I CALLED on M. Thouvenel this afternoon, and informed him that Her Majesty's Government had no objection to the proposal to fix a day when the Report of the Commission sitting at Beyrout must be signed.

Pursuing my communication, I said that what had passed in Conference had not modified the opinion of Her Majesty's Government with reference to the evacuation of Syria, and that they must continue to urge its completion by the 1st of May.

M. Thouvenel replied that, on reporting to the Council of Ministers the result of the meeting of the Conference, several of his (M. Thouvenel's) colleagues had expressed their opinion that if the French Government were to be again tied down to a day on which the evacuation must be effected, they would prefer carrying it into execution at once, leaving to the Porte the responsibility of the consequences which must ensue. The Emperor had not positively taken any decision, but the Council would reconsider the matter to-morrow. He would probably be charged to inform the Cabinets of the Great Powers that the Imperial Government, seeing the divergence of opinion which prevailed with regard to a prolonged occupation, preferred to abide by the engagements already taken, to contracting fresh ones. He should, however, at the same time, call the attention of the Cabinets to the consequences which might be the result of the departure of the troops—consequences which his Excellency enumerated in much the same terms as those employed on former occasions; and he should leave the whole responsibility with the Porte.

I said that I rejoiced to hear that there was a possibility of the Council of Ministers coming to the determination mentioned by his Excellency.

I then asked whether M. Thouvenel proposed convoking the Conference afresh, but he seemed to have taken no determination upon the subject.

No. 318.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 23, 1861.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the language held by your Excellency in your conversation with M. Thouvenel on the affairs of Syria, as reported in your despatch of the 22nd instant.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 319.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 23.)

(Extract.) *Constantinople, February 13, 1861.*

HAVING communicated to Aali Pasha the substance of Lord Dufferin's recent despatches, and especially that of the 18th of January, which intimates a belief that Fuad Pasha has been restrained from following his own liberal inclinations by the fanatical tendencies of the Porte, his Highness denied this accusation in the most direct and positive manner: and as Lord Dufferin does not specify any particular instances in which the influence thus described has been exercised, I found it impossible to maintain any argument on the subject.

With respect, however, to two or three points concerning which Lord Dufferin generally complained, I brought them under Aali Pasha's notice.

With regard to the confiscation of the property of those Druses who had suffered the extreme penalty of the law, Aali Pasha declared himself most decidedly hostile to the principle of confiscation. But having, as he said, understood that the Commissioners had insisted in similar cases on the property of Mussulmans being confiscated, he had considered that in such case one rule should be equally applied.

I should add, however, that confiscation is against the laws of the Empire, and that the fair and just thing would be not to sanction confiscation with respect to the children either of Druse or Moslem.

As to the indemnity, Aali Pasha said that he considered the sum demanded by M. Outrey as so enormous that he had hesitated in consenting to it; but when a fact of which he seemed to have been for some time ignorant was pointed out to him, viz., that according to Protocol 14 the 150,000,000 piastres were reduced to 64,000,000, he made no further difficulty on the matter.

It may be urged, perhaps, in defence of his first objections that the Commissioners themselves seem to have taken at last the view which was originally taken by Aali Pasha, since they appear to have themselves reduced the penalty which it was at first proposed to inflict.

Touching Khoorshid Pasha's punishment Aali Pasha declares that Fuad was perfectly unfettered, but that when that person had been condemned to a certain punishment by a tribunal, and had had his sentence approved of by the Ottoman Commissioner, the Porte could hardly, even if disposed, have altered such sentence without a great scandal, and also a great loss of prestige to the high functionary on the spot.

And now I am on this subject, I would venture to draw a distinction between an exaggerated Mussulman fanaticism and a natural Mussulman spirit.

Whilst strongly, as your Lordship is aware, in favour of introducing the Christian element into the Ottoman Government, I cannot but admit that we must expect a Government chiefly Mussulman, and a Mussulman Sovereign, to have a certain Mussulman tendency. It is moreover to be expected that a Government which knows that the only force it can depend upon is Mussulman, should have a certain desire to retain a fair opinion with the Mussulman population.

All this is in the nature of things. What it seems to me we have to do, is to see that the Mussulman feeling to which I am alluding is not carried to any excessive or blameable extent; making a legitimate allowance for the necessary difference between what our feelings as Christians may be towards Christians, and the feelings which the Mussulmans may entertain towards Mussulmans.

In regard to the evacuation of Syria, Aali Pasha maintains it is an absolute necessity for the tranquillity of the province. He is sending there, however, three regiments of Cavalry, and General Kmety is to have the charge of the gendarmerie which is being organised.

No. 320.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Bloomfield.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, February 23, 1861.*

HER Majesty's Government are glad to find from your Excellency's telegram of yesterday, that the opinion of the Austrian Cabinet that it should rest

with the Porte alone to decide whether the stay of French troops in Syria shoul be prolonged, has not been altered by what took place at the meeting of th Conference in Paris on the 19th instant. Her Majesty's Government agree entirely in that opinion.

No. 321.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, February* 25, 1861.

WITH regard to the charge of fanaticism brought against the Turkish Government by Lord Dufferin, Her Majesty's Government imagine that Lord Dufferin does not intend to charge Aali Pasha or any particular Turkish Ministers with fanaticism, but the Turkish Government in general with yielding to the fanatical spirit of the Turks.

The whole misfortunes and difficulties of Syria have arisen from the connivance of Khoorshid Pasha with the murderers of Deir-el-Kamar, and from the cowardice of Achmet Pasha at Damascus.

Achmet Pasha has expiated his cowardice with his life. Khoorshid, after an attempt had been made by Fuad Pasha to retain him in the Government of Syria, was arrested and brought to trial. Care was taken to prevent the appearance of witnesses against him, and he is to be dismissed with a light punishment.

It does not much matter whether the Sultan's Ministers who have thus condoned the most guilty of all the accomplices of the Syrian massacres are themselves fanatical, or whether they are afraid of others who are so. The existence of a fanatical party in Turkey cannot be doubted : that this party seeks to console itself by murders and massacres, for the advantages given to Christians by the Sultan of late years, appears but too evident. If Fuad Pasha had been instructed to bring all the proofs of Khoorshid's guilt to light, Khoorshid's life could hardly have been saved, and his exemplary punishment would have intimidated the whole fanatical party in Turkey. Whether the Turkish Government acted from sympathy with that party, or dread of their opposition, the result is equally to be deplored.

No. 322.

Acting Consul Wrench to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 26.)

(Extract.) *Damascus, February* 7, 1861.

I HAVE the honour herewith to transmit to your Lordship a despatch addressed to his Excellency Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer.

Inclosure in No. 322.

Acting Consul Wrench to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Damascus, February* 7, 1861.

SINCE I had the honour to address your Excellency on the affairs of Damascus, the weather has become most wintry; the roads being blocked by the snow we have not been in communication with Beyrout since the 25th ultimo, and no news is received from outside the town. The Christians consequently have not been lately alarmed by reported movements among the Druses and Arabs. Their position, however, is in the highest degree painful. The Government give them, it is true, two small flat loaves of bread daily per head, but that is all ; some have received no charcoal, and many have exhausted their supply, the same with the firewood ; for more than fifty-five days they have received no money from the Government, they are obliged to buy provi-

sions on credit, the first money they receive going to liquidate these debts. Thus badly clothed, half-starved, and ill-lodged, the water in most cases filtering through the terraces into their rooms, their sufferings are terrible, and driven to desperation it cannot be wondered at that some individuals seek to drown their cases in drunkenness.

The bread has been slightly improved within the last few days, but, made from a mixture of barley, wheat, and maize, half-baked, it is still very unwholesome; but before this amelioration it was not fit food for a human being.

The French Consul is now distributing some cloth, and about 2,000*l.* sterling; he will recommence with a similar amount when the first is exhausted. I have given away for the Relief Committee within the last week 210 warm sheepskin coats, and about 150 blankets to the poorest, besides small amounts in money to the sick; but this is not much among such a numerous population. According to the registers made by the French Consulate there are upwards of 9,300 souls, of whom about 2,700 are villagers; these numbers include the Meidan quarter, not counted in the calculation of Arzouman Efendi, which I had the honour to report on the 10th of January.

The roads being impassable, the Christians are forced to remain here very much against their will. They hear that at Beyrout the Government allowance is regularly paid, that several Committees are established to look after the comforts of the refugees, and that private persons do all they can for them: it is natural, therefore, that they should wish to remove from a place where their wants are so little attended to. If, when the weather clears up, anything remains from the money they are now receiving, I think it will be difficult to induce them to stay. The French Consul told me a few days ago that he should make no more efforts to this end, as for the last four months he had done all he could to retain them, hoping the Turkish Government would have arranged something to improve their condition: now, however, that he sees no steps taken in their behalf, he will no more advise them to stay; his employés, I believe, counsel the receivers of his charity to leave as soon as they can.

A Greek Christian, the agent to recover what articles were found in clearing out the ruins of the Greek Patriarchate, last week finding the silver case of a watch, kept it with the intention of returning it to the owner; a party of soldiers met him when returning home, took from him his money and the watch-case, ill-treated him, and put him in prison, where he remained all night; on being taken out he had lost his reason, and after a few days died.

Khaled Pasha is gone to the Hauran, with what object is not known.

It is believed here that the Pasha has granted an amnesty to nine Druse Chiefs of the Hauran, more than one of whom was implicated in the late massacres. His Excellency was contemplating such a measure; but I doubt whether he has yet decided on it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

No. 323.

M. Thouvenel to the Count de Flahault.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by the Count de Flahault, February 27.)

M. le Comte, *Paris, le* 25 *Février,* 1861.

LES Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche, de la Grande Bretagne, de la Prusse, de la Russie, et de la Turquie, se sont réunis avec moi en Conférence le 19 Février, pour s'occuper des affaires de Syrie, et j'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer ci-joint le projet de Protocole de cette séance.

L'Article V de la Convention signée le 5 Septembre dernier étant ainsi conçu: "Les Hautes Parties Contractantes, convaincues que ce délai sera suffisant pour atteindre le but de pacification qu'elles ont en vue, fixent à six mois la durée de l'occupation des troupes Européennes en Syrie," la question qui se posait était celle de savoir si la conviction des Puissances se trouvait justifiée par les faits, et si l'œuvre à laquelle elles avaient entendu concourir leur paraissait réellement accomplie.

Invité à s'expliquer le premier, en sa qualité de Représentant de la Puissance territoriale, le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie a affirmé que l'ordre était rétabli et que la Sublime Porte disposait de tous les moyens nécessaires pour l'empêcher d'être troublé. J'ai dû contester la valeur de cette assertion, et, après un débat dont le Protocole ci-annexé reproduit les principaux détails, son Excellence Ahmet Vefyk Efendi a déclaré que, mû par un esprit de conciliation, il se croyait autorisé à transmettre à Constantinople la proposition de prolonger l'occupation, si l'on convenait d'une date précise, qu'il a fixée, pour tout délai, au 1 Mai prochain. Avant de se prononcer sur l'accueil à faire à cette suggestion, les Plénipotentiaires ont jugé convenable d'en référer à leurs Cours respectives. Je viens donc, M. le Comte, vous exposer quelle est au sujet la manière de voir du Gouvernement de l'Empereur.

L'obligation où nous sommes de nous expliquer avec une entière franchise ne résulte pas seulement de nos sympathies pour des populations cruellement éprouvées, elle découle aussi du mandat que les Puissances ont donné à la France en la chargeant seule de pourvoir, en leur nom comme au sien, à l'envoi d'un corps expéditionnaire en Syrie. La confiance même dont le Gouvernement de l'Empereur a été l'objet de la part de ses alliés lui impose une responsabilité plus directe, et il ne saurait s'en dégager qu'en faisant connaître, comme ses informations le lui représentent, l'état actuel des choses.

La présence de nos troupes dans le Liban a obtenu de prime abord un résultat considérable. Elle a mis fin aux massacres qui menaçaient de s'étendre bien au-delà des régions habités par les Druses et les Maronites, mais il ne suffisait pas d'arrêter l'effusion du sang; il fallait que justice fût faite aux coupables comme aux victimes; il était non moins essentiel d'aviser aux moyens de conjurer autant que possible le retour d'évènements semblables à ceux qui ont soulevé l'an dernier l'indignation et la pitié de l'Europe. C'est sous l'empire de ces considérations multiples que les Puissances, au moment où une force Européenne était envoyée en Syrie, ont décidé qu'une Commission composée de leurs délégués s'y rendrait également pour assurer, de concert avec un haut fonctionnaire de la Porte, le châtiment mérité par les chefs de l'insurrection, la fixation de la répartition équitable des indemnités dues aux Chrétiens, et enfin l'adoption des réformes à introduire dans le régime constitutif de la Montagne. On avait évidemment pensé que la restauration de l'ordre moral devait marcher concurremment avec la restauration de l'ordre matériel et en devenir la garantie.

Un court exposé des faits démontrera si ce double but a été atteint.

Les deux premières questions que la Commission avait à traiter, celles des punitions à infliger aux coupables et des réparations à accorder aux victimes, ne sont pas encore réglées ; la troisième, celle des modifications à apporter dans l'organisation du Liban, vient à peine d'être abordée dans les entretiens confidentiels. En un mot, les principales difficultés dont la solution semblait nécessaire pour pouvoir replacer les populations dans des conditions tolérables d'existence, subsistent presque intactes.

Si de ces points particuliers on passe à l'examen de la situation générale, est-il possible d'y puiser un sentiment de confiance assez caractérisé pour accepter les déclarations du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman et admettre que la Syrie ne soit pas menacée de l'explosion d'une crise nouvelle? A Damas les Musulmans ne dissimulent ni leur ressentiment ni leurs espérances, et les Chrétiens, devant les menaces dont ils sont l'objet, ne songent qu'à fuir leurs foyers dévastés et à gagner les villes du littoral. Les Druses du Liban, qui, au nombre de 3,000 en état de porter les armes, ont pu traverser les lignes Turques et se réunir à leurs coreligionnaires du Hauran, se préparent ouvertement à la lutte et nouent des alliances avec les Arabes et les Métualis. Déjà ils envahissent les villages de la plaine jusqu'aux portes de Damas, et leurs incursions ne rencontrent aucun obstacle. La sécurité, mais une sécurité destinée à s'évanouir avec son gage, ne règne que dans les parties de la Montagne où nous sommes. Partout ailleurs les craintes et les haines ont conservé le même degré d'intensité, et une effrayante misère accroît encore la fermentation des esprits.

Je m'abstiens de rechercher si l'autorité Ottomane a fait tout ce qui dépendait d'elle pour remédier à une pareille situation ; je préfère simplement m'enquérir des moyens dont elle dispose aujourd'hui pour conjurer les dangers que je prévois, et là encore j'aboutis à une autre conclusion que le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie. Je n'accuse pas les intentions de la Porte, et je rends hommage aux sentiments du Sultan ; mais il ne s'agit ici que d'une question de fait, et, sans

rappeler les tristes compromissions qui ont signalé les derniers évènements, il est permis de se demander si une armée régulière insuffisante en nombre, de l'aveu même de son Chef, pour atteindre les Druses dans leur refuge du Hauran, plus sympathique, pour cause de religion, à la partie menaçante qu'à la partie menacée de la population, et il faut bien le dire, attendant un arriéré de solde de trente mois, peut être offerte à l'Europe, dans des circonstances aussi critiques, comme constituant à elle seule une garantie d'ordre et de tranquillité. La dépêche ci-jointe en copie de notre Consul à Damas me dispense de m'étendre davantage sur ce sujet. Je mentionnerai cependant les intérêts et les alarmes du commerce étranger dont m'entretient notre Consul à Beyrout, dans le rapport également ci-annexé.

Voilà, M. le Comte, le tableau de l'état actuel de choses en Syrie, tel qu'il ressort des informations les plus récentes parvenues au Gouvernement de l'Empereur. Je ne veux pas prétendre que les autres Puissances doivent accepter, sans les contrôler par les leurs, les données que nous transmettent nos Agents, mais on ne saurait non plus nous demander de décliner leur jugement, ni contester que des présomptions sérieuses nous autorisent à déclarer que l'ordre et la paix, dans notre opinion la plus sincère, ne sont pas rétablis parmi les populations de la Syrie, comme le préambule de la Convention du 5 Septembre en exprimait le vœu formel.

La prolongation que le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman se montre disposé à proposer à sa Cour, sur la demande de la Conférence, modifierait-elle sensiblement la situation ? Le Gouvernement de l'Empereur ne le pense pas. A son avis, l'accomplissement du mandat de justice et de réparation confié à la Commission Internationale, et la conclusion d'un nouvel accord des Puissances avec la Porte au sujet de l'organisation de la Montagne du Liban, pourraient seuls fournir à l'Europe la garantie morale dont elle a besoin pour renoncer, en toute sûreté de conscience, à la garantie matérielle qu'elle avait cru trouver dans l'envoi en Syrie d'un corps de troupes étrangères. Un délai invariablement fixé à deux mois ne permet pas d'espérer que ce résultat soit atteint, et si l'occupation Européenne ne doit pas durer jusqu'à ce que son objet soit rempli, nous ne voyons pas, en ce qui nous concerne, de raison plausible pour en demander la prolongation. Le Gouvernement de l'Empereur, en effet, ne poursuit en Syrie aucun but qui lui soit particulier, et ses intérêts politiques ne sont ni plus grands ni moindres que ceux de ses alliés.

Notre conviction est qu'une entente nouvelle serait aussi nécessaire aujourd'hui qu'à l'époque où la première a été établi. Pour le bien des populations, pour celui de la Porte comme pour celui des Cabinets si directement intéressés à ce que des incidents en Orient ne viennent pas augmenter les difficultés de leur politique générale, nous croyons fermement qu'il serait très grave de livrer aux chances du hasard une question qu'un sentiment de prévoyance et d'humanité conseillerait, selon nous, d'examiner et de résoudre en commun. Telle est, M. le Comte, l'opinion que je développerai dans la prochaine Conférence ; j'aurai soin d'ailleurs de rappeler encore que le Gouvernement de l'Empereur, lorsqu'il a accepté la tâche que les Puissances lui ont dévolue, a exprimé le regret qu'elles n'y participassent pas au même titre, et j'ajouterai que nous considérerions comme essentiellement désirable que la réunion d'autres troupes aux nôtres vint donner au corps d'occupation un caractère réellement Européen et lui permette d'achever avec promptitude et dans des conditions assurées de succès l'œuvre qu'il a commencée. Si nos alliés ne croient pas pouvoir partager cette manière de voir, si la Sublime Porte la repousse, la Convention du 5 Septembre étant arrivée à son terme, je devrai déclarer que le Gouvernement de l'Empereur, en exécution d'un engagement dont l'accord unanime des Puissances Contractantes aurait eu seul la force de le relever, n'entend pas retarder le départ de ses troupes au delà du temps nécessaire pour l'effectuer, et décline pour sa part la responsabilité des évènements.

Vous êtes autorisé, M. le Comte, à donner lecture de cette dépêche à Lord John Russell.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) THOUVENEL.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte, *Paris, February* 25, 1861.

THE Plenipotentiaries of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, and Turkey, assembled with me in Conference on the 19th of February, to occupy

themselves with the affairs of Syria, and I have the honour to send you herewith the draft of the Protocol of that meeting.

Article V of the Convention signed on the 5th of September last, being in these terms: "The High Contracting Parties, convinced that this period will be sufficient to attain the object of pacification which they have in view, fix at six months the duration of the occupation of the European troops in Syria,"—the question put was that of ascertaining whether the conviction of the Powers was justified by facts, and whether the work in which they had agreed to co-operate appeared to them really accomplished.

Invited to declare himself first, in his quality of Representative of the territorial Power, the Plenipotentiary of Turkey affirmed that order was re-established, and that the Sublime Porte had at its disposal all the means necessary to prevent its being disturbed. I felt bound to contest the correctness of this assertion, and after a debate, the principal details of which the annexed Protocol reproduces, his Excellency Ahmet Vefyk Effendi declared that, moved by a spirit of conciliation, he considered himself authorized to transmit to Constantinople the proposition to prolong the occupation, if a precise date were agreed on, which he fixed at the furthest on the 1st of May next. Before giving an opinion as to the reception to be given to this suggestion the Plenipotentiaries considered it advisable to refer the matter to their respective Courts. I will, therefore, M. le Comte, state to you what is the view of the Government of the Emperor upon the subject.

The obligation under which we are of explaining ourselves with complete frankness, does not result only from our sympathies with cruelly tried populations; it arises also from the task which the Powers intrusted to France in deputing her alone to provide, in their name as well as her own, for the despatch of an expeditionary force to Syria. The very confidence of which the Government of the Emperor has been the object on the part of its allies, imposes on them a more direct responsibility; and they could only free themselves from it by communicating, as their information represents it to her, the existing state of affairs.

The presence of our troops in the Lebanon obtained at first a considerable result. It put an end to the massacres which threatened to extend themselves far beyond the regions inhabited by the Druses and the Maronites, but it did not suffice to avert the effusion of blood; it was necessary that justice should be meted out to the guilty as well as the victims; it was no less essential to consult as to the means of averting as far as possible the return of events similar to those which roused in the preceding year the indignation and the pity of Europe. It was under the influence of these manifold considerations that the Powers, at the moment when an European force was sent to Syria, decided that a Commission composed of their delegates should also proceed thither, to ensure, in concert with a high functionary of the Porte, the chastisement merited by the chiefs of the insurrection, the assessment of the equitable distribution of the indemnities due to the Christians, and, finally, the adoption of the reforms to be introduced into the form of government of the Mountain. It was evidently thought that the restoration of moral order should march parallel with the restoration of material order and become its guarantee.

A short statement of facts will demonstrate whether this double object has been attained.

The two first questions with which the Commission had to deal, that of the punishment to be inflicted on the guilty, and the reparation to be granted to the victims, are not yet settled; the third, that of the modifications to be introduced into the organization of the Lebanon, has hardly been entered upon in the confidential discussions. In one word, the principal difficulties, the solution of which appeared necessary to allow of the populations being restored to tolerable conditions of existence, remain almost untouched.

If from these special points one passes to the examination of the general state of affairs, is it possible to derive from thence a feeling of confidence sufficiently strong for us to accept the declarations of the Ottoman Plenipotentiary, and admit that Syria is not menaced with the outburst of a fresh crisis? At Damascus, the Mussulmans do not conceal either their resentment or their hopes, and the Christians, in face of the menaces of which they are the object, think only of fleeing from their devastated hearths and gaining the towns of the coast. The Druses of the Lebanon who, to the number of 3,000 capable of bearing arms,

have found means to traverse the Turkish lines, and unite themselves to their co-religionists of the Hauran, are openly preparing for the strife, and contracting alliances with the Arabs and the Metualis. Already they are invading the villages of the plain up to the gates of Damascus, and their incursions meet with no obstacle. Security, but a security destined to vanish with its pledge, reigns only in those parts of the Mountain where we are. Everywhere else fear and hatred have preserved the same degree of intensity, and fearful misery is increasing still further the agitation of men's minds.

I abstain from inquiring whether the Ottoman authorities have done all that depended on them to remedy such a state of things, and prefer simply to inquire into the means at present at her disposal for averting the dangers which I foresee; and here also I arrive at a different conclusion from that of the Plenipotentiary of Turkey. I do not blame the intentions of the Porte, and I render homage to the Sultan's sentiments; but we are here dealing with a question of fact, and without recurring to the melancholy instances of complicity which signalized the late events, it is allowable to ask whether an army insufficient in number, as is even confessed by its Chief, to reach the Druses in their refuge of the Hauran—having, from religious causes, more sympathy with the menacing than the menaced portion of the population, and, as it is useless to conceal, thirty months in arrear of pay—can be offered to Europe, under such critical circumstances, as constituting alone a guarantee of order and tranquillity. The accompanying copy of a despatch from our Consul at Damascus makes it unnecessary for me to dilate further on this subject. I will mention, however, the interests and the apprehensions of the foreign commercial body of which our Consul at Beyrout speaks, in the report also sent herewith.

Such, M. le Comte, is the picture of the existing state of affairs in Syria, as appears from the most recent reports received by the Government of the Emperor. I do not wish to maintain that the other Powers are bound to accept, without verifying them by their own, the data transmitted to us by our Agents; but neither could it be expected of us that we should reject their judgment, nor be contested that grave presumptions authorize us in declaring that order and peace, in our most sincere opinion, are not re-established among the populations of Syria, according to the formal wish expressed in the preamble of the Convention of the 5th of September.

Would the prolongation which the Ottoman Plenipotentiary shows himself disposed to propose to his Court, at the request of the Conference, sensibly modify the position of affairs? The Government of the Emperor thinks not. In its opinion, the accomplishment of the task of justice and reformation confided to the International Commission, and the conclusion of a fresh agreement of the Powers with the Porte on the subject of the organization of the Mountain of the Lebanon, could alone furnish to Europe the moral guarantee which it requires before renouncing, with perfect security of conscience, the material guarantee which it expected to find in the dispatch of a force of foreign troops to Syria. An extension fixed immutably at six months does not permit a hope of this result being attained; and if the European occupation is not to last until its object is gained, we do not see, as far as concerns us, any plausible reason for demanding its prolongation. The Government of the Emperor, in fact, seeks for itself no object of special advantage in Syria, and its political interests are neither greater nor less than those of its allies.

Our conviction is that a fresh agreement would be as necessary to-day as at the period when the first was concluded. For the good of the populations, for that of the Porte as well as for that of the Cabinets so directly interested in there not arising any incidents in the East to augment the difficulties of their general policy, we are firmly of opinion that it would be a very grave matter to leave to chance a question of which a feeling of foresight and humanity should counsel, as we think, the investigation and solution by common arrangement.

Such is, M. le Comte, the opinion which I shall state in the approaching Conference. I shall, moreover, be careful to recall the fact that the Government of the Emperor, when it accepted the task which the Powers devolved upon it, expressed regret that they did not participate in it on the same footing; and I shall add that we should consider it essentially desirable that other troops should be joined with ours in order to give to the occupying force a truly European character, and to afford it the power of finishing with promptitude, and under sure conditions of success, the work which it has commenced. If our allies

do not think that they can share this view, if the Sublime Porte repels it, when the Convention of the 5th of September has arrived at its term it will be my duty to declare that the Government of the Emperor, in execution of an engagement from which the unanimous accord of the Contracting Powers could alone have had the power to relieve it, does not intend to delay the departure of its troops beyond the time necessary to effect it, and declines, for its part, the responsibility of events.

You are authorized, M. le Comte, to read this despatch to Lord John Russell.

Receive, &c.
(Signed) THOUVENEL.

No. 324.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 27, 1861.

THE French Ambassador read to me yesterday a despatch from M. Thouvenel on the affairs of Syria.

M. Thouvenel relates what took place in the Conference, and states that the Ottoman Ambassador declared his Sovereign to be ready to answer at present for the tranquillity of Syria, but that he was prepared to refer to Constantinople a proposal for the prolongation of the occupation till the 1st of May.

M. Thouvenel proceeds to give various reasons why this prolongation for this term would be deemed quite insufficient by the French Government. He dwells at length on the danger of massacre, the apprehensions felt by the commercial classes, English as well as others, the shortcomings of the Commission, and the absence of any government in the Mountain.

The despatch proceeds to say that the Emperor is willing to agree to the combination of Austrian, Russian, Prussian, or British troops, with those of France in Syria. But that if no agreement can be arrived at he would conform to the terms of the Convention of September, and order the immediate evacuation of Syria by his troops.

There are two conclusions which may be fairly deduced from this despatch. The first is, that France is perfectly willing that the foreign occupation of Syria should be European, furnished, in short, by a mixed force, and not one exclusively French. The second is, that the occupation contemplated is one of indefinite duration. Its continuance is to depend on uncertain contingencies: the agreement of five or six Commissioners of different nations; their skill in organising a Government; the efficiency of the Turkish authorities; the peaceable disposition of Maronites and Druses towards each other.

There appear to Her Majesty's Government insuperable objections to such an arrangement. The Maronites and Druses are two fierce tribes who are constantly indulging their implacable hatred against each other. The Maronites have killed in cold blood in the last few months a number of Druse men, women, and children. The Druses revenge themselves by sacking and burning a Maronite village. What is a foreign force to do in these circumstances? If the Commander undertakes to try and punish the offenders, he assumes all the duties and responsibilities of the internal administration of the province. If he refrains from interference, the foreign occupation is justly charged with leaving crime and outrage unpunished.

Another fatal objection to this course is, that the authority of the Sultan is gradually weakened to such a degree that it can never be restored: The Sultan, no doubt, felt this danger when he directed his Ambassador to ask for the evacuation.

Her Majesty's Government were quite ready to concur with the Ottoman Ambassador in prolonging the European occupation to the 1st of May. They are willing to admit that the present suggestion of the Imperial Government excludes any suspicion that France wishes her own troops alone to occupy Syria.

But seeing all the evils of an indefinite occupation by foreign troops, they

prefer, without hesitation, the immediate evacuation according to the terms of the Convention of the 5th September to that indefinite occupation.

Her Majesty's Government have always considered the question of the Commission as a question quite separate from that of the foreign occupation.

The difficulty for the Commission is to obtain unanimity, and if that is required, no time can be fixed when it may be obtained.

But if M. Thouvenel will agree that a majority shall bind the minority, the business of the Commission may be finished in a fortnight. The sentence upon the Druses has been pronounced, and the executions of Damascus need not be revived.

It would be a task beyond the power of any Commission to appease the hatreds of Maronites and Druses. But the fear of a renewed occupation will act as well upon the Turkish authorities as upon the hostile tribes; and the presence of the French army in Syria in 1860 will have stayed the progress of massacre, and inspired a wholesome dread for the future.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

P.S.—Your Excellency will read this despatch to M. Thouvenel, and will give him a copy of it if desired.

No. 325.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, February* 28, 1861.

ON reading over again your Excellency's despatch of the 19th instant, I have to say that Her Majesty's Government will not object to fix the duration of the Convention to the 1st of May, it being understood that the Commission are to decide forthwith by a majority as to the future government of the Lebanon; and that, if necessary, the Conference may meet again in April, in order to receive the Report of the Commission.

No. 326.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 2.)

(Extract.) *Paris, March* 1, 1861.

I HAD the honour to receive this morning your Lordship's despatches of the 27th and 28th ultimo, relative to the Syrian question.

I read the former of these, as desired, to M. Thouvenel, and at his request have furnished him with a copy of it.

M. Thouvenel said that he concurred in your Lordship's opinion that it would be exceedingly difficult to obtain unanimity of sentiment among the members of the Commission sitting at Beyrout. He could not, he continued, desire M. Béclard to submit to the decision of the majority on points on which he entertained a conscientious opinion, but he had written to him to say that as it was not the Beyrout Commission which was to settle the future government of the Lebanon, their province being confined to offering advice with respect to it, it was not in his judgment necessary that their Report should represent an unanimous conclusion. All that M. Béclard need do would be to state his own opinions in the Report. The Report might then be sent to Constantinople, and he had no doubt that the Porte and the Representatives of the Great Powers would soon settle the points on which there might be a difference of feeling among the Commissioners.

With respect to the main question at issue, namely, the evacuation of Syria, M. Thouvenel said that as soon as the other Representatives should be in possession of their new instructions he would summon another Conference, but he gave me to understand that his own occupations, and the necessity of attending the discussions in the Senate, would retard the reassembling of the Conference

until the middle of next week, and he expressed the hope that this delay would not be objected to by your Lordship.

No. 327.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, March* 2, 1861.

THERE seems no reason for prolonging the foreign occupation for a definite time, if at the end of that time the question is to recur in the same shape in which it now stands. It appears, therefore, to Her Majesty's Government that the better course will be to abide by the Convention as it stands.

The opinion of the Turkish Government has already been stated. The Sultan has declared, through his Representative at Paris, that His Imperial Majesty is ready to undertake the protection of the inhabitants of the Lebanon of all races and creeds.

Such being the case, and the proposal for a prolongation to the 1st of May having been rejected by M. Thouvenel at the last Conference, your Excellency is instructed not to agree to any prolongation of the occupation sanctioned by the Convention of the 5th of September.

No. 328.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 2, 1861.

WITH reference to my despatch of this date, relating to the evacuation of Syria, your Excellency is instructed to say that the arrangements to be made for the evacuation of Syria will, of course, require a month or six weeks before the evacuation can be complete.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 329.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 2, 1861.

IT appears from your Lordship's telegram of the 25th ultimo, which reached me this morning, that you had come to the conclusion that the evidence produced on the trial of Said Bey Djumblat at Beyrout had failed to establish his guilt.

In such a state of things I cannot doubt that your Lordship would have interposed to prevent the execution of the sentence of death passed upon that Chief by the Tribunal by which he was tried; and Her Majesty's Government trust that your efforts, although made on your own responsibility, will have proved successful.

I think it nevertheless right to instruct you, without a moment's delay, to insist with Fuad Pasha that Said Bey Djumblat shall not be executed.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 330.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 2, 1861.

IT appears from a telegram of the 25th ultimo, which reached me this morning, that Lord Dufferin had come to the conclusion that the evidence

produced on the trial of Said Bey Djumblat at Beyrout had failed to establish his guilt.

In such a state of things I cannot doubt that Lord Dufferin will have interposed to prevent the execution of the sentence of death passed upon that Chief by the Tribunal by which he was tried; and Her Majesty's Government trust that his efforts, although made on his own responsibility, will have proved successful.

I have thought it nevertheless right to instruct Lord Dufferin, without a moment's delay, to insist with Fuad Pasha that Said Bey Djumblat shall not be executed; and your Excellency, as I have already instructed you by telegraph to do, will make a communication to the same effect to the Porte.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 331.

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 4.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, February* 28, 1861.

SHORTLY after receiving your Lordship's telegram of the 23rd instant, I met Count Rechberg, and told his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government agreed with the Austrian Government, that it was for the Porte to decide as to the necessity of a prolonged occupation of Syria. I also stated to his Excellency that if the occupation were continued till the 1st of June, it should be done under conditions, and with a view to the complete restoration of the Sultan's authority in Syria.

Count Rechberg, who had been most anxious to know the opinion of Her Majesty's Government on the point that had given rise to discussion in the Conference at Paris, was much pleased to learn the identity of the views of the two Governments in the present phase of the Syrian question.

No. 332.

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 4.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, March* 2, 1861.

THE Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, the French Minister at this Court, has communicated to Baron Schleinitz a despatch from his Government referring to the discussion which had taken place at the late Conference held at Paris with respect to the prolonged occupation of Syria, and explaining the grounds on which the French Government proposed that measure.

In conversing with Baron Schleinitz on this question, his Excellency remarked that there were two points on which the Prussian Cabinet agreed with Her Majesty's Government, and that there were two points wherein they concurred with the French Government.

The two former were:—

1. They considered that a strictly-defined limit should be assigned to that occupation; and,

2. That the decision with respect to the prolonged occupation must be determined by unanimity, and not by the majority of the votes, in the Conference.

Baron Schleinitz further maintains the opinion that the occupation cannot be prolonged without the consent of the Sultan.

The two points in which the Prussian Government concur with France are:—

1. They recognize a connection between the Commission and the Convention, both tending to the same end, namely, the pacification of Syria, the one in a moral, the latter in a physical, sense; and,

2. They are of opinion that the occupation cannot at present cease without inspiring danger for the peace and security of that province.

No. 333.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 6, 1861.

I TRANSMIT, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch from Thouvenel to M. de Flahault,* which is referred to in my instruction to Earl Cowley of the 27th of February, of which I sent you a copy in my despatch of the 28th of February.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 334.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, March* 6, 1861.

I UNDERSTAND from the Count de Flahault that M. Thouvenel proposes to assemble the Conference on Saturday or Monday. I will give your Excellency to-morrow, by messenger, precise instructions as to the course you are to pursue in that Conference.

No. 335.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, March* 7, 1861.

THE Count de Flahault called upon me yesterday at the Foreign Office, and communicated to me the views of the Imperial Government respecting the occupation of Syria.

If I rightly understood those views they are to the following effect. M. Thouvenel considers that the British and Ottoman Government propose:—

1. That the term of the foreign occupation shall be fixed and definite, instead of being contingent and uncertain.

2. That the term of evacuation shall not be later than the 1st of May.

M. Thouvenel is ready to agree to the first of these conditions, provided that the term fixed by the second should be extended so far as to afford a reasonable prospect of the completion of the organization of the Lebanon, which has been entrusted to the Commission at Beyrout.

M. Thouvenel therefore proposes that the period of evacuation shall be extended to the 5th of June.

It appears from your telegram that the Turkish Ambassador at Paris has instructions to agree to this extension, if it is clearly stipulated that the evacuation shall have taken place by that time, and if this proposal shall have the concurrence of Her Majesty's Government.

The Austrian Minister, Count Rechberg, is willing to admit a prolongation which will have the sanction of the territorial Sovereign, the Sultan.

Baron Schleinitz informs Her Majesty's Government that M. Thouvenel stated to the Prussian Minister at Paris that there would be no objection to insert in the fresh Convention a formula providing that the preparations for evacuation shall commence in May, so as to be completed by the 5th of June. Baron Schleinitz considers that the French Government evince, by this proposal, an accommodating spirit.

All these circumstances have been carefully weighed by Her Majesty's Government. They consider that if the vague and indefinite proposal made by M. Thouvenel is changed into one of a fixed and positive character, and the change of period is not greater than from the 1st of May to the 5th of June, the main object of the British and Turkish Governments will be gained. It is to be observed that without any new stipulations the execution of the provisions of the 5th of September could hardly be carried into effect before the end of April or the beginning of May. They desire, moreover, to co-operate, as far as possible, with the Powers of Europe, and to show on their side a conciliatory disposition.

* No. 323.

I have to instruct you, therefore, to be prepared to accede to the proposal of the French Government, provided it is expressed in clear and precise terms; and provided that by no condition, direct or indirect, expressed or implied, it is to be agreed to, or understood to be agreed to, that the fulfilment of the positive engagement that the evacuation is to be completed by the 5th of June is to depend upon anything other than a faithful and honourable execution of the words of the Convention.

No. 336.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 8.)

(Extract.) *Paris, March 7, 1861.*

I HAD the honour to inform your Lordship by telegram early yesterday morning, that M. Thouvenel had stated that the Porte was willing to consent to the prolongation of the occupation of Syria to the 5th of June next.

Later yesterday I saw Vefyk Efendi. He read me an instruction which had just reached him from Constantinople, of which the inclosed is the translation.

Inclosure in No. 336.

Aali Pasha to Vefyk Effendi.

(Traduction du Turc.)

LE Gouvernement Ottoman n'a jamais compris l'utilité de réunir la Conférence pour examiner la question de l'embarquement des troupes ; et encore moins celle des travaux de la Commission. Nous ne consentirons jamais que les affaires de la Commission entrent d'aucune manière dans la question de Convention. Si cependant il n'est pas possible de s'arranger autrement pour éviter d'en venir au point d'une rupture il faudrait s'entendre pour une nouvelle Convention pour le nouveau délai sur le commencement du mois de Juin, mais sans jamais s'engager à une nouvelle réunion de Conférence, à aucune condition regardant les travaux de la Commission. Il faudra clairement stipuler pour que l'évacuation sera exécutée le 5 Juin définitivement.

(Translation.)

THE Ottoman Government has never understood the utility of calling together the Conference in order to examine the question of the embarkation of the troops; and still less that of the labours of the Commission.

We shall never consent to the affairs of the Commission entering in any way into the question of a Convention. Nevertheless, if no other arrangement can be made to avoid a rupture, it would be necessary to come to an understanding as regards a new Convention for a fresh extension of time till the beginning of the month of June, but without agreeing at all to a new assembling of the Conference, in any way respecting the labours of the Commission. It ought clearly to be stipulated that the evacuation be effected definitively by the 5th of June.

No. 337.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 8.)

(Extract.) *Paris, March 7, 1861.*

WHILE with M. Thouvenel upon other business this morning, his Excellency said that he had received a telegram yesterday evening from M. de

Flahault, stating that Her Majesty's Government were not indisposed to accept the term of the 5th of June for the final evacuation of Syria, and that your Lordship desired that the Conference should not meet before Monday, in order that you might have time to furnish me with fresh instructions.

I replied, that your Lordship had also informed me that I might expect instructions upon the subject very shortly.

M. Thouvenel went on to say, that he had every reason to believe that the Porte would consent to adopt the period of the 5th of June.

I replied that my instructions, up to the present moment, precluded my assenting to any longer delay in the evacuation than the 1st of May, and I felt quite certain that if Her Majesty's Government were disposed to consent to any further delay, it would only be under a distinct engagement that at the period fixed the troops of occupation shall have been actually withdrawn. To such an engagement, however, M. Thouvenel does not seem to be willing to subscribe. He said that he had drawn up a project of Convention. This Convention would be a short one. The Preamble would state that the Powers interested, after an exchange of opinions, had resolved, on the proposal of the Porte, that the occupation should be prolonged for three months, *i.e.*, to the 5th of June, "époque à laquelle l'évacuation devra être effectuée." I remarked that the word "devra" was hardly conclusive enough to my mind. Did M. Thouvenel, I asked, understand by it that the troops were actually to be gone from Syria on the 5th of June?

M. Thouvenel said, "My meaning is this. You want a final period fixed at which our troops are to withdraw. We, on the other hand, want the security of a settled Government in the Lebanon before the evacuation takes place. We do not doubt that within three months such a Government can be installed. It may, however, be a few days sooner or a few days later. Provided, then, that our transports are on the coast of Syria by the 5th of June, and that we thus give an earnest of our intentions of withdrawing, we ought not to be tied to a day. You, however, wish for a positive engagement that our troops shall be withdrawn at a certain date. You have that engagement in the new Convention, which you can enforce when you please. That is your security. But we can put nothing more positive into the Convention than what I have stated to you, nor can we, under any circumstances, bind ourselves not to summon the Conference again."

I thought it my duty, under the instructions which I possess, to express to M. Thouvenel my conviction that the proposal which he had made would not be satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government. I would say no more for the present, I added, as to-morrow or next day I should probably be in possession of your Lordship's instructions. At all events, I said, the Conference had better not meet before Monday.

No. 338.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 8, 1861.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatches of yesterday, reporting your further communications with M. Thouvenel and the Turkish Ambassador respecting Syria; and I have to state to you, in reply, that I have at present nothing to add to the instructions which I addressed to you yesterday on that ubject.

Her Majesty's Government canot assent to the occupation of Syria by French troops on terms less stringent than those which are stated in that instruction.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 339.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, March* 9, 1861.

THE Count de Flahault has been with me this morning. He stated that the only point of importance in our view of the Syrian question was the evacuation at a fixed date, and that the reasons upon which M. Thouvenel founded his consent to a fixed date did not concern us.

I said the only thing to which I had instructed you to hold firmly was the clear and positive designation of the day, namely, the 5th of June, upon which the French troops shall have evacuated Syria.

No. 340.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 11.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, February* 27, 1861.

IN obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 14th instant, I have acquainted the Porte with Her Majesty's intention to station a squadron on the coast of Syria from the 1st of May of this year till the end of the summer.

I added, that it is proposed to renew the discretionary power given to the Admiral to land Marines in the case of urgent danger of massacre of British subjects, or of the Christian population.

Aali Pasha received this communication very favourably, and authorized me to assure Her Majesty's Government that the Sultan would view the intended measure as a fresh proof of the goodwill entertained by Great Britain towards this country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

No. 341.

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 11.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 9, 1861.

BARON SCHLEINITZ informed me on Wednesday last, that he had received information on the Syrian question from Paris of a very conciliatory and satisfactory nature, which led him to believe that the French Government would agree to such an arrangement as would be satisfactory to all parties.

His Excellency stated, that in conversation with Count Pourtalés, M. de Thouvenel had expressed himself as willing to agree to a prolonged French occupation of Syria for three months, that is, until the 1st of June next.

Count Pourtalés hereupon had suggested the insertion of a clause in the new Convention, providing that at the expiration of the period fixed, the evacuation should take place, to which proposal M. de Thouvenel stated it as his opinion that there would be no objection.

Count Pourtalés further suggested that some formula might be agreed upon, to be inserted in the Convention, stating that the preparation for the evacuation should commence in May, so as to be completed by the 1st of June, and to admit of the evacuation being strictly carried out in accordance with the Convention.

To this latter suggestion Baron Schleinitz informs me that M. de Thouvenel did not raise any objection, although I have since heard from his Excellency that no formal assent to it was expressed by the French Minister.

Baron Schleinitz requested me to lose no time in submitting this proposal to Her Majesty's Government, stating that he was ready to bring it forward in the Conference if it should meet with their assent and concurrence.

I accordingly transmitted the substance of Baron Schleinitz's proposal to your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No 342.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 11.)

(Extract.) *Paris, March* 10, 1861.

YESTERDAY being Council day, M. Thouvenel was unable to receive me until late in the afternoon, when I stated to him the decision at which Her Majesty's Government had arrived in consequence of the last communication of M. de Flahault, and the nature of the engagements which Her Majesty's Government expected the French Government to take if Her Majesty's Government were to consent to the prolongation of the occupation of Syria to the 5th of June.

M. Thouvenel said that he must decline to agree to it.

A lengthened conversation ensued between us; M. Thouvenel arguing that to accept the proposal of Her Majesty's Government would be tantamount to declaring that, under no possible contingencies, could the occupation of Syria be prolonged, an engagement, he said, into which no French Minister could enter. He had no objection to assign in a Convention a final term to the occupation, but he would not debar himself the right of proposing a Conference at a later period, with a view of prolonging the occupation should events arise which in his opinion might render it necessary; but he conceived that by adopting your Lordship's proposal he should preclude himself from taking such a course.

I observed to M. Thouvenel in reply that what Her Majesty's Government desired to be assured of was, that three months hence they would not be subjected to the same discussion as was pursuing now, in order to obtain the fulfilment of the new Convention, if one was to be signed. With regard to the convocation of a Conference hereafter, I could see nothing, I said, in the words of your Lordship's proposal which would preclude his Excellency, as he supposed, from taking such a step, it being of course understood that the Powers were free to accept or reject the proposal, were it to be made to them.

M. Thouvenel then read me the project of a Convention which he had communicated to Vefyk Efendi, and which he considered might be agreed to by all parties, whatever might be their separate motives of action. As his Excellency permitted me to take a copy of it, your Lordship will find it inclosed.

I remarked at once that the expression "époque à laquelle l'évacuation doive s'effectuer" was so vague that I was certain Her Majesty's Government would not accept it. It implied, moreover, that the evacuation was not to commence until after the 5th of June, whereas the proposal of Her Majesty's Government provided for its accomplishment at or before that date. M. Thouvenel argued that if the occupation was to be prolonged for three months, the evacuation ought only to commence after the expiration of those three months. I asked him, premising, however, that he must not consider my question as implying any, the slightest, acquiescence in his notions, how soon after the 5th of June he considered that the evacuation could be completed. He replied that if the transports were all ready (and their being upon the spot towards the end of May he said would be an earnest of the intentions of the French Government) he had learnt from the Minister of War and Marine that ten days would suffice

to embark the troops, and he asked me whether Her Majesty's Government would be satisfied if that were to be stated in the Convention. Still maintaining the same reserves, I said that I should certainly prefer that he should make his project of Convention as stringent as possible, in other words that it should contain the deliberate intentions of the Imperial Government. M. Thouvenel then made the alteration which your Lordship will find in the inclosed document in red ink.* I have no doubt that I could have obtained a stronger wording of the phrase in question, but in presence of your Lordship's positive instructions and unwilling to give M. Thouvenel the slightest hope that your Lordship would depart from them, I considered it better to leave the matter entirely in the hands of Her Majesty's Government.

I am not sure, indeed, whether your Lordship will approve my having consented to be the medium of M. Thouvenel's communication, so positive are your last instructions to me as to the decision taken by Her Majesty's Government. I have, however, acted to the best of my judgment, and I must rely on your Lordship's indulgence should you consider me to have exceeded the bounds of discretion.

Inclosure in No. 342.

Project of Convention communicated to Vefyk Efendi by M. Thouvenel.

LEURS Majestés

[*après les explications échangées entre leurs Gouvernements respectifs*] s'étant entendus pour modifier d'un commun accord l'Article V de la Convention signée entre elles le 5 Septembre dernier, ont nommé à cet effet pour leurs Plénipotentiaires, savoir :—

Lesquels . . . . sont convenus de l'Article suivant :

Le terme de l'occupation Européenne en Syrie, qui avait été fixé à six mois dans l'Article V de la Convention du 5 Septembre dernier, est prolongé de trois mois jusqu'au 5 Juin de la présente année ; époque à laquelle l'évacuation doive s'effectuer [*et l'évacuation devra être effectuée le* 15 *du même mois*].

(Translation.)

THEIR Majesties

[*after the explanations exchanged by their respective Governments*], having come to an understanding to modify with one accord Article V of the Convention signed by them the 5th of last September, have named for this purpose as their Plenipotentiaries :—

Which said are agreed upon the following Article :—

The term of the European occupation in Syria, which had been fixed at six months in Article V of the Convention of the 5th of last September, is prolonged for three months till the 5th of June of the present year ; the period when the evacuation must be completed [*and the evacuation must be effected by the* 15*th of the same month*].

No. 343.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 11, 1861.

HER Majesty's Government have learnt with painful surprise, from your Excellency's despatch of yesterday, that a still further postponement of the European evacuation of Syria is now proposed by M. Thouvenel.

* The passages are printed in italics, in brackets.

Your Excellency has reported, and Her Majesty's Government have received from Constantinople, the expression of the Porte's desire that the evacuation should take place at the end of the six months stipulated by the Convention. The Sultan has declared himself ready to answer for the tranquillity of Syria.

Her Majesty's Government, on their part, consider that the cause of humanity suffers by the desultory murders of men, women, and children of the Druse tribes by the Maronites, under cover of the French occupation. They fear that these murders may lead either to a fearful retaliation, or to the extermination of the Druses.

Nevertheless, at the instance of the French Government, Her Majesty has consented to a prolongation of the European occupation, first from the 5th of March to the middle of April; then to the 1st of May; and latterly, in consequence of the importunities of the French Ambassador at Constantinople, the Sublime Porte has agreed to a further stay of the French troops, provided that Syria is entirely evacuated by them on the 5th of June.

But there must be some end of these concessions. Her Majesty's Government will by no means consent to an European occupation later than the 5th of June. Any occupation of Syria by French troops beyond that day will be considered by Her Majesty's Government as a breach of faith, against which it will be your duty formally to protest. You will, therefore, endeavour, in Conference, to obtain a new Convention, according to which the evacuation shall have been completed on or before the 5th of June.

I observe there appears to be some disposition on the part of M. Thouvenel to make a difference between the duration of the Convention and the actual evacuation. He appears to think that as the Convention bears date on the 5th of September, the prolongation should bear date the 5th of June, and the evacuation ought only to commence when the new Convention shall expire.

Her Majesty's Government did not act towards France in this spirit. Let us look to the facts.

M. de Persigny informed me on the 19th of July, of the proposal of France to send European troops to Syria. I communicated to M. de Persigny on the same day, after consulting the Cabinet, the acquiescence of Her Majesty's Government in the substance of the proposal. The Protocol was signed on the 3rd of August; it was agreed that orders for the departure of the troops should be sent, and M. Thouvenel wrote to the Minister of War on the 4th of August. By the 28th of August, the main body of the French troops had landed in Syria. The "Ganges," with 500 men, which had been detained by the weather, arrived at Beyrout on the 2nd of September, three days before the signature, and forty-six days before the ratification, of the Convention. Such was the confidence shown by Great Britain in the good faith of France.

Her Majesty's Government entirely approve of your Excellency's language to M. Thouvenel, as reported in your despatch of yesterday.

Your Excellency will take care that in any words which may be substituted, the object which Her Majesty's Government have in view, namely, the complete evacuation of Syria on the 5th of June next, shall be secured.

In regard to the Convention, Her Majesty's Government would agree to M. Thouvenel's words, excepting "époque à laquelle l'évacuation doive s'effectuer," which, as your Excellency observes, are vague and indefinite.

If these attempts at conciliation should fail, your Excellency will call upon the French Government to fulfil without delay the conditions of the Convention of the 5th of September last.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 344.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 11.)

(Extract.) *Paris, March 10, 1861.*

I WAS somewhat astonished to see in your Lordship's despatch of the 7th instant, that M. de Schleinitz had informed Her Majesty's Government that M. Thouvenel had stated to the Prussian Minister at Paris that there would be no objection to insert in the fresh Convention for the prolonged occupation of Syria, a formula, providing that the preparations for evacuation shall commence in May so as to be completed by the 5th of June; for my relations with Count Pourtalès have been uninterrupted, and he had never alluded with me to anything of the kind.

On my mentioning the matter to him yesterday, he said that M. de Schleinitz had been too positive in his assertion, for that he (Count Pourtalès) had never stated more than that he thought it might be possible to obtain some such declaration from M. Thouvenel. He added that there had been a moment when he had hoped that M. Thouvenel would have consented to this solution of the Syrian question.

As to M. Thouvenel, he utterly denies ever having entertained an idea of the kind.

No. 345.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 12.)

(Extract.) *Paris, March 11, 1861.*

I SAW M. Thouvenel this afternoon. He was ready, as Her Majesty's Government insisted upon it, to agree that the evacuation shall be terminated on the 5th of June; but Her Majesty's Government had no right, in his opinion, to stipulate more than this.

After stating this he said that he would send a Draft of Convention to-night to M. de Flahault for your Lordship's consideration, and you might introduce modifications into it if you pleased.

I have also endeavoured, on my part, to frame a Draft of Convention as near as possible to what I imagine M. Thouvenel will consent.

This project is inclosed herewith. It has not been seen by M. Thouvenel, because I would not take any step with him which would involve the least departure from my instructions.

Inclosure in No. 345.

Draft of Convention prepared by Earl Cowley.

ARTICLE I.

LA durée de l'occupation Européenne en Syrie sera prolongée jusqu'au 5 Juin de la présente année, époque à laquelle il est entendu entre les Hautes Parties Contractantes qu'elle aura atteint son terme définitif et que l'évacuation aura été effectuée.

ARTICLE II.

Les stipulations contenues dans la deuxième Article de la Convention du 5 Septembre, 1860, en tant qu'elles n'ont point encore été exécutées ou qu'elles

ne sont pas modifiées par la présente Convention, demeureront en force pendant la période qui s'écoulera entre la date de la signature de la dite Convention et le 5 Juin de la présente année.

ARTICLE III.

Le présente, &c., &c.

(Translation.)

ARTICLE I.

THE duration of the European occupation in Syria shall be prolonged till the 5th of June of the present year, the time when it is understood between the High Contracting Powers that it shall have reached its definite termination, and that the evacuation shall have been effected.

ARTICLE II.

The stipulations contained in the second Article of the Convention of the 5th of September, 1860, as far as they have not yet been executed, or been modified by the present Convention, shall remain in force during the period between the date of the signature of the said Convention and the 5th of June of the present year.

ARTICLE III.

The present, &c., &c.

No. 346.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 13.

(Extract.) *Paris, March* 12, 1861.

I HAD the honour to receive this morning your Lordship's despatch of yesterday's date, informing me that Her Majesty's Government must continue to insist on the evacuation of Syria by the 5th of June, but stating that, with regard to the Convention proposed by M. Thouvenel, of which a copy was inclosed in my despatch of the 10th instant, Her Majesty's Government would not refuse to agree to it, provided the evacuation at the period above-mentioned was to be positively assured by an alteration of the concluding phrase.

Your Lordship will have learnt from my despatch of yesterday's date, that M. Thouvenel had consented to make the 5th of June the period at which the European occupation of Syria shall cease, and the evacuation shall have been effected, but that he would not agree to any stipulation respecting the destination of the troops after they should have been re-embarked. I felt confident, then, that the two Articles which I had the honour to submit in that despatch for your Lordship's consideration would meet with his concurrence, and, as my last instructions gave me latitude to come to an understanding with his Excellency, I took them to him this morning, hoping to be able to report to your Lordship that, by their acceptance, the Conference would meet, and this question be set at rest.

In order, however, that Her Majesty's Government might remain supreme arbiters in case of any further difficulty, I was careful to tell M. Thouvenel that I was acting under general instructions, which allowed me to seek the means of reconciling the objection of the French Government to the wording of the Draft Convention proposed by Her Majesty's Government with the requirement of Her Majesty's Government that the Convention should contain a positive declaration that Syria should be evacuated on the 5th of June, and that I had accordingly framed the Articles as closely as possible to those proposed by Her Majesty's

Government, but without containing the words at which M. Thouvenel had taken objection.

I regret to say that my expectations were disappointed. M. Thouvenel took exception to the clause, "L'occupation aura atteint son terme définitif," which he said bound the French Government too strongly, but he offered no objection to the rest.

I said then to M. Thouvenel that I could not make any further concessions, and, taking your Lordship's despatch as my text, I contrasted the conduct of Majesty's Government in this business with that of the French Government, and I said that I should be perfectly prepared to submit the one and the other to the impartial judgment of Europe.

M. Thouvenel then said that he would take the Emperor's orders; that in the meantime he should probably learn from M. de Flahault the result of the interview which that Ambassador would no doubt have had with your Lordship to-day, and that he would give me an answer to-morrow.

No. 347.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 13.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, February* 15, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 347.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, February* 12, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Fuad Pasha has just communicated to me a copy of the Porte's project for the future government of Syria, and I certainly agree with your Excellency in thinking the plan liable to grave objections. In fact, I have little hesitation in saying that the half-measures it proposes will prove very insufficient to guarantee the future tranquillity of the country, while they will certainly fail to restore the confidence of the Christian population.

After a long and arduous study of the necessities of the province, arising out of its geographical position, the multiplicity of the fanatical sects which compose its population, and the peculiarities which distinguish the Arab races from the other inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire, a firm conviction has impressed itself on the minds of the European Commissioners that the only prospect of creating a strong government for Syria consists in the centralization of the local Pashalics, in the de-centralization of the province, and in the individual responsibility of a single Governor.

The proposal of the Porte is in direct opposition to these three principles. Beyrout and Damascus are retained as separate head-quarters, and each is made equally dependent on Constantinople, while the Military Commander of the forces remains independent of either.

Now, it is to this very system that the late catastrophe in the Mountain may be in some degree attributed. If there be any excuse for Khoorshid Pasha's conduct, it is to be found in the fact that Ahmed Pasha, Governor of Damascus and Mushir of Arabistan, was his enemy. Tahir Pasha, the Military Commander

at Beyrout, and all the officers in garrison at Deir-el-Kamar and Bteddin, were under the Mushir's orders.

The bad understanding which is known to have existed between Khoorshid Pasha and Tahir Pasha was the natural consequence of this circumstance, and may have impeded, as is warmly asserted by one of my colleagues, the action of the Pasha of Beyrout, and thus contributed to the massacres.

At all events, it is very certain that the present scheme is simply a continuation of the old state of things, with the addition of a system of representative Medjlis, and the occasional visit of an Inspector-General.

It remains to be considered whether these new institutions afford countervailing securities. I confess, that as far as my limited experience enables me to judge, it seems to me they do not.

In these countries, the efficiency of a Medjlis depends to a great extent on the character of the person who presides over it. If its proceedings are conducted under the auspices of an ill-disposed official, the members are more likely to become his accomplices than sureties for his good conduct, while the partnership thus established serves only to relieve him from all responsibility.

To the second expedient of an annual visit by a high dignitary of the Porte, I am disposed to attach still less importance. Such personages have already appeared from time to time on the stage of Syrian affairs, and our Blue Books are filled with no very encouraging records of their interference.

In some of my earlier despatches, I ventured to mention to your Excellency that it was difficult to foresee how the future security of the Christians in Syria was ever to be maintained unless guaranteed by the presence of a small European force. Subsequent reflection led me to suggest the substitution of a Governor-Generalship for so inconvenient, if not impossible, an expedient. This proposition being rejected by the Porte all my previous misgivings return, and I naturally feel anxious to guard myself against being held answerable for what may hereafter occur in this country.

In recommending Her Majesty's Government to insist on the withdrawal of the French division, I confidently looked forward to the promulgation of the new Constitution of the province as a means of checking the panic which will probably invade not only the native Christians but also the European residents of Beyrout on the announcement of General Beaufort's departure. Had it been possible to have provided against this contingency by the inauguration of a new era, and a complete change in the mode of administering the province, the alarm which I fear may now manifest itself would have been completely dissipated. As it is, I am afraid that the evacuation of Damascus by the Christians will continue, and that nothing will induce those who have left it to return. A similar movement will probably take place at Beyrout, and a general exodus from the country of those rich enough to go may be expected. This result will be considered by the Moslems of the province as a triumph, and may perhaps be viewed with indifference by the Turks; but by those who had aspired to a more satisfactory conclusion to their labours it will be felt as a disappointment.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 347.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, February* 15, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of another clause (No. 11) which has been added by the Commission to those I have already communicated to your Excellency as a commencement of the basis for our Report on the reorganization of the Lebanon.

As your Excellency will observe, the most impartial attention has been paid to the claims of all the various sects and communities inhabiting the Mountain. Although the non-Christian element forms but one-fifth of the entire population, in both Medjlises Christians and non-Christians are represented in exactly the same proportion; while the Druses, whose number, probably, does not exceed 35,000 souls, send an equal number of delegates with the Maronites, who are estimated at 150,000 souls.

It has also been agreed that inasmuch as the Protestant and Jewish Communities have been recognized by the Porte as independent Rites or Millets, a delegate from each shall have the right of sitting, both in the Judicial and in the Administrative Medjlis, whenever the interests of their respective Societies are concerned. As, however, the number of Protestants at this moment in the Lebanon does not exceed 500 or 600 persons, women and children included, and as the Jews are still less numerous, I did not think advisable to insist that they should act as more than occasional members at these Councils.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUPFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 347.

Article II of the Basis for the Future Government of Syria.

LES deux Medjlis supérieurs seront composés de douze membres, savoir: 2 Maronites, 2 Grecs Orthodoxes, 2 Grecs Catholiques, 2 Druzes, 2 Musulmans, 2 Metâualis; auxquels on adjoindra éventuellement un Réprésentant des Cultes Protestant et Israëlite, quand un membre de ces communautés aura des interêts engagés dans l'affaire portée devant l'un ou l'autre de ces deux Medjlis.

(Suivent les paraphes.)

(Translation.)

THE two Upper Medjlis shall be composed of twelve members, viz., 2 Maronites, 2 Orthodox Greeks, 2 Catholic Greeks, 2 Druses, 2 Mussulmans, 2 Metualis; to whom shall be eventually added a representative of the Protestant and Jewish faith, whenever a member of these communities shall have any interest in a matter brought before one or other of these two Medjlises.

(Here follow the signatures.)

Inclosure 4 in No. 347.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, February* 15, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that a report has just reached me that Yusef Keram, the Christian Kaimakam, has thrown into prison certain Christian notables for having addressed him as "the eminent and revered Bek," instead of as "the Majestic Bek."

I take this opportunity of transmitting a proclamation lately issued by the same functionary.

Inclosure 5 in No. 347.

Proclamation.

(Condensed translation.)

WHEREAS, the former Governors of Mount Lebanon gave special titles to certain families and individuals on account of the excellence of their services, by which they obtained also the favour of the Government. But recently these people have forgotten the good works of their forefathers, and have presumed to take upon themselves advancement and titles, since the establishment of the separate Christian Kaimakamate.

The former Kaimakams, owing to their weakness, were obliged to grant greater titles and distinctions to those who were known as intriguers, in order to gain their adhesion, which proceeding injured their security, for some people purposely resorted to agitation in order to obtain titles, so that unmerited titles were conferred on many, which has reduced Mount Lebanon to its present degraded condition.

Those who persevere in these practices in order to get advanced titles, instead of thinking of what would please the Government and her officers, and

would advance the prosperity of the inhabitants, when they saw that the compassion of our Governor had overshadowed my services by investing me with the office of Christian Kaimakam of Mount Lebanon, showed pretensions which were unpleasing, from their belief that I am not of the family of the old Kaimakams of Mount Lebanon, and was but a short time ago like unto them in position; and some of them have persuaded themselves that I ought to raise their rank above what they were before, that otherwise they will refuse obedience and cause agitation and intrigue on the plea that I am only temporary Kaimakam; so that by means of their improper proceedings either I shall be obliged to consent to their demands for advancement and outrage upon the poor, or the Government must dismiss me and give them liberty to attack and destroy, which would cause many misfortunes unnecessary to mention. It has neither occurred to them that the giving of titles is the prerogative of Government, nor that I when in a similar position to themselves and saw the ruin of the Government and the consequent ruin of the country, arrested some of the overseers and Mokâtajis, nd placed them in confinement, thus preventing them from committing depredations till the Government should be re-established, and should be in a position to consider about their punishment.

Naturally what I did at that time was with the hope that lawful justice would raise me in the eyes of the Government, and would divest me of blame; and I do this more energetically now, because I am duly appointed by Government; the temporariness of my appointment does not render me the less able to act; on the contrary it makes me more anxious to punish the refractory and those who will not know that the temporariness of my office is an act of wisdom on the part of the Government, that I may always hear the voice of dismissal in my ears, and that when I quit the service I may leave behind me a path of security to the inhabitants whom I love much more than my own advancement, and place before them new customs which they may practise everywhere, that they may rise in rank, and gain good name by merit, removing self-love and avarice, and in their stead exert themselves for the establishment of security. Such a person I should consider worthy of dignity, and I would take him as an assistant.

Some of the employés in this Kaimakamate have old superstitions; they have been arrested, and will remain until the beginning of Lent, when their conduct will be examined, and their punishment awarded.

Furthermore, I have written to all the Mokatajis, calling them "dear brothers," in the same style that their own former direct superiors wrote to them; and I will act towards them according to their doings. I shall also write to some others with the title of "dear brother," as they may deserve; and have decided henceforth not to write letters such as those past, which are humiliating to a Government officer, and which have caused some to raise themselves to a step far above their position, which they ought to have reflected on the donor, as I myself render it to my immediate superior; for which reasons I have published this proclamation. Every one will act as he may think proper, and will be dealt with accordingly, and as may be considered necessary on my part.

Be it known!

No. 348.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 13.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, February* 24, 1861.

I AM happy to inform your Lordship that the prospects of the peasantry, and their opportunities of providing for their own support, have already sufficiently improved to render it a subject of debate at the meetings of the Anglo-American Relief Committee, whether it may not be advisable to write to England to stop any further supplies of money being sent to Syria.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 349.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 13.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, February* 24, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 1st instant, instructing me that it is the wish of Her Majesty's Government that the Commission should confine their attention to the Lebanon alone; and I beg to inform your Lordship that, in compliance with your Lordship's instructions, I have already been occupying myself during the last week, and ever since the receipt of that despatch, in discussing severally with my colleagues the various combinations most suitable to the Mountain considered in its former relation to the province.

By the next post I shall be able to pronounce more definitively upon the subject, but, as far as I am able to judge at present, there are only two solutions left for us, namely, either to place the Mixed districts under the immediate control of the Turks, or to separate the populations, which might be done now without any very extreme difficulty, and create three Kaimakamships, composed respectively of none but pure Maronite, Greek, and Druse elements.

It may, however, be premature to speak upon this subject, as the constant occupation we have had in settling the affair connected with the judicial proceedings at Beyrout have prevented me paying as much attention to it as I hope to do during the ensuing week.

I fear great efforts are being made by designing persons to discourage and unsettle the population of Damascus and the Mountain.

No. 350.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 13.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, February* 24, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that having ventured to mention to a French officer attached to the Staff of General de Beaufort, that I regretted extremely more active measures should not have been taken to put a stop to the murdering of Druses by the Christians during the last six months,—that officer replied, that if upwards of 200 Druse men and women had been murdered by the Christians, at all events an equal number of Christians had been murdered during the same period by the Druses, and that he would send officers through the villages to collect the names of the victims in question.

As it may be as well at once to put this point beyond the possibility of doubt, I venture to transmit to your Lordship extracts from several private letters I have received from various persons resident in different parts of the Mountain, who are in a position to state authoritatively whether or no any assassinations have occurred during the last six months in their respective neighbourhoods.

As the area with which we are concerned is very small, and as each of these gentlemen inhabits a separate centre, there is no part of the Mountain which will remain unanswered for; and the very fact of so many of my correspondents alluding to the same circumstance will be an indication sufficient to reassure your Lordship that the news of any such event as a murder is at once known all over the country.

It only remains for me to mention the names of my informants. The first is Mr. Scott, an English silk-spinner; the next is M. Morgue, a French gentleman engaged in the same pursuit; Mr. Benton, Mr. Calhoun, and Mr. Ford are American missionaries; and Mr. Abela is Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Sidon.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 350.

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Beyrout, February* 19, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to state that when the list of Druses murdered by Christians since the military occupation of Mount Lebanon was handed to me at Mokhtarah, I requested the Christians at that place to furnish me with a similar list of Christians stated by them to have been murdered by Druses within the same period.

The highest rate at which I have ever heard these even loosely stated amounted to thirty; but to this moment no list of names has been sent to me, and an agent, whom I myself employed at that time, could not procure the names of more than three, and these without the corroborative particulars of date and place of alleged crimes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 350.

Extracts from Letters received respecting reported Murders of Christians by Druses since the Military Occupation of the Mountain.

From Mr. J. Scott, dated Shumlain, February 14:—

"You may inform Lord Dufferin that I have no knowledge of any Christian being killed by Druses since the arrival of the French military expedition in Syria.

"There was a report of a quarrel at Arsoon about some grapes, in which it was said a Maronite lost his life; but I never heard that it was authenticated."

From M. Mourgue, dated Ain Hamadé, February 14:—

"En réponse à votre billet d'hier, il n'est pas à ma connaissance qu'aucun meurtre, ni tentative de meurtre, ait été commis dans mon district, le Metn, par les Druses sur la personne de quelques Chrétiens depuis l'arrivée de MM. les Commissaires des grandes Puissances.

"L'effet moral qu'avait déjà produit l'arrivée de nos troupes s'était alors fait sentir, et le Metn plus que tout autre ne demandait que la concorde."

From Rev. J. E. Ford, dated Sidon, February 14:—

"The only case of the kind that has come to my knowledge is that of two Christians who were murdered near the village of Ashieh in Jebel Rihan about the 1st of October. According to the accounts I then heard the murderers were Druses of the Reis family, who were said to have had an old blood feud with the family of the murdered persons. I have since been told that two Arabs have been arrested on suspicion of their being the murderers."

From the Rev. S. H. Calhoun, dated Abeih, February 15:—

"In reply to your inquiry about the murders of Christians since the coming of the French military expedition, I have to say, that after taxing my own memory, and that of another, himself a Christian, I have no recollection of anything of the kind having occurred in all Lebanon, except the murder of, I believe, two Christians in the region of Jezzin, or near the village of Niha. It was said that Druses were the murderers in this case; though I afterwards heard that the guilty persons were from further south, and were perhaps Metualis. I was never able to ascertain the fact as accurately as I could wish; but I believe there was no doubt about the fact of the murder. In all this quarter I have not the slightest recollection of anything of the kind having occurred. I hold myself subject to correction in this respect."

From the Rev. W. Benton, dated Bhamdun, February 16, 1861:—

"I am happy to state, for the information of Lord Dufferin, that we have heard of no instance of any such murder.

"I have inquired of the Christians at Bhamdun repeatedly, but they have no knowledge of any cases of this description."

Inclosure 3 in No. 350.

Vice-Consul Abela to Vice-Consul Rogers.

(Translation.)

Illustrious Sir, *Saida, February* 14, 1861.

IN answer to your letter of yesterday, written to me by the order of Lord Dufferin, I have the honour to inform you that, on Saturday, the 6th of October of last year, when his Excellency Fuad Pasha was at Mokhtara, a murder was committed in the fields belonging to the Druse village Kahlunieh, which is opposite to, and at a distance of half-an-hour from, Mokhtara. Some inquiries were made, but they resulted in nothing, it not being discovered who either the murderer or the murdered man was. The supposition was that he was a Christian because some Christian charms or relics were found on the corpse; the Druses, on the other hand, pretended he was a Druse, but this was not proved before the Commission at Mokhtara.

In my letter of the 2nd of November of last year, to Mr. Consul-General Moore, I gave an account of the murder of Shahin and his brother Abdallah Nihawi in the village Ashiyeh, in the district of Aklun Rihan. At that time it was said that the said murder had been committed by the family of Beit Seif, of the village of Niha, in the district of Shuf; but subsequently I heard that the said crime has been attributed to two Bedouin, who, it is said, were captured and conducted to Mokhtara.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JACOB ABELA.

No. 351.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 13.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, February* 24, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 351.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, February* 24, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Excellency, in the form of a Minute, the substance of the observations I have felt it my duty to address to my colleagues, at one of our unofficial meetings, on the subject of the judgments proposed to be passed by the Extraordinary Tribunal of Beyrout on the Turkish and Druse prisoners accused of having countenanced or organized the late butcheries in the Mountain.

Having gone into every particular case separately, and having prefaced my opinion upon each by a general review of the whole question, I do not think I need trouble your Excellency with any explanatory remarks. I will content myself with stating that the conclusions embodied in the accompanying paper have been arrived at after the most anxious deliberation, and are certainly uninfluenced by any feelings of partiality towards any of the accused.

When I first came to this country I was under the impression of those natural sentiments of indignation which animated every one who had heard of the horrible atrocities perpetrated by the Druses on the Christians, and I fully expected that the investigation it was become my duty to pursue would only confirm my previous impressions.

To my surprise, however, I soon began to discover that the subject was more complicated than I had imagined; that there were two sides to the story; and that it was quite possible it might become necessary to modify my opinions.

In proportion as the real truth unfolded itself this conjecture became a certainty, and I am now in a position to state, without fear of contradiction, that however criminal may have been the excesses into which the Druses were subsequently betrayed, the original provocation came from the Christians, and that they are themselves, in a great measure, responsible for the torrents of blood which have been shed.

This consideration has naturally influenced the conclusions at which I have arrived regarding the prisoners referred to in the Minute, and I have thought it my duty carefully to distinguish between those who may be regarded as mere butchers and those against whom no graver allegation can be brought than that they took part in the general hostilities which were being waged thoughout the Mountain.

Unfortunately, the Turkish Tribunal has acted on a different principle, and with an indiscriminating severity, which in my opinion is quite unjustifiable. They have proposed to pronounce on the eleven Druse Sheiks, many of whom were certainly not concerned in the massacres, and all of whom voluntarily surrendered to take their trial, the same fatal verdict that they have reserved for the blood-stained murderers who have attempted to fly from justice.

Before, however, entering further into the subject, perhaps I had better recount to your Excellency the circumstances which took place at the meeting held for the purpose of discussing the Tribunal's judgments, and of drawing up the note in which our opinions upon them were to be communicated to Fuad Pasha.

Last Thursday was the day appointed; but as the business occupied the whole of yesterday's sitting as well, for the sake of brevity I will consider the two conferences as one.

I had originally proposed that, although conducted in the absence of Fuad Pasha, our proceedings should be considered official, and be recorded in a Protocol. This suggestion was first objected to, then adopted, and finally abandoned.

I will not trouble your Excellency with any minute detail of all that passed. It will be sufficient if I state the several opinions put forward by each member of the Commission.

M. Weckbecker, as our doyen, was the first to speak. He confirmed the judgment of the Court (perpetual imprisonment) in the case of Khoorshid and Tahir Pashas, and the other Turkish prisoners, and acquitted all the Druse Chiefs but three. Of these, two convicted for murder he condemned to be executed, and for the other he demanded a revision of the trial.

M. Béclard followed, and pronounced a universal sentence of death on Turks and Druses, to be commuted in the case of one old Sheik, past 70, into perpetual imprisonment. Before concluding, however, he intimated his desire that none of the capital sentences pronounced at Moktarah should be carried into execution.

When it came to my turn, I spoke in the sense described in the Minute, designating Khoorshid Pasha, Tahir Pasha, and Nouri Bek, as deserving the extremity of punishment, with a recommendation to mercy in favour of the last; confirming the judgment of the Court on Wasfi and Achmet Efendi; requiring revision of the judgments in the case of six of the Druses; a commutation of the capital sentence in favour of three; and subscribing to the execution of two whose personal participation in the massacres has been put beyond all doubt.

M. Novikow pronounced himself favourable to a sentence of death being recorded against the two Pashas and the Turkish Colonel; but he evinced a desire to draw a distinction between Khoorshid Pasha's political and personal responsibility, the latter of which he seemed to consider less fatally compromised than the former. The Turkish subordinate officials he desired to see imprisoned for life. As to the Druses, his view differed both from mine and from M. Béclard's. Said Bey he was ready to pronounce guilty, though he admitted that the evidence on the trial was not enough to convict him. Two of the sentences that I had wished to be revised he was ready to confirm, the others he proposed should be commuted; while upon two or three he declined to pronounce any opinion at all. He agreed, however, with the rest of the Commission in pronouncing a capital sentence against the two prisoners I have already designated as actual assassins.

M. de Rehfues concluded by pronouncing upon all alike the same sweeping sentence of death as that already recorded by M. Béclard.

This portion of the proceedings was terminated by all the Commissioners, with the exception of M. de Weckbecker, drawing up a note to Fuad Pasha, copy of which I have the honour to inclose, in which, in vague and general terms, they convey to his Excellency their dissatisfaction with the judgments proposed by his Extraordinary Tribunal.

Next Tuesday the Commission is to meet officially under the presidency of his Excellency for the purpose of receiving his reply to our communication, and of expressing our individual opinions in a more precise manner.

Before concluding, I may venture to spend a few moments in analyzing the results of this important meeting.

Your Excellency will have observed that two out of five of the Representatives seem to have acted in accordance with a general principle, and having taken for granted that the whole Druse nation is guilty, have pronounced sentences of death on all the Chiefs that have put themselves into the power of the Government. Such a conclusion is so completely at variance with my own convictions that I cannot but protest against it; and I think your Excellency will have gathered from my previous despatches a sufficient number of facts to induce you to dispute its correctness. My other two colleagues, I am happy to say, have taken a different view of the matter, and together with myself have agreed to judge each case on its own merits. Although no previous consultation had taken place between us until the last moment, I was happy to find that, with the exception of the degree of culpability attaching to the two Pashas, my Austrian colleague and myself had arrived at almost exactly the same conclusions; in several of these M. Novikow is also able to agree. Even where I am obliged to differ with this latter gentleman, whose conscientious impartiality is beyond all praise, it is more in consequence of the difference of the method of investigation we have each resorted to, than any disagreement in our appreciation of facts. We both agree in attributing the original fault to Christians. We both agree in wishing only to condemn those implicated in the massacres; and in most of the individual verdicts we have pronounced we are also agreed.

The principal, nay I may almost say the only, points at which we are at variance are the opinions we hold respectively on the culpability of Khoorshid Pasha and of Said Bey Djumblat. His views in regard to the former I have already alluded to. With respect to the examination of the *procès-verbal* of the latter, he has adopted a principle which seems to me to be both dangerous and critical. In the first place he receives with implicit faith the statement of every Christian that is given on oath, without reference to its general character, and the other considerations which may compromise its credibility, saying that unless you consent to do this, it will be impossible to arrive at a conclusion at all; and, in the next, he has allowed information he has acquired elsewhere to supplement the materials of conviction which he admits to be wanting in the proceedings before the Court. The consequence has been that he attaches considerable weight to the testimony of a witness whose evidence I had discarded on account of the palpable exaggeration of many of his statements; and he has allowed himself to be influenced by many of the stories current in the mouths of the unfortunate victims of the late atrocities, and, probably, detailed by them in perfect good faith, but which, unless subjected to the test of repetition in open Court, if not of cross-examination, ought never to be made the thread on which a human life should hang. Were such a principle admitted, I do not know who in this country would be safe.

In the case of Said Bey, it would be simply fatal. There is scarcely one class in the community to which he is not obnoxious. The Turks and Christians, and even a party among the Druses themselves, equally desire his ruin. It is on this account that I have taken especial care to examine, point by point, the evidence against him. By the next post I hope to send to your Excellency a copy of the *procès-verbal* of the trial, and I trust you will find that the remarks I have made in the Minute I now forward will have been justified by its contents. If they should appear to be conceived rather too much in the spirit of an advocate than a judge, I trust you will remember that I was discussing a question of life and death. The observations, moreover, it embodies, were made at one of our unofficial meetings, the document has not been communicated to any one, and, above all things, it does not contain a line or a word which was not dictated by a

conscientious desire to state the exact conclusions to be drawn by an impartial analysis of the proceedings before the Court.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 351.

Minute on the Judgments proposed to be passed on the Turkish Officials and Druse Chiefs by the Extraordinary Tribunal of Beyrout.

THE British Commissioner has the honour, in the following Minute, of communicating to his colleagues the impressions conveyed to his mind by a careful study of the *procès-verbaux* of the trials of the Turkish officials and Druse Chiefs now awaiting judgment in the prison of Beyrout; but before reviewing each case, he would wish to establish in a precise manner the principles which, in his opinion, ought to regulate any revisal of the proceedings of the Extraordinary Tribunal.

According to the understanding arrived at between the Ottoman Commissioners and the Representatives of the Five Powers, it was determined that the Commission should have the privilege of assisting, either in person or by deputy, at the proceedings of the Court; and that before any sentence was recorded by his Excellency Fuad Pasha against any of the prisoners, the Commissioners should have the right to submit to his Excellency any observations the occasion might require. By this arrangement, the European Representatives became in some sort Assessors with his Excellency on the cases brought before him, and responsible for whatever verdict might be rendered upon each.

The exercise of these functions necessarily involves an inquiry, not only into the absolute guilt or innocence of the accused, but an accurate appreciation of the degree of culpabilty attaching to every individual. The importance of this consideration is enhanced by the fact that there are more than two parties to the cause on which our attention is engaged. The accusations of the Christian prosecutors are directed, not only against their Druse enemies, but also against the Ottoman authorities; while the Druses, in their turn, accuse the Christians, and the Ottoman authorities accuse both Druses and Christians. It becomes, therefore, the duty of those who are watching the proceedings on behalf of Europe, carefully to disentangle the truth from the network of recrimination in which it is involved, in order to assign their due share of responsibility to each of the parties concerned. Such a precaution is rendered all the more necessary by the suspicious proposal of the Turkish tribunal to condemn, at a single swoop, the eleven Druse Chiefs to death, while the lighter penalty of imprisonment is adjudged to each of their own co-religionists. Before, therefore, proceeding any further, the British Commissioner would wish to record his opinion—

First. That the very fact of such horrible scenes having taken place within the jurisdiction, and almost in the presence, of the Ottoman military and civil officials, constitutes of itself a *primâ facie* case against them of a nature to evoke the utmost rigour of the law, unless there shall appear on the face of the proceedings, evidence of a character to mitigate the gravity of their crimes.

And, secondly, that with regard to the Druses, a distinction must be maintained between those who merely flew to arms in their own defence, and engaged in the ordinary hostilities of mountain warfare, and those who are proved to have either planned or executed the savage massacres in which they terminated. The maintenance of this distinction becomes most imperative when we remember it is an admitted fact that the original provocation proceeded from the Christians, who had been for months beforehand preparing an onslaught on the Druses, which their leaders confidently expected would terminate, if not in the extermination, at all events in the expulsion, of that race. Arms were imported in extraordinary quantities; martial assemblies were convoked in various parts of the Mountain; inflammatory missives, purporting to proceed from the spiritual Chiefs of the Maronite party, were extensively circulated; a Central Committee of very questionable character was established at Beyrout; and there is reason to believe that Christians of other denominations were required, under pain of vengeance in case of their refusal, to take part in the Holy War.

It would further appear that, not content with the confidence inspired by the enormous superiority that a nation of 150,000 souls possesses over a tribe scarcely numbering 30,000 persons, the Christian clergy endeavoured still further to animate the courage of their flocks, by telling them that their endeavour to attain undisputed possession of the Lebanon would be warmly countenanced by the Powers of Christendom. It is not to be imagined that these designs, so openly prosecuted as to have become notorious months before the final outbreak occurred, should have remained unknown to those against whom they were directed. The ambitious insolence of one party naturally aroused the savage indignation of the other. Preparations for attack begot preparations for defence; the moral atmosphere of the Mountain became surcharged with the elements of the most direful hostility; isolated collisions—it is idle to inquire by whom begun, but characterized on both sides by native barbarity—became the precursors of the impending struggle. Bodies of armed men passed over from the Kesrouan into the Mixed districts, burning and killing as they marched. The Christians of Zahleh sallied forth to the contest, and war became inevitable.

Under these circumstances, what course was left open to the leaders of the Druse nation? To remain quietly in their homes, while the villages of their kindred were being burnt and plundered? It would have been the act of madmen and of cowards if they had done so. The Turkish authorities were evidently indisposed to prevent the impending collision, and nothing was left to them but to rise in their own defence. But is this act of natural valour to become confounded with the horrible massacres which subsequently occurred in localities beyond the precincts of the Mountain, and under the immediate protection of Turkish garrisons? If, in that inevitable sequence of events by which the struggles of barbarous tribes are too often terminated, and which on this occasion seems to have been especially aggravated by the interposition of official influences, horrible excesses were committed, is every Chief who summoned his followers around him, and prepared for the battle, or who even carried on the war according to the barbarous usages practised from time immemorial in the Mountain,—to be ruthlessly stigmatized as an assassin, or to be held responsible for all the excesses of his infuriated dependents? Above all, is he to pay the forfeit of his head, while the Turkish authorities who remained inactive spectators of the tumult, whose officers superintended the massacres and conducted the victims to the shambles, are suffered to escape?

The British Commissioner cannot remain silent while so gross a perversion of justice is proposed; and he is unable to admit, unless proof can be shown to the contrary, that the Turkish civil and military Pashas at Beyrout were not chiefly responsible for what occurred. It is equally impossible for him to recognize as a principle that the mere fact of the Chiefs of a barbarous tribe having taken part in a defensive war can be alleged as a capital offence; yet such seems to be the doctrine laid down by the Extraordinary Tribunal of Beyrout. The Ottoman authorities are dealt with as secondary criminals, whilst sentence of death is recorded against every one of the Druse Chiefs, most of whom are not even accused of having participated in the massacres, who voluntarily surrendered themselves into the hands of justice, and whose cases therefore demand, if not an indulgent, at all events an impartial, consideration.

With these few preliminary remarks the British Commissioner will now proceed to consider separately the case of each of the accused.

Khoorshid Pasha.—The proceedings before the Court have not brought to light any circumstance to diminish the responsibility naturally attaching to the prisoner as Governor-General of Saida, for the disorders which have occurred within his jurisdiction. He appears to have remained an indifferent spectator, while villages were being burnt and plundered, and the most murderous hostilities were being waged, within an hour's march of his camp; and though solemnly warned by the Consuls of the Five European Powers, he took no step to prevent the consummation of a catastrophe which it is impossible to believe he did not foresee.

Did not these circumstances sufficiently establish the culpability of his conduct, the fact of the butchery of Christians having continued after his arrival at Deir-el-Kamar would place it beyond a doubt. Whether the consequence of cowardice, imbecility, or design, a dereliction of duty which has resulted in so great a sacrifice of human life requires to be visited with the utmost severity.

Tahir Pasha.—The observations suggested by the perusal of the *procès-verbal* of Khoorshid Pasha's trial are equally applicable to that of this prisoner. No circumstance has come to light calculated to diminish his responsibility as military Commander of the forces, and it is only too evident he made no serious effort to stop the effusion of blood.

Nouri Bey.—This prisoner's fatal neglect to do his duty is beyond doubt, and the sentence to be passed upon him cannot be too severe. As it may be presumed, however, that the attitude of his Chief may have influenced his conduct, and as it does not appear that he is implicated in any of the massacres, the British Commissioner would not think it unreasonable if a distinction were made between his guilt and that of the other more atrocious military criminals already condemned to death or executed.

Ali Wasfi Efendi.—The accused has been sentenced by the Court to temporary imprisonment and dismissal from the public service. The Minutes of evidence are so destitute of all materials for forming a true estimation of the prisoner's guilt or innocence, that it becomes difficult to pronounce any opinion on the *procès-verbal* which has been communicated to the Commissioners.

Ahmet Saleh Efendi.—The same observation is applicable to the *procès-verbal* of this prisoner.

Said Bey Jumblat.—Before proceeding to pronounce an opinion on the individual guilt or innocence of this prisoner, and his brother Mokatajis, the British Commissioner would wish to observe, that the sentence proposed to be passed by the Court is a sufficient indication that there has existed no desire on the part of the Prosecution for the Crown to shelter the accused from punishment; that the trial of all the prisoners has extended over several months, during the course of which the Government has had every facility for collecting evidence and prosecuting the case to the last extremity; that during the whole of this period the defendants have been immured in prison, and shut off from all communication with their friends outside; that, consequently, they have had no means of preparing a regular defence; that their cause has been adjudicated on Christian testimony alone; that no Druse witness has been examined; and that all the advantages of the situation have been on the side of the Prosecution.

Every pains, therefore, having been taken to secure a conviction, it necessarily follows that their acquittal or condemnation must not depend on any consideration foreign to the evidence with which we have been furnished; and that it would be a gross violation of justice were a decision to be arrived at independent of that which is authorized by the proceedings before the Court. This reserve becomes very important, from the fact that the judicial investigation on which we are engaged has been conducted during a season of intense political excitement; that the nation of which the prisoners are the Chiefs has become obnoxious to the hatred of a powerful and numerous community; that on such occasions the most unfounded calumnies are necessarily current; that the races among whom we live are notoriously untruthful; and that it requires a considerable effort of the mind to release itself from the tyranny of public opinion, in order to adjudicate impartially on cases already disposed of by the prejudices of an infuriated and unscrupulous population.

It is therefore a matter which nearly concerns our honour that the verdict we are about to pronounce should be hereafter ratified by Europe, when the evidence which evoked it comes to be subjected to the impartial scrutiny of persons removed from the turbulent influences which surround ourselves.

With these few observations the British Commissioner now turns to the examination of the degree to which the first prisoner on the list, Said Bey Jumblat, may be supposed to have been implicated in the late transactions.

Before, however, considering the graver and more sweeping charge brought against this individual, as the principal author and promoter of the late horrible catastrophe in the Mountain, it may be more convenient to pass in review the minor allegations against him enumerated in the indictment.

These are five in number:—

1st. That he sent letters to the people of Jezzin to lull them into security.

2nd. That he gave his word to Tahir Pasha that no harm should happen to the inhabitants of Deir-el-Kamar.

3rd. That he received into his house Ismail-el-Attrash, and his followers, on their return from Zahleh.

4th. That he sent Ali Bey el Hamadi to Hasbeya, under the pretext of conducting his sister to Moktara, but really with the intention of assisting in the butchery of the Christians; and

5th. That he commissioned Zeed-ed-Deen to cut off the head of the Emir Said-ed-Deen Shehab of Hasbeya, and subsequently rewarded the emissary who executed this behest.

Of these, Nos. 3, 4, and 5 are very serious, and if either of the two last were to be considered proved, the British Commissioner would be of opinion that the infliction of capital punishment would be a well-merited penalty.

With regard to the two first accusations it does not appear that much importance can be attached to them. The letters written by Said Bey to the people of Jezzin seem to have been documents, containing injunctions and general exhortations to maintain the peace, which it seems probable the Druse Chief was anxious to preserve, and as the disturbances in that particular locality commenced by the Christians of Jezzin attacking the Druses of the Shoof, it would be unjust to strain the purport of communications written before the ontbreak to the unnatural meaning with which it is now proposed to invest them.

To the accusation which stands second on the list, to the effect that Said Bey promised Tahir Pasha that no harm should happen to the people of Deir-el-Kamar, he is inclined to attach still less importance. He regards it, in fact, as an instance of that tendency, to which he has before alluded, to shift all the blame of what has happened from the shoulders of the Turkish authorities to those of the Druses. In the first place it is manifestly unjust to make a Druse Mokataji responsible for events which occurred in a town garrisoned by Turkish troops, and beyond his jurisdiction; and in the next, it appears from the evidence of one of the witnesses for the prosecution, that Said Bey had actually proposed, some time before the outbreak, to place his family under the protection of the officer in command of Bteddin, and that he had earnestly entreated the inhabitants of Deir-el-Kamar, not to surrender their arms, and not to allow Tahir Pasha to go away. Moreover, it is proved over and over again, that it was under the auspices of other Chiefs that the slaughter of the Christians of Deir-el-Kamar was conducted.

When we come to the third count, however, matters assume a graver aspect. It has been proved, indeed the prisoner himself acknowledges, that, immediately after the affair of Zahleh, Ismail-el-Attrash arrived at Mokhtara, and that he and his followers were received with all the accustomed honours by Said Bey. Such a circumstance as this naturally leads one to suspect that the movements of the Hauran Chief must have been more or less approved of by the prisoner, or, at all events, that he had been, to a certain degree, privy to his proceedings. Now, as it is a well-known fact that the massacres at Rasheya were the handiwork of Ismail-el-Attrash and his Arab and Druse followers, it would be scarcely unjust to consider that, by welcoming him to his roof, the prisoner had become, to some extent, an accomplice in his guilt.

Such, in fact, was the conclusion at which the British Commissioner arrived, when this significant fact was elicited, at the commencement of the proceedings, and he fully expected that collateral proof would have been forthcoming to place Said Bey's complicity beyond all doubt. He confesses, however, that in proportion as the real truth has come to be unfolded before the Court, the tendency of the evidence has been quite in the opposite direction. Said Bey is asked whether he did not send the ends of his wife's veil to the Chief of the Hauran, as an indication of the extremity in which he and his people stood. The prisoner denies that he did anything of the kind; and no atom of evidence is offered in support of the assertion. On the contrary, it is distinctly proved that, immediately on Said Bey's receiving intelligence of Attrash's arrival, he sent to inform the Government of the fact; and he seems to have been much more embarrassed than pleased by the event. It is true he did not subsequently close his gates when the Hauran Chieftain came to Mokhtara, nor did he refuse him the honours customary on such an occasion; but he states that he absented himself from home as much as possible, that he acquainted the Government with the circumstance, and that the usages of the country and the exigencies of his own peculiar position rendered a certain amount of complaisance to his self-

invited guest an imperative necessity. This plea does not seem unworthy of our consideration.

It is to be remembered that the Druses of the Lebanon, at the commencement of the proceedings, stood in danger of being utterly overwhelmed by their Christian enemies. In their extremity, the more desperate of their leaders summoned a kindred Chieftain of the Hauran to come to their assistance. On his way he and his wild followers burn, pillage, and destroy; and he is justly regarded by his victims as a blood-stained assassin: yet, by those he has come to rescue, he is naturally looked upon as a deliverer and a hero. Might it not have been difficult, if not impossible, for a brother Chief, however indisposed to approve of his excesses, to have driven him with ignominy from his door, and to have violated, in the person of a victorious ally, those rites of hospitality which in the East are esteemed so sacred? Such seems to be the excuse preferred by the prisoner; and the British Commissioner cannot but admit that in his opinion they greatly mitigate the importance of the circumstance referred to in the count under consideration.

The next charge against Said Bey Jumblat is that, under pretence of sending him on a mission to conduct his sister to Mokhtarah, he dispatched Ali Bey Hamadi to Hasbeya, in order to organize the massacres which took place there.

Here, however, we find ourselves again embarrassed by the discrepancy between the evidence and the deduction derived from it, disagreeably increased, in this instance, by the suspicious exaggeration of the phrases in which the accusation is conveyed. It seems an undoubted fact that Ali Hamadi and a number of Druses did set out, on the occasion referred to, for Hasbeya, and although it has been only proved that he arrived in the vicinity of the ill-fated village on the day in question, there is reason to believe he, and, at all events, some of his followers, passed over to the place before the massacres were finished. It might not then be unreasonable to conjecture, if we accept the theory of the events of the Mountain being a deep-laid plot, whose ramifications had been carefully elaborated by the conspirators, that so remarkable a coincidence must have been the result of an intentional combination; but even so, it is rather a dangerous stretch of the imagination to infer that Ali Hamadi must have been sent to organize a tragedy which was, probably, commenced before he arrived. But so far as our information enables us to form an opinion, there is no reason to suppose that the events in the Mountain at all possessed that deliberate character which is sought to be attributed to them, and it seems probable that, until hounded on by the Turkish garrisons, the Druses never contemplated the outrages they subsequently committed. Though the war raged all over the Lebanon, it was only in places where Turkish troops were present that those wholesale masacres occurred, and it is a fact worthy of especial notice that it was not until the arrival at Hasbeya of an emissary from Damascus that the signal was given for the slaughter.

It is to be remembered, moreover, that the massacres occurred immediately after the funeral of a Druse notable who had been mortally wounded in a previous combat with the Christians, and whose death appears to have caused an unusual degree of fermentation. Up to that moment the relation between the Druses outside the Serail and the Christians within had not been unfriendly. No general butchery seems to have been either dreaded by the one party or contemplated by the other, though it is possible that ill-designing persons may have been prepared to seize with avidity the opportunity to stimulate, to an indefinite extent, the vindictive feelings aroused by the death of a favourite leader, and it is a very significant fact that Osman Bey was present at the ceremony in question.

At all events, the thread of evidence by which it is sought to connect Said Bey with the events of Hasbeya is far too slender to be depended on in a court of justice. Ali Hamadi, though apparently of late become an associate of Said Bey, cannot be looked upon as his dependent. On the contrary, he is a Mokataji and a Sheik of a rival house, formerly in open hostility with the family of Jumblat, and apparently only subsequently reconciled to it by the sense of a common danger. It might, therefore, be very unsafe to make Said Bey, however friendly their relations at the time may appear to have been, responsible for Ali Hamadi's conduct, or for the actions of those who accompanied him, even though they were, as it is somewhat vaguely alleged, Said Bey's own

dependents. In the state of excitement which evidently prevailed an absent Chief can be held as little responsible for the excesses of his savage clansmen as a commander of disciplined troops for the outrages they commit in a town taken by assault. Druses and Christians both looked upon the affair as a war. At the commencement each party conducted it according to those savage rules which long usage has consecrated in the Mountain.

An unforeseen combination suddenly invested it with a character of unusual atrocity, but it does appear from the evidence before us that the prisoner at all contributed to give to the struggle, which it is known he earnestly deprecated, the sinister character it subsequently assumed. It would rather seem, as far as we are able to conjecture from the meagre materials before us, that Said Bey was all along the representative of the moderate party in the Druse camp at a moment when the danger which threatened his nation rendered moderation a questionable virtue, and evidently compromised his popularity. The fact of the followers of a rival house marching through his feudal village of Mokhtarah, singing the war-cry of another Chief, as was shown on the trial, the Christian nickname of "Hanna," which was applied to the prisoner by his own people in derision of his unpatriotic neutrality, his publicly beating the Druses who raised the war-cry, his having saved hundreds of Christians, and still more the fact of hundreds of Christians having trusted to him for protection, are all circumstances significative of this inclination.

That he sympathized with his co-religionists is probable; that he did not do all an impartial spectator would have done is certain; that he, perhaps, exulted over the discomfiture of his nation's enemies may be imagined; that he even regarded with indifference the atrocities which others committed is possible: but that there is any proof that he either organised or took any part in them cannot be pretended.

On the other hand, it may be urged that the difficulty in procuring evidence sufficient to commit the prisoner is not the result of his innocence, but of his superior cunning; that with the duplicity in which Orientals are such adepts he secretly fomented the troubles he pretended to appease, and that while he saved some to bear witness in his favour in case a day of retribution should arrive, he secretly incited the less cautious of his brother Chiefs to commit the crimes he was too prudent to engage in himself.

Such conduct would not have been without example in the annals of Eastern nations, and the conjecture is not sufficiently improbable to require us to discard it without examination, if countenanced by a fair amount of collateral evidence. In the particular case under consideration, however, the British Commissioner is of opinion that there is no trustworthy indication which would warrant such an interpretation of the prisoner's conduct, and that if due allowance be made for the natural passions which must influence a man whose nation was in danger of extirpation at the hands of a hostile tribe, it may be even a matter of surprise that his conduct should not have been more ambiguous.

We now come to the most grave, because the most definite, charge which has been brought against Said Bey, to the effect that he commissioned a certain Zeed-ed-Deen to go to Hasbeya, and bring him the head of the Mahomedan Emir Said-ed-Deen. If this were proved, nothing would be more damning to the prisoner; and we should be relieved from the painful responsibility of extricating the truth from the mass of suspicious evidence before us. But when we come to examine the testimony upon which the charge is based, it dissolves into the same unsubstantial elements which have already so often disappointed our search.

In the first place, no proof is given that the person in question ever received any such commission from Said Bey; or, in the next, that he had anything to do with the murder of the Emir. It is true the latter fact is taken for granted, on the authority of a mazbatta presented to the Grand Medjlis at Damascus; but an examination of that document will only afford an instance of the rash mode in which the Tribunal is disposed to deal with evidence.

So far from containing any satisfactory proof of Zeed-ed-Deen having been the author of the alleged crime, the persons who signed the mazbatta expressly state that they could not see who it was who was cutting off the head, and that they only conjectured it must have been Zeed-ed-Deen, because a woman told them it was he. As a crowning illustration of the utter untrustworthiness of such an assumption, it may not be out of place to mention that the Tribunal of

Mokhtara have already condemned, on the evidence of eye-witnesses, two othe persons for the commission of the very crime of which Zeed-ed-Deen is therein accused. Could a more flagrant instance be adduced to warn us of the extreme caution we must use in accepting, as proved, the loose statements on which the Tribunal seems to have founded their conclusions?

Having thus gone through the separate allegations, let us now examine the general and most sweeping charge of all, the charge on which the Tribunal seems to be inclined to lay the greatest stress, and which heads and concludes the indictment against the prisoner. It is couched pretty much in the following terms: "Said Bey, as the supreme head of all the Druse Chiefs and Mokatajis, took a principal share in all the events of the Mountain, whether great or small, and was the moral organizer and author of all that happened." The question which we have to ask ourselves is, whether this assertion has been proved by the evidence adduced before the Court. The British Commissioner is compelled to admit that it has not. In the first place, it seems incorrect to describe Said Bey Djumblat as head of the Druse Chiefs. As far as we know anything of the internal organization of that nation, it would seem to consist of a Federal association of independent feudal Chiefs often at enmity with one another. To attribute anything like absolute power to Said Bey, is evidently a gross exaggeration. In social rank Said Bey is inferior to the House of Raslan; and in official position he is merely on a par with the other Mokatajis. It is true his wealth may have secured to him in time of peace considerable importance; but his pre-eminence never outsoared the pretensions of rival houses, or even, as it appears in the evidence, protected his property from the forays of hostile Chiefs. To say, therefore, that in moments of great excitement, when the existence of the nation was at stake, and when the Councils of themore violent and martial of its leaders would be likely to prevail, that Said Bey must be held responsible for whatever was determined is evidently an unjust conclusion. Yet it is upon this assumption that the chief accusations which have been brought against him are based. Ismail-el-Attrach, and a horde of Arabs come from the Hauran to save his fellow Druses from the extremity of danger; it is Said Bey's crime that they did not immediately disperse. The unfortunate Christians of Hasbeya, Rasheya, and Deir-el-Kamar, three places garrisoned by Turkish troops, and beyond the precincts of the Lebanon, are barbarously murdered; it is Said Bey who must have organized the massacre. The Christians of Jezzin imprudently begin to burn the villages of their Druse neighbours, the Druses rally, and in their turn pillage and slaughter the Christian aggressors; it is Said Bey who must have planned the whole affair, although it is clearly proved on the testimony of the Christians themselves, as far as human evidence can show, that so far from having either organised or taken part in the horrors which have occurred, the prisoner had all along declared himself averse to the war; had proposed in case of attack to place himself under the protection of the Turkish garrison of Deir-el-Kamar; had more than once remarked with obvious truth that he had everything to lose, and nothing to gain by the impending event; had written letters earnestly enjoining the preservation of the peace; had requested Tahir Pasha not to leave the Christians unprotected; had recommended the Christians of Deir-el-Kamar not to give up their arms; had been seen to beat some of his followers who wished to raise the war-cry; had acquired among his countrymen the nickname of "Hanna Bey," on account of his unpatriotic moderation; had been instrumental in sheltering and saving in his own house hundreds of Christian refugees; and was considered by both parties so exonerated from all participation in the disturbances as to have been excluded from the customary "mada mamada," or declaration of peace; and, finally, voluntarily surrendered himself to take his trial, when his brother Chieftains fled to the Hauran.

In the face of so much evidence tending to the exculpation of the prisoner, it becomes impossible to attach much weight to the contradictory and evidently untrustworthy testimony of the few persons who have alleged anything really tangible against the prisoner, while the mass of hearsay testimony which has been allowed, most improperly, to encumber the proceedings, must be discarded with contempt. Under these circumstances, the only course left open to the British Commissioner, is to express his deliberate opinion that it does not appear on the face of the proceedings that the prisoner either organized or authorized the late massacres in the Lebanon, and that consequently the judgment proposed by the Tribunal must be revised.

Hussein Talhook.—This prisoner is stated to be the oldest of the Mokatajis, and among those who are second in point of influence. He is accused of having had arms in his hands at the attack of Hadeth and Baabdah; but it is to be remembered, that on the day before the fight which took place around these villages, their inhabitants, accompanied by 400 Christians, who had arrived the evening before from the Kesrouan, had sallied forth into the Druse country, burning and slaughtering as they went. This movement, together with a corresponding one made by the Christians of the Metn, may be regarded as the outbreak of the war. The counter demonstration of the Druses was the natural consequence of the aggression made upon them. But though many houses in Hadeth and Baabdah were burned, it is not pretended that either village was the scene of any massacre. Indeed, but few persons, either Druse or Christian, lost their lives on this occasion. There is something, therefore, extremely revolting to find that an aged man, past 70, is condemned to death, because in such a moment he should have appeared on the scene with the intention, as he himself very plainly asserts, to prevent the further spread of disorder. Had he been a young man, and had he even been proved to have been the most active leader in the attack, he would scarcely have merited any very severe punishment; but under existing circumstances to record a capital sentence against the accused, is simply absurd.

Assad Talhook.—The above observations are equally applicable to this prisoner.

Hussein Bek Neked.—The prisoner is accused of having been present on the occasion of the first conflict in the neighbourhood of Deir-el-Kamar. This incident, however, must not be confounded with the massacres of which that unfortunate town became the theatre eighteen days later. The two events are quite distinct, and no peculiarity distinguished the first from any of the ordinary collisions usual between hostile tribes. There are consequently no grounds for confounding this prisoner with those persons who promoted or organized the massacres which took place on the occasion of the subsequent attack on Deir-el-Kamar, nearly a month afterwards.

Assad Amad.—The above observations are equally applicable to this prisoner, who seems to have been merely present at the siege of Zahleh, but against whom no particular charge is laid.

Mir Mehmed Kasim Raslan.—The prisoner was present at the fight at Hadeth; and the same observations are applicable to his case as those which the British Commissioner has already had the honour of submitting to his colleagues in reference to Hussein and Assad Talhook.

Selim Jumblatt.—The prisoner is accused of heading a band of marauders, who pillaged and maltreated women in Jezzin, and the charge is supported by several mazbattas, drawn up at the invitation of the Mudir of that district. If the statements contained in these documents could be substantiated, the accused may certainly be considered deserving of severe punishment. Unfortunately, however, they are such mere *ex parte* statements, of so vague and loose a character, as to render it difficult to found any judicial conclusion upon them. The fact of the people of Jezzin having been the first to begin the attack, as has been already mentioned, must also be taken into account.

Jemal-ed-Din Hamdan.—The evidence against this prisoner consists of a document still more unsatisfactory, and quite inadmissible in a Court of Justice.

Miha-ed-Din Shibli.—The guilt of this prisoner as the murderer of the Principal of the Convent of Amik may be considered proved.

Ali Said.—The evidence against the prisoner is very grave. Unfortunately, he does not seem to have been confronted with the persons who bore witness against him, their depositions having been taken before the Mudir of Deir-el-Kamar. The prisoner has complained of this irregularity, and the omission is enough to make the British Commissioner hesitate before subscribing to the sentence of death pronounced against him.

Beshir Mirai Neked.—The guilt of this Chief is undoubted, not only on the evidence adduced in the indictment, but on other corroborative testimony which subsequent investigations have disclosed.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 351.

MM. Béclard, Rehfues, Novikow, and Lord Dufferin, to Fuad Pasha.

Beyrout, le 23 *Février*, 1861.

LES Soussignés, après avoir pris connaissance des pièces du procès des fonctionnaires Ottomans et des Sheikhs Druses détenus à Beyrouth, croient devoir se borner à constater que de ces pièces il ne résulte aucune circonstance attenuante, de nature à établir avec certitude que les fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans ne sont pas responsables en principe des évènements qui ont ensanglanté la Montagne, et amené le massacre de 6,000 Chrétiens. Dans la pensée des quatre Commissaires de France, de Grande Bretagne, de Prusse, et de Russie, cette responsabilité continue, ils ont regret à le dire, à peser sur les Agents de l'autorité Ottomane, au moins autant que sur les plus coupables des Chefs Druses, et la différence des châtiments infligés aux uns et aux autres ne trouve pas, à leurs yeux, la justification suffisante dans les pièces du procès soumises à leur examen.

En conséquence les Soussignés ont l'honneur d'inviter son Excellence Fuad Pasha à suppléer par sa propre initiative, et dans le légitime exercice des pleins pouvoirs dont il est muni, en consultant à la fois les inspirations de sa conscience et les nécessités aussi impérieuses qu'urgentes de la justice, à ce qu'il y a d'incomplet dans l'instruction, et d'inéquitable dans les sentences du Tribunal de Beyrouth, et à terminer le plus promptement possible cette œuvre de répression dont les lenteurs ont entravé depuis six mois le rétablissement de l'ordre dans le Liban.

(Signé) L. BECLARD.
DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.
REHFUES.
NOVIKOW.

(Translation.)

Beyrout, February 23, 1861.

THE Undersigned, after having taken cognizance of the papers drawn up by the Ottoman functionaries and the Druse Sheikhs detained at Beyrout, consider themselves restricted to recording that no extenuating circumstance is manifested by these papers of such a nature as to establish with certainty that the Ottoman functionaries and officers are not responsible in principle for the events which have rendered the Mountain a scene of bloodshed, and led to the massacre of 6,000 Christians. In the opinion of the four Commissioners of France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, this responsibility continues, they regret to say, to weigh upon the Agents of the Ottoman authority, at least as much as upon the most culpable of the Druse Chiefs, and the difference in the punishments inflicted on both is not, in their eyes, sufficiently justified by the papers submitted to their examination.

In consequence, the Undersigned have the honour to invite his Excellency Fuad Pasha to supply of his own accord, and in the legitimate exercise of his full powers, at the same time consulting his conscience and the necessities, as imperative as they are urgent, of justice, what there is incomplete in the instructions and unjust in the sentences of the Tribunal of Beyrout, and to end as quickly as possible that work of repression which has through tardiness delayed the re-establishment of order in the Lebanon for six months.

(Signed) L. BECLARD.
DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.
REHFUES.
NOVIKOW.

Inclosure 4 in No. 351.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, February* 24, 1861.

IN continuation of my despatch of the 15th instant I beg to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, five other clauses which have been added to those already agreed upon by the Commissioners as a basis for their projected report on the re-organization of the Lebanon.

By clause No. 14 your Excellency will perceive that the Metn, formerly a portion of the Christian Kaimakamship, and whose population is composed of 30,000 Maronites, 10,000 Orthodox Greeks, and 5,000 Druses, is constituted a Mixed district, and that the non-Christian element will send as many representatives to the Medjlis as the Christian.

I may observe, however, that since these regulations were drawn up I have received instructions from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to invite the Commission to confine their attention to the Lebanon.

This circumstance may cause considerable modifications to be proposed in the plan of which these clauses were intended to form the skeleton.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 351.

Articles 12 *to* 16 *of the Basis for the Future Government of Syria.*

Article 12. AU lieu des vingt-quatre anciens Mokâtas, le Liban sera divisé en six circonscriptions, savoir :—

1. Le Kûrah, y compris la partie inférieure, et les autres fractions de territoire avoisinantes, qui devront y être annexées, conformément au principe énoncé en l'Article 4.

2. La partie septentrionale, sauf le Kûrah, jusqu'au Nahir-el-Kelb.

3. Zahleh et son territoire.

4. Le Metn, y compris le Sahel Chrétien, et les territoires du Kata et de Salîma.

5. Le territoire à population mixte, situé au sud de la route de Damas, jusqu'à Jezzîn.

6. Le Jezzîn, auquel seront rattachés les groupes Maronites environnants.

Art. 13. Le Medjlis Judiciaire de première instance siégera au chef-lieu de chaque circonscription, et se composera de trois membres au moins, six au plus, selon le nombre des éléments constitutifs de la population, et de telle façon que chacun d'eux soit représenté par un membre.

Dans le cas où il n'y aurait que deux éléments, le tribunal sera composé de trois membres, dont deux fournis par l'élément prépondérant.

La présidence sera exercée à tour de rôle, et mensuellement, par chacun des membres du Medjlis, et en cas de partage le Président aura toujours voix prépondérante.

Art. 14. Le Medjlis Administratif se composera dans chaque conscription, conformément au principe adopté pour le Medjlis Judiciaire, de trois membres au moins, et six membres au plus.

Dans les circonscriptions désignées à l'Article 12 sous les numéros 4 and 5, le Medjlis Administratif sera composé de six membres, dont trois Chrétiens et trois non-Chrétiens.

Art. 15. Les membres des Medjlis Administratifs et Judiciaires de première et de seconde instance seront choisis et délégués par les Chefs de leurs communautés respectives, et institués par le Gouverneur.

Art. 16. Si après une enquête poursuivie par le Medjlis Judiciaire Central il est prouvé qu'un membre des Medjlis Administratifs ou Judiciaires de première instance a prévariqué, ou s'est rendu par un fait quelconque indigne de ses fonctions, ce membre devra être révoqué par le Gouverneur, et sera, en outre, passible d'une peine proportionnée à la faute qu'il aura commise.

(Suivent les paraphes.)

(Translation.)

Article 12. Instead of the twenty-four ancient Mokatas the Lebanon shall be divided into six circumscriptions, namely:—

1. The Kûrah, comprising the lower part, and the other portions of the neighbouring territory which will be annexed to it, in conformity with the principle expounded in Article 4.

2. The Northern part, with the exception of the Kûrah, as far as Nahir-el-Kelb.

3. Zahleh and its territory.

4. The Metn, comprising the Christian Sahel, and the territories of Kata and Salima.

5. The territory of the Mixed population situated to the south of the Damascus road, as far as Jezzin.

6. The Jezzin, to which will be added the Maronite gatherings in the neighbourhood.

Art. 13. The Judicial Medjlis at first will sit in the chief town of each circumscription, and will be composed of three members at least, and of six at the most, in proportion to the number of the constitutive elements of the population, and in such a manner that each of them shall be represented by a member. In the case of there being but two elements the Tribunal shall be composed of three members, two of which shall be taken from the preponderating element.

The Presidency shall be held in turn, and monthly, by each member of the Medjlis, and in case of division the President shall always have the casting vote.

Art. 14. The administrative Medjlis in each district ("conscription"), in conformity with the principle adopted with respect to the Judicial Medjlis, shall be composed of three members at the least, and of six at the most.

In the circumscriptions mentioned in Article 12, under the Nos. 4 and 5 the Administrative Medjlis will be composed of six members, of which three shall be Christians and three not Christians.

Art. 15. The members of the Administrative and Judicial Medjlis of the first and second rank will be chosen and delegated by the Heads of their respective communities, and appointed by the Governor.

Art. 16. If, after an inquiry by the Central Judicial Medjlis, it is proved that a member of the Administrative or Judicial Medjlis of the first rank has prevaricated, or has rendered himself in any way unworthy of his functions, this member shall be withdrawn by the Governor, and shall, moreover, be liable to a punishment in proportion to his delinquency.

(Here follow the initials.)

No. 352.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 13, 1861.

IN your despatch of the 17th of last July, you say, in speaking of the settlement of Syria: "It appears to me that the independent Governments of the Mountain are incompatible with order and society; that one Government should be established in Syria, and that Government ameliorated."

Lord Dufferin, after some experience in Syria, arrived at the conclusion which your Excellency's sagacity had enabled you to anticipate.

But the jealousy of the Porte having induced the Sultan to object to any inquiry or report on the part of the European Commission with regard to Syria, I directed Lord Dufferin to restrict his proposals to the Commission to the Mountain only.

But every day's experience confirms the soundness of your Excellency's original judgment, and the despatch of Lord Dufferin of the 12th ultimo* places the reason for that judgment in a very striking point of view.

* Inclosure 1 in No. 347.

You will endeavour to show to Aali Pasha that the Sultan's jealousy of his own servants may be carried too far; that in the present state of the Turkish Empire, to choose able and honest Governors of Provinces, and to confer upon them large powers in a spirit of liberal and generous confidence, is true wisdom.

If the difficult and responsible charge of governing Syria is broken up into fragments, and its tenure made precarious, no good government can flow out of such niggardly policy; disorders will be renewed; and the Sultan may find, when it is too late, that he is obliged to surrender to foreign Princes and States powers which he had refused to confide to his own faithful servants.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 353.

Lord J. Russell to Lord A. Loftus.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 13, 1861.

I TRANSMIT to your Lordship herewith a copy of a despatch from Lord Dufferin to Sir Henry Bulwer,* respecting the discussions which have taken place among the European Commissioners in Syria with reference to the sentences passed by the tribunal at Beyrout on the Turkish and Druse prisoners tried before it on the charge of having taken part in the massacre of the Christians last summer.

Your Lordship will perceive from this despatch the view taken by the respective Commissioners of the guilt or innocence of the respective prisoners, and the manner in which they severally incline to recommend that each prisoner should be dealt with.

Your Lordship will further observe that while the Austrian, British, and Russian Commissioners lean more or less to the side of mercy, the French and Prussian Commissioners concur in promoting the indiscriminate execution of all the Druse prisoners now under sentence at Beyrout.

You will find in Lord Dufferin's despatch an inclosure containing a very able statement of the grounds on which he has come to the conclusion that public justice will be satisfied by a limited number of executions, and that as regards the large majority of cases, and more particularly as regards that of Said Bey Jumblatt, the evidence adduced on the trial is wholly insufficient to warrant their conviction, and still less their capital punishment.

Her Majesty's Government have seen with some surprise the part taken by the French Commissioner, as they had reason to suppose from M. Thouvenel's language to Lord Cowley, as reported in the despatch of which I inclose a copy, that the French Commissioner would receive instructions which would induce him to moderate the number of executions. It is true those instructions applied specifically to the case of the Druses tried at Mokhtarah; but the principle on which they were founded was susceptible of a more extended application.

On receiving from Lord Dufferin ten days ago a telegram stating the conclusion at which he had arrived in regard to Said Bey Jumblatt, I instructed his Lordship and likewise Sir H. Bulwer to insist, the former with Fuad Pasha and the latter with the Porte, that Said Bey Jumblatt should not be executed; and it appears from a telegram which I have since received from Sir H. Bulwer that the Porte has promised to instruct Fuad Pasha not to execute that Chief.

Under all these circumstances I have to instruct your Lordship to call Baron Schleinitz's attention to this subject. You may place in his Excellency's hands the statement read to his colleagues by Lord Dufferin, and you will give him such a general account of what has passed between the Commissioners according to Lord Dufferin's report, as may, it is to be hoped, satisfy his Excellency of the propriety of instructing the Prussian Commissioner at Beyrout no longer to insist on the indiscriminate execution of the prisoners there under sentence of death, but to confine himself within the limits which Lord Dufferin so clearly shows to comprise all those whose guilt has been satisfactorily established.

* Inclosure 1 in No. 351.

If Baron Schleinitz should be willing to act in this matter you will further urge his Excellency to lose no time in sending his instructions to Beyrout, for every day's delay in bringing questions arising out of the trials at Beyrout to a close must necessarily act unfavourably on the deliberations of the Commissioners on the other matters which they are required to investigate and determine.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 354.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley,

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, March* 13, 1861.

HER Majesty's Government entirely approve the draft of Convention which your Excellency sent with your despatch of the 11th instant, and your Excellency is directed to propose it to the Conference.

No. 355.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 14, 1861.

THE Marquis de Chateaurenard called here to-day and read a despatch respecting the Commission in Syria. M. Thouvenel proposes that the Commissioners, when they shall have finished their Report, shall go to Constantinople and assist the Ambassadors in settling the terms of the future government of the Lebanon with the Ministers of the Sultan.

I said I thought the Commissioners ought to finish their Report as soon as possible; but I thought it would be more useful that they should remain in Syria to assist Fuad Pasha, or any other Governor appointed by the Porte, than that they should go at once to Constantinople with their Report.

The Marquis de Chateaurenard having asked me how long I thought the Commissioners ought to stay in Syria, I said till the beginning or middle of May; that, however, I did not pretend to have formed any very settled opinion on this point.

The Marquis de Chateaurenard spoke of the terms of the Convention for the continuance of the European occupation, but I said that question was in the hands of your Excellency, and that I had sent your Excellency my final instructions.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 356.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 15.)

My Lord, *Paris, March* 14, 1861.

IN the course of the conversation which I had with M. Thouvenel this morning, he said that by the last advices which he had received from Beyrout, he had reason to believe that Fuad Pasha was about to undertake an expedition against the Hauran, with a view of obliging the Druse Chiefs who had taken refuge there to capitulate or to go elsewhere. The French troops are not to take part in this expedition, but are to remain in the Lebanon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 357.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 15.)

(Extract.) *Paris, March* 14, 1861.

M. THOUVENEL had promised to let me know whether the French Government would accept the two Articles relative to the evacuation of Syria which I had offered for their consideration.

This morning I waited upon him, having in the meantime received an invitation from his Excellency to attend a Conference to-morrow, for the purpose of stating to him that at that Conference I intended to propose the adoption of the two Articles.

M. Thouvenel made objections to the words "terme définitif." He said that they were useless; that the object of Her Majesty's Government was completely attained by the words "aura été évacuée."

I would admit, I replied, that the term "aura été évacuée" expressed all that I was desired to obtain; and I should not, therefore, consider myself so strictly bound to insist on the retention of the other words, were it not that the anxiety of the French Government to set them aside made me apprehensive that the interests which I was bound to guard might possibly be jeopardized by further conciliation. If the French Government really intended that Syria should be evacuated by the 5th of June, why were they to object to the phrase in question?

M. Thouvenel rejoined by assuring me that he intended the evacuation by the 5th of June. All he desired was, not to have the appearance of having abandoned, under every possible contingency, the Christians of the Lebanon to any fate that might be reserved for them. Although I had told him that Her Majesty's Government did not intend to dispute the right of the French or of any other Government to propose the reassembling of a Conference, should one or other deem it necessary, he feared that the words "terme définitif" might be quoted hereafter as a Treaty engagement preventing the possibility, under any circumstances whatever, of a prolonged occupation. Supposing, for instance, at the moment the troops were about to embark it was patent to every one that a massacre would be the consequence, he wished to reserve to himself the right of proposing the reassembling of the Conference, and of consulting the Allies of the Porte as to the advisability of carrying the evacuation into execution; of course, they would be equally at liberty to consent or to refuse to attend.

I repeated to M. Thouvenel what I had stated to him on former occasions, that Her Majesty's Government had no intention of laying down as a positive dogma that under no possible circumstances could a fresh Conference be proposed; but they desired to be assured, I said, that in admitting for conciliation's sake that for which they saw no real necessity, viz., the prolongation of the occupation of Syria for three months, they were not preparing the way for fresh difficulties and dissidences hereafter, *i.e.*, that if at the end of three months the same state of things was to exist in Syria as now—apparent tranquillity, declaration of the Porte that it was able to maintain that tranquillity, and consequent demand for evacuation—Her Majesty's Government were not to be called upon to consent to a further prolongation because there was no organized Government in the Lebanon, or for some other excuse equally futile.

M. Thouvenel replied that he perfectly understood the ground on which Her Majesty's Government took their stand, and that he was satisfied with the explanation which I had given him, but he still continued to press for the suppression of the, to him, obnoxious phrase. I consented at last to meet him half way, and so far to give into his wishes as to strike out the word "définitif." The Article, therefore, will stand thus:—

"La durée de l'occupation Européenne en Syrie sera prolongée au 5 Juin de la présente année, époque à laquelle il est entendue entre les Hautes Parties Contractantes qu'elle aura atteint son terme, et que l'évacuation aura été effecutée."

I trust that your Lordship will not disapprove my having made this concession, in order to terminate this matter amicably.

The addition of the word "définitif" to "terme" hardly makes the expression stronger, if the remainder of the sentence is taken into consideration, nor

could a Government determined not to be bound by the weaker phrase make much difficulty of setting aside the stronger.

M. Thouvenel is very anxious that the Turkish Ambassador should himself propose the prolongation of the occupation; but Vefyk Efendi declines doing so. I think that Vefyk is right; that having declared his Government to be able to maintain order and tranquillity in Syria, and having consented only on pressure to submit to his Government the prolongation to the 1st of May, he cannot now turn round and propose the 5th of June. When, therefore, M. Thouvenel asked me to urge his views on Vefyk, I refused, observing that I could not advise another to do what in his place I would not do myself.

No. 358.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 15, 1861.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch dated yesterday, reporting a further conversation with M. Thouvenel, respecting the terms in which the proposed Convention for the prolongation of the stay of French troops in Syria for a limited period should be drawn up, and I have to repeat to you, as I have already stated to you by the telegraph, that Her Majesty's Government approve the version of the first Article of that Convention which is embodied in your despatch.

Your Excellency will have, however, perceived from my telegram that Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to agree to any addition being made to the terms of the Article suggested in your despatch implying the existence of an understanding that, if necessary, the occupation of Syria may be prolonged beyond the 5th of June; or to any declaration to that effect being recorded in the Protocol of the Conference about to be held.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 359.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 16.)

My Lord, *Paris, March* 15, 1861.

THE Conference on Syrian affairs met again this afternoon.

M. Thouvenel opened the proceedings by asking the Plenipotentiaries to inform him of the opinions of their respective Governments on the observations made in the sitting of the Conference on the 19th February.

Prince Metternich, as Plenipotentiary of Austria, being the first to speak, said that his Government was willing to consent to the prolongation of the occupation for a limited period; that period it had been suggested should be two months; but as a month had expired since the suggestion had been made, he considered that a term of three months from the date of the first Convention might be taken as the period for the further extension of the occupation.

M. Thouvenel, as French Plenipotentiary, said that he maintained his opinion that the occupation ought to be prolonged.

It being my turn to speak, I said that nothing had reached Her Majesty's Government since I had last the honour of addressing the Conference a month ago, to induce them to modify the opinion of which I had then been the organ; but that, nevertheless, Her Majesty's Government had authorised me, if I found a general opinion existing among my colleagues that the evacuation ought to be delayed, and if the Porte agreed to a delay, to consent, for conciliation's sake, to a prolongation of the occupation, provided always that the evacuation should take place within three months. I reserved to myself, therefore, should I find

my colleagues disposed to a delay, to propose such a wording of the instrument prolonging the occupation as would secure the object which Her Majesty's Government had in view.

M. Thouvenel expressed his satisfaction at the conciliatory spirit shown by Her Majesty's Government, and said that he was ready to agree to the term of three months.

Count Pourtalès, the Prussian Plenipotentiary, spoke in the sense of the Austrian Plenipotentiary.

General Kisseleff, the Russian Plenipotentiary, adhered to the period of three months, expressing the hope that within that time the institution of a regular Government would insure order and tranquillity in the Lebanon.

Vefyk Efendi said, that although he must maintain what he had stated on a former occasion, that the Porte was ready and able to maintain tranquillity in Syria, yet that, out of deference to the opinions of the Powers who by their counsel and assistance had come to the Sultan's aid, he had been empowered to assent to the prolongation of the occupation to the 1st of May, and not doubting that his Government would, for the same reason, accept the prolongation of the former Convention for three months, he would take upon himself to sign an instrument to that effect, on the understanding that the evacuation should have terminated at the date agreed upon.

M. Thouvenel observed that I had a proposal to make with that intent, and having requested me to state it to the Conference I proposed the signature of the two Articles which have received the assent of Her Majesty's Government. The Conference accepted them without further discussion, and the instrument, of which I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy, was immediately signed.

The Turkish Plenipotentiary having expressed the wish to refer, for form's sake, to Constantinople before turning this instrument into a Convention, it was agreed that the signature of the latter Act should take place on Tuesday the 19th instant.

On the same occasion, the Protocols of the firstand second Conferences will be signed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure in No. 359.

Draft Convention agreed to in a Conference held at Paris, March 15, 1861.

LEURS Majestés l'Empereur d'Autriche, l'Empereur des Français, la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, le Roi de Prusse, l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et l'Empereur des Ottomans, après les explications échangées entre leurs Gouvernements respectifs, s'étant entendus pour modifier la Convention conclue entre eux, le 5 Septembre dernier, les Représentants de leurs dites Majestés sont tombés d'accord sur les Articles suivants, qui seront textuellement convertis en une Convention dont les instruments vont être aussitôt préparés pour être revêtus de leurs signatures :—

ARTICLE I.

La durée de l'occupation Européenne en Syrie sera prolongée jusqu'au 5 Juin de la présente année, époque à laquelle il est entendu entre les Hautes Parties Contractantes qu'elle aura atteint son terme et que l'évacuation aura été effectuée.

ARTICLE II.

Les stipulations contenus dans le deuxième Article de la Convention du 5 Septembre, 1860, en tant qu'elles n'ont point encore été exécutées, ou qu'elles ne sont pas modifiées par la présente Convention, demeureront en vigueur pendant la période qui s'écoulera entre la date de la signature de cet Acte et le 5 Juin de l'année courante.

ARTICLE III.

La présente Convention sera ratifiée, et les ratifications en seront échangées à Paris, dans le délai de cinq semaines, ou plus tôt si faire se peut.

Les Plénipotentiaires sont convenus de se réunir Mardi prochain, 19, pour signer la Convention.

Paris, le 15 *Mars,* 1861.

(Translation.)

THEIR Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the Emperor of the Ottomans, after the explanations exchanged between their respective Governments, having come to an understanding to modify the Convention concluded between them on the 5th of last September, the Representatives of their said Majesties have agreed upon the following Articles, which will be textually converted into a Convention, of which the terms will be prepared as soon as possible, in order that they may be invested with their signatures :—

ARTICLE I.

The duration of the European occupation in Syria shall be prolonged till the 5th of June of the present year, the time when it is understood between the High Contracting Powers that it shall have reached its termination, and that the evacuation shall have been effected.

ARTICLE II.

The stipulations contained in Article II of the Convention of the 5th of September, 1860, as far as they have not yet been executed, or been modified by the present Convention, will remain in force during the period between the date of the signature of this Act and the 5th of June of the current year.

ARTICLE III.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Paris, in six weeks' time, or sooner if possible.

The Plenipotentiaries are agreed to unite on Monday next, the 19th, to sign the Convention.

Paris, March 15, 1861.

No. 360.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, March* 16, 1861.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of yesterday, reporting what had passed in the Conference on Syrian affairs; and I have to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve your conduct throughout the recent discussions on those matters.

No. 361.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 16.)

(Extract.) *Paris, March* 15, 1861.

TO-DAY, after the Conference was over, M. Thouvenel asked me whether I thought that Her Majesty's Government would be willing to enter into some agreement with regard to the presence of a combined squadron in the Syrian waters. I replied that I should write to your Lordship on the subject.

No. 362.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, March* 16, 1861.

IN reply to your Excellency's despatch of the 15th instant, I have to state to you that, in addition to the ships which have been on the coast of Syria during the winter, Her Majesty's Government have given orders for the preparation of a squadron to cruize on the coast on or about the 1st of May, and to remain there till the end of the summer.

As the object of Her Majesty's Government is the same as that of the French occupation, namely, to overawe those who might be inclined to repeat the massacres of last year, Her Majesty's Government will be happy to co-operate with the French Government for this purpose.

No. 363.

Acting Consul Wrench to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 18.)

My Lord, *Damascus, February* 25, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a despatch I have to-day addressed to his Excellency Sir Henry L. Bulwer, reporting on the events which have occurred in Damascus within the last few days.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

Inclosure in No. 363.

Acting Consul Wrench to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Damascus, February* 25, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that Khaled Pasha, who had been for some weeks in the neighbourhood of the Hauran with about 800 troops, returned to Damascus rather unexpectedly on the 18th instant.

The report was spread that he had fled in such haste from a party of Druses as to abandon his dinner. The real facts of the case, as far as we can learn them at this distance, appear to be as follows:—

When Khaled Pasha, after an ineffectual attempt to recover the goats taken from the village of Kalat Jendal, moved to the neighbourhood of Shaara, on the borders of the Ledjah, the Druses, thinking his object was to attack them, assembled their co-religionists to a considerable number to oppose him. Khaled Pasha, not wishing probably to risk an engagement, returned with a part of his forces, leaving the remainder in those villages already occupied by Turkish troops.

The alarm occasioned by the report mentioned above was heightened by crosses being chalked, during the night, on the pavement in many places in the

Meidan, in the same manner as immediately preceded the massacres of July. During the nights of last Friday and Saturday numerous crosses have been made on the pavements and doors of the Christian houses in the Meidan, and in the quarter of Kanawat. The authors have not been discovered, but three Christians, who were on a visit to a neighbour in the evening, on returning to their houses were arrested, and detained in prison for the night.

The Christians, in a great state of alarm, are disposing of their beds, copper, and whatever saleable articles they possess, in order to hire mules. Some have already left, but the majority wait to receive the arrears of the Government allowance, a portion of which will be paid in a few days hence.

Assaad Amer, a Druse in the employment of the Government, has been given an order for 150 horsemen, and leaves to-morrow for the Hauran.

Daas Agha Jerudi, who was a Chief in the Aunieh Irregular Horse, in prison since the middle of August last, when the Mushir made an expedition to Jerud, as reported to your Excellency in Mr. Brant's despatch of the 16th August, 1860, and Emir Suleiman Harfoush, who was arrested in January 1859, and since that time has been confined in Damascus, effected their escape this morning. They were allowed to go to the bath, guarded by three men, and afterwards requested to be permitted to pray at the tomb of a Moslem saint. On their arrival at the burial-ground, about twenty horsemen, with two led-mares, awaited them. They mounted the animals, and rode off, the number of their followers preventing any opposition on the part of the guards.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

No. 364.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 18.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, March* 1, 1861.

I REGRET extremely that a press of business will prevent me giving your Lordship a detailed account of the proceedings of the Commission at our last two meetings. As, however, they will be resumed in a single Protocol, it will be almost more convenient that I should defer writing any commentary on what passed until that document is ready for transmission home. In the meantime it will be sufficient if I state that, at the official conferences which took place yesterday and the day before, under the presidency of Fuad Pasha, for the purpose of arriving at a final conclusion on the judgments proposed by the Extraordinary Tribunal at Beyrout, each of the Commissioners held pretty much the same language as that which I have already attributed to them at the two preliminary and confidential meetings which took place at my house during the preceding week, as reported in my previous despatch of the 24th ultimo.

M. Weckbecker confirmed the judgment of the Court (imprisonment) against Khoorshid Pasha and Tahir Pasha; the other Turkish officials he acquitted altogether. Of the Druse Chiefs, he condemned two to death; demanded a commutation of the capital sentence on behalf of two others, and acquitted the remainder.

M. Béclard and M. de Rehfues united in demanding the execution of all the five Turkish officials and all the eleven Druse Chiefs; a solitary exception being made in favour of an old man past 70, who they proposed should be only imprisoned for life.

M. Novikow declared himself in favour of a capital sentence being pronounced on Khoorshid Pasha, Tahir Pasha, and Colonel Nouri Bey. The two other Turkish officials he thought ought to be condemned to death. Against some of the others, among whom was Said Bey Jumblatt, he also recorded sentence of death; but he was careful to add, that the evidence produced in Court against the latter prisoner was not alone sufficient to procure a conviction. With regard to the rest, he declined hazarding any opinion at all.

For the reasons mentioned in the Minute of which I have already forwarded your Lordship a copy, I felt myself compelled to unite with M. Béclard, M. de Rehfues, and M. Novikow, in demanding the execution of the two Turkish Pashas; against Nouri Bey I also recommended sentence of death to be recorded, leaving it at the discretion of his Excellency subsequently to commute the penalty; and I

confirmed the judgment of the Court in the case of the two subordinate officials. In conjunction with all my colleagues, I condemned two of the Druses to death; but I associated myself with M. Weckbecker in acquitting six of the others, and in requiring a commutation of the capital sentence passed on the remaining two.

His Excellency Fuad Pasha replied to our representations by a written paper, in which he defended the lenient sentences passed by his tribunal on the Turkish prisoners. In explanation of the capital punishment awarded without distinction to the Druses, his Excellency stated that the Penal Code having constituted death the penalty to be inflicted on any of the Sultan's subjects who should rise in insurrection against their fellow-countrymen, no other course was left open to the Court but to act in accordance with the requirements of the law.

A long debate ensued, which resulted in a declaration on the part of his Excellency that inasmuch as the Austrian Representative dissented from his colleagues, and that the invitation of the Commission was not unanimous, he could not take upon himself the responsibility of aggravating the sentence pronounced by the Court upon the two Pashas without a reference to Constantinople.

With regard to the Druse Chiefs in prison at Beyrout a still less conclusive decision was arrived at, every one maintaining his individual opinion with equal pertinacity. At last M. Weckbecker suggested that we should examine the minutes of evidence in concert. Though I am afraid this proceeding will merely waste time, without hastening a settlement of our differences, I did not decline accepting a proposition which seemed to receive the approval of my colleagues, and it has been arranged that we should hold daily meetings until the operation shall have been gone through with. By next mail the matter must be ended.

I will conclude by observing that I perceive an indication to use the act of lenity M. Béclard has been instructed by his Government to apply to the prisoners of Mokhtara as a means for procuring the conviction of all the Druse Chiefs at Beyrout. But it is contrary to justice that mercy should be bartered in this manner. The criminals at Mokhtara are, many of them, men of eminence and responsibility, whose guilt is infinitely greater than that of most of the Chiefs whom it is proposed to sentence to death. The latter are persons who gave themselves up to take their trial, and, consequently, it is to be presumed the least compromised of any of their nation. Many of them are not even accused of being implicated in the massacres. It seems, therefore, cruel to require them to be put to death in consideration of the act of grace it is proposed to extend to others more bloodstained than themselves.

Under these circumstances I shall consider it my duty to oppose the application of so irrevocable a penalty as that of death to any persons who do not come within the meaning of the phrase, at all events until I receive a reply to the despatch inclosing copy of the Minute I have had the honour of transmitting, for your Lordship's consideration, by last mail.

No. 365.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 18, 1861.

HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration your despatch of the 24th ultimo addressed to Sir Henry Bulwer; and I have to acquaint you that they approve of the course which you pursued in regard to the judgments proposed to be passed by the Extraordinary Tribunal at Beyrout on the Turkish and Druse prisoners.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 366.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 18, 1861.

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatch of the 1st instant, respecting the opinions and language of the Commissioners as to the sentences upon the Turkish and Druse prisoners.

Upon the whole Her Majesty's Government are disposed to agree with the Austrian Commissioner.

When a tribunal, pretty fairly chosen, has condemned the Turkish officials to a sentence short of death, it would be repugnant to our feelings to demand their execution in pursuance of the requisition of foreign agents who have not heard the evidence, and do not pretend to have examined the proofs of guilt in a judicial spirit. But if Khoorshid Pasha's life is spared his imprisonment ought to be rigorous, and not indulgent; it should be a reality, and should not be a mask for fresh confidence and future employment.

With regard to the Druses, if two of the most criminal, and who have been fully and satisfactorily proved to have been guilty of active participation in the massacres, are executed in pursuance of their sentence, it ought to be sufficient for the purposes of justice and of example. Her Majesty's Government could not give their consent to the execution of the six whom their Commissioner believes to be innocent of the massacres.

All the testimony we have received from Syria since the massacres tends to show that the Maronites had intended to be the aggressors, and had planned an attack upon the Druses, and Fuad Pasha ought, therefore, to ask the Porte to apply with great discrimination, and in a perfectly impartial spirit, the severe law which he quotes.

I must confess that I had understood the opinion of M. Thouvenel, which was applicable only to the Druses tried at Mokhtarah, as an opinion applicable also to the Druses tried at Beyrout. But in point of equity it would seem unjust to apply to Chiefs who had voluntarily surrendered a more severe measure of punishment than is applied to those who were forcibly taken prisoners.

It is said that Mr. Consul-General Moore induced the Druse Chiefs who surrendered at Beyrout to give themselves up, on the assurance that they should have a fair trial. If this is so, it increases our responsibility.

I send your Lordship a copy of a despatch from Lord Augustus Loftus, dated the 16th instant, in answer to the accompanying instruction which I addressed to him on receiving your Lordship's despatch of the 24th ultimo to Sir Henry Bulwer.*

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 367.

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 18.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 16, 1861.

IN conformity with the instructions of your Lordship's despatch of the 13th instant, I have brought under the notice of Baron Schleinitz the different opinions entertained by the European Commissioners in Syria, with reference to the sentences passed by the Tribunal at Beyrout on the Turkish and Druse prisoners for the massacre of the Christians last summer.

Baron Schleinitz did not admit that the Prussian Commissioner had taken so decided a part as that of desiring the indiscriminate execution of all the Druse prisoners under sentence at Beyrout; and his Excellency read to me a report from M. de Rehfues, which certainly exculpated him from any such intention.

Baron Schleinitz further read to me a list of the different opinions offered on each case by the several Commissioners, according to which there did not appear to be so very marked a divergence of opinion between the English and

* Nos. 353 and 367.

the Prussian Commissioners, nor so perfect an agreement between the French and the Prussian Commissioners.

Baron Schleinitz further observed, that as yet the only official act which had taken place on this subject had been the collective note of the Commissioners to Fuad Pasha, which had been signed by all, with the exception of the Austrian Commissioner.

Baron Schleinitz said that he would, after perusal of the Minute of Lord Dufferin, which I had placed in his hands, determine on the instructions to be sent to the Prussian Commissioner. In the meantime his Excellency begged me to assure your Lordship that there was no desire on the part of the Prussian Government to recommend any extreme or unnecessary course of severity towards the unfortunate persons now under sentence of execution, but rather that the Prussian Commissioner, in the conscientious discharge of his duty, should act with as much leniency and moderation as justice, tempered with humanity, should admit of.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 368.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 18.)

My Lord *Paris, March* 17, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose two copies of the Protocol of the Conference on the affairs of Syria held in Paris on the 19th of February last.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure in No. 368.

Protocol of a Conference held at Paris, February 19, 1861.

Présents :

Pour l'Autriche, M. le Prince de Metternich ;
Pour la France, M. Thouvenel ;
Pour la Grande Bretagne, M. le Comte Cowley ;
Pour la Prusse, M. le Comte de Pourtalès ;
Pour la Russie, M. le Comte de Kisseleff ;
Pour la Turquie, Vefik Effendi.

LE Plénipotentiaire de la France, en se référant à la communication de son Gouvernement qui a provoqué la réunion de la Conférence, rappelle et détermine l'objet soumis à son examen, et il invite le Plénipotentiaire da la Turquie à faire connaître comment sa Cour envisage la situation des choses en Syrie, et l'exécution de la clause de la Convention du 5 Septembre qui fixe à six mois la durée du concours prêté par les troupes étrangères.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie expose que son Gouvernement s'est appliqué, dès l'origine, à remplir les devoirs que lui imposaient les évènements dont la Syrie a été le théâtre, et qu'il s'est mis sans retard en mesure d'y pourvoir ; qu'il est en état de maintenir la tranquillité, et que la Convention peut recevoir son exécution sans danger pour la conservation de l'ordre. Il rend hommage d'ailleurs à l'attitude et à la conduite que les troupes Françaises et leurs Chefs ont tenues depuis leur débarquement.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la France remercie le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie du témoignage qu'il rend à la Conférence de la manière dont le corps expéditionnaire a rempli sa tâche, mais il croit devoir déclarer que les informations parvenues à son Gouvernement le portent à penser que le départ des troupes Françaises serait suivi de nouveaux troubles. Il donne lecture de la correspondance des Agents Français, d'où il résulte que les populations se préparent à de nouvelles luttes, et que l'autorité locale ne dispose pas de moyens suffisants pour les contenir. Rapprochant cette situation de l'esprit de la Convention et

des termes de l'Article V, il en conclut que le but que se proposaient les Puissances ne se trouverait pas rempli si les troupes Françaises évacuaient la Syrie en ce moment. Dans son opinion, on mettrait fin à la garantie matérielle stipulée par la Convention avant d'y avoir substitué la garantie morale que doit offrir l'organisation des pouvoirs publics qui ne peuvent être constitués sans que la Commission Internationale ait terminé ses travaux, et l'on sait que la Commission est loin de toucher au terme de son mandat. Il lui est donc impossible de partager la confiance que le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie place dans les dispositions transitoires adoptées par son Gouvernement.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie ne saurait consentir à faire dépendre l'exécution de la Convention des mesures concernant le mode d'administration; il n'oublie nullement dans quel esprit l'Acte du 5 Septembre a été conclu, et il ne voit dans la présence des troupes Françaises en Syrie qu'une manifestation des sympathies des Puissances alliées de la Porte, mais il ajoute qu'il n'est pas moins constant, d'autre part, que la Convention est formelle et qu'en ce qui regarde l'évacuation, elle stipule une date qu'on ne peut dépasser sans méconnaître la clause qui règle ce point essentiel ; qu'au surplus, l'œuvre de réorganisation de la Syrie revient exclusivement à son Gouvernement ; qu'on ne pourra y donner suite que quand la Commission aura accompli son mandat, et que, jusque là, il suffit, comme il l'affirme, que la Porte ait avisé aux moyens propres à assurer la sécurité. Il présume, du reste, que les Commissaires ont terminé leurs investigations sur les lieux, et la Conférence, selon lui, pourrait exprimer l'avis, afin de hâter le rétablissement d'un ordre de choses régulier en Syrie, que la Commission, dont la présence ou le rappel ne saurait modifier l'état matériel du pays, fût invitée à se rendre à Constantinople, où elle rédigerait son rapport, dont les Représentants des Puissances prendraient connaissance sans retard et pourraient ainsi, en se concertant avec la Porte, avancer le moment de la pacification.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Russie, après avoir fait observer que les informations officielles parvenues à son Gouvernement lui permettent de partager les appréciations de M. le Plénipotentiaire de la France, ainsi que les conclusions qu'il en a déduites, relève que l'autorité n'est pas constituée en Syrie, et que, dans l'état de désordre où se trouve le pays, état qui n'offre pas les garanties désirables, les Agents de la Porte sont certainement dans l'impossibilité de prévenir de nouveaux conflits. A son avis, l'évacuation ne devrait avoir lieu que lorsqu'il serait bien constaté qu'elle pourrait s'effectuer sans qu'il en résulte de nouveaux dommages pour les populations Chrétiennes si cruellement éprouvées par les évènements qui ont précédé et motivé l'intervention Européenne.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la France constate qu'il faut attribuer à des causes indépendantes de la volonté des Commissaires Européens les lenteurs qu'a subies la marche de leurs travaux, mais qu'il n'est pas moins vrai que leurs instructions, conformes à l'entente des Puissances, leur prescrivent d'assurer la punition des coupables, d'aviser aux moyens d'indemniser les victimes, et d'élaborer un rapport sur l'organisation administrative du Liban ; or, dit-il, jusqu'à présent, il n'a été infligé aucun chatiment aux auteurs des massacres de la Montagne, aucune indemnité n'a été accordée aux Chrétiens, et la Commission n'est pas encore à même de présenter ses propositions de réorganisation. D'autre part, les Chefs Druses retirés dans le Hauran se concertent avec les Arabes et les Metualis pour résister ouvertemeut aux mesures de rigueur que l'on prendrait contre eux et poussent l'audace jusqu'à venir piller les villages situés aux portes de Damas ; les Chrétiens, de leur côté, se disposent à repousser les agressions dont ils sont menacés ; on s'arme partout et la guerre civile, loin d'être apaisée, est de nouveau imminente. En présence de ces éventualités, la France décline la responsabilité des conséquences qu'entrainerait le départ prématuré du corps expéditionnaire.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne répond que si l'on se placait au point de vue du Plénipotentiaire de la France, la Conférence devrait décider que l'occupation serait désormais permanente, et déclare que son Gouvernement n'adhérerait pas à une semblable résolution, qui est d'ailleurs décliné par le Plénipotentiaire de la Puissance territoriale. Il annonce que les renseignements parvenus à son Gouvernement présentent la situation sous un jour qui le porte à considérer l'evacuation immédiate comme une mesure opportune et même nécessaire. Le Commissaire de la Grande Bretagne estime en effet que les Agents du Gouvernement Ottoman disposent des forces nécessaires au maintien

de la tranquillité, et que la présence des troupes étrangères, utile au début, entretient aujourd'hui des espérances et des craintes dont l'effet est de perpétuer des ressentiments qu'il importe de faire cesser. Il soutient qu'il n'existe aucune connexité entre les travaux de la Commission et la durée de l'occupation; que le but de la Convention est atteint; que ce but a été défini dans le préambule de cet Acte, et consistait à "*arrêter l'effusion du sang par des mesuses promptes et efficaces;*" que les dispositions concertées par les Puissances ont réalisé l'objet unique qu'elles avaient en vue; que la Convention peut donc et doit recevoir son exécution dans ses clauses finales. C'est desormais, pense-t-il, à la Puissance Souveraine qu'il appartient exclusivement de pourvoir à la sécurité en Syrie, et le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie déclarant, avec raison selon lui, que son Gouvernement peut prévenir de nouveaux troubles, il n'y a nulle raison de retarder le départ des troupes, qui n'avaient d'autre mission que de concourir à mettre fin aux conflits sanglants qui avaient éclaté dans cette province.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la France fait remarquer qu'il ne s'agit nullement de combiner une occupation permanente, et que le Gouvernement Français, pour son compte, ne consentirait, en aucun cas, à en accepter seul les charges; il reconnait que s'il n'y a pas une connexité conventionnelle entre la mission des Commissaires et celle du corps expéditionnaire, cette connexité, dans son opinion, existe par la force des choses, puisque l'on s'exposerait à de nouveaux malheurs si l'on mettait fin à la garantie effective qui résulte de la présence des troupes étrangères, avant d'avoir pris et appliqué les dispositions que comporte l'exercice régulier et efficace de toute autorité.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne exprime l'avis que l'on pourrait seconder la Turquie dans l'œuvre de pacification qui reste à remplir et témoigner aux populations l'intention des Puissances de concourir, s'il y avait lieu, à la répression de nouveaux désordres, en décidant qu'on entretiendrait sur les côtes de Syrie une station combinée de leurs forces navales.

Le Plénipotentiaire de l'Autriche fait observer que cette mesure ne pourrait s'effectuer avant le mois de Mai, et qu'il pourrait surgir des conflits regrettables avant cette époque si le corps expéditionnaire quittait la Syrie à la date fixée par la Convention.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Prusse émet la même opinion.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Russie croit que la présence des bâtimens de guerre serait insuffisante pour garantir la sécurité des Chrétiens, qui, habitant le Liban et les grandes villes de l'intérieur, ne pourraient recevoir aucun secours des escadres, qui seraient forcées de borner leur protection aux villes du littoral.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne exprime la conviction que la présence des pavillons étrangers sur le littoral suffira par son influence morale pour contenir les mauvaises passions des habitants du Liban. Du reste, ajoute-t-il, rien ne serait plus facile que de débarquer une partie des équipages, s'il devenait nécessaire.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie dit qu'en principe il ne pourrait admettre aucune distinction entre l'occupation par des troupes de terre et le débarquement des équipages. Il revient au surplus sur ses déclarations antérieures et persiste notamment à penser que l'état des choses en Syrie permet d'exécuter la Convention; mais, connaissant les sentiments qui animent son Gouvernement, il croit que l'on pourrait régler le départ des troupes de manière que l'évacuation eût lieu sans exercer une influence fâcheuse sur les dispositions des esprits, en s'effectuant pendant un délai que la Porte utiliserait pour raffermir l'ordre. Il ne soumet à la Conférence aucune proposition; mais il est prêt à tenir compte, dans cette mesure, des appréciations des autres Plénipotentiaires, et se croirait autorisé à transmettre à sa Cour une ouverture tendant à prolonger l'occupation temporairement et jusqu'à une date déterminée d'avance.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la France se plait à reconnaître qu'une semblable suggestion tend à rapprocher les avis, mais il prévoit que l'on se trouvera, à l'expiration de ce délai, si l'on ne veut se préoccuper que d'une date, sans égard pour les circonstances, en face des mêmes difficultés et des mêmes dissentiments. Il propose en conséquence de proroger l'occupation jusqu'au moment où la Porte pourra, avec les développements convenables, faire connaître à la Conférence, qui serait, sur sa demande, convoquée à cet effet, l'ensemble des mesures prises pour garantir la tranquillité de la Syrie, et les Plénipotentiaires décideraient alors, après avoir reçu cette communication, que l'évacuation aurait lieu. Il se fonde sur les appréciations du Gouvernement Britannique, qui a reconnu que, pour

permettre aux Puissances de se prononcer en parfaite connaissance de cause, la Porte devait les informer des dispositions adoptées pour conjurer de nouveaux conflits.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne fait observer que son Gouvernement a acquis, postérieurement à cette communication, la conviction que la Porte s'était mise à même de maintenir l'ordre en Syrie. Il ajoute qu'il voit avec regret que, d'après les rapports des Agents Britanniques, de nombreux assassinats sont commis à l'heure qu'il est par les Maronites sur les Druses. Puisque la présence de troupes étrangères n'a pas pour effet de prévenir ces crimes, c'est là une raison de plus, selon lui, pour mettre une terme à l'occupation. Autrement, c'est sur l'Europe, qui a envoyé cette expédition, que retomberait la responsabilité de la non-punition de ces actes.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la France dit que les faits isolés signalés par M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne ne sont pas parvenus à la connaissance du Gouvernement Français; que, dans tous les cas, au lieu d'y voir un motif de hâter l'évacuation, il pense qu'on devrait en conclure qu'il est essentiel de prolonger l'occupation.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie déclare qu'il ne saurait accepter pour son Gouvernement l'obligation de justifier des moyens nécessaires au maintien de la sécurité sur son propre territoire.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Russie propose de proroger l'évacuation de deux mois et de remettre toute résolution au terme de ce délai, époque à laquelle la Conférence serait mieux édifiée sur la situation des choses en Syrie; selon lui, cet ajournement donnerait à la Commission le temps de terminer ses travaux et l'on trouverait vraisemblablement, dans le Rapport des Commissaires, les éléments d'une résolution qui réunirait l'assentiment de toutes les Puissances. Il ne s'opposerait pas au surplus à la suggestion faite par M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie, s'il était entendu que, dans le cas où il surgirait de nouveaux incidents durant la prolongation de l'occupation, la Conférence pourrait modifier sa résolution selon les circonstances.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie fait savoir qu'il ne peut acquiescer à aucune proposition qui laisserait dépendre l'évacuation de faits éventuels, et, devant les termes explicites de la Convention, il maintient qu'elle doit avoir heu à une date certaine.

La Conférence examine si l'on peut prévoir que, dans un délai déterminé, l'ordre moral sera suffisamment établi en Syrie pour qu'il soit possible, dès ce moment, de fixer à une date invariable le départ des troupes. A la suite de cette discussion, où se sont produits des avis contradictoires, le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie a admis qu'il pourrait transmettre à sa Cour une proposition qui conduirait à signer une Convention prolongeant, pour tout délai, le terme de l'occupation jusqu'au 1 Mai prochain.

Les Plénipotentiaires décident qu'ils en référeront à leurs Cours respectives.

(Translation.)

Present:

For Austria, Prince Metternich;
For France, M. Thouvenel;
For Great Britain, Earl Cowley;
For Prussia, Count Pourtalès;
For Russia, Count Kisseleff;
For Turkey, Vefyk Effendi.

THE Plenipotentiary of France, referring to the communication from his Government which invited the meeting of the Conference, repeats and defines the subject submitted to its examination, and he invites the Plenipotentiary of Turkey to state how his Court views the situation of affairs in Syria, and the execution of the clause of the Convention of the 5th of September, which fixes at six months the duration of the aid lent by the foreign troops.

The Plenipotentiary of Turkey states that his Government has applied itself from the beginning to the fulfilling of the duties imposed upon it by the events of which Syria has been the theatre, and that it put itself without delay in a

position to provide for them; that it is in a state to maintain tranquillity, and that the Convention may be executed without danger to the preservation of order. He further renders homage to the attitude and the conduct which the French troops and their Chiefs have preserved since their landing.

The Plenipotentiary of France thanks the Plenipotentiary of Turkey for the testimony which he bears before the Conference to the manner in which the expeditionary force has fulfilled its task, but he thinks it his duty to declare that the reports received by his Government lead them to the opinion that the departure of the French troops would be followed by fresh troubles. He reads the correspondence of the French agents, from which it results that the populations are preparing for fresh strife, and that the local authority has not at its disposal means sufficient to restrain them. Applying this situation to the spirit of the Convention and the terms of Article V, he concludes thence that the object which the Powers proposed to themselves would not be fulfilled if the French troops evacuated Syria at this moment. In his opinion the material guarantee stipulated by the Convention would be put an end to before the moral guarantee was substituted, which was to be offered by the organisation of the public powers, which cannot be instituted unless the International Commission has terminated its labours, and it is known that the Commission is far from approaching the termination of its duties. It is, therefore, impossible for him to share the confidence which the Plenipotentiary of Turkey places in the transitory arrangements adopted by his Government.

The Plenipotentiary of Turkey could not make the execution of the Convention dependent on the steps taken concerning the mode of administration; he is by no means oblivious of the spirit in which the Act of the 5th of September was concluded, and he sees in the presence of the French troops in Syria only a manifestation of the sympathy of the Powers allies of the Porte: but he adds that it is no less clear, on the other hand, that the Convention is formal, and that as regards the evacuation it stipulates a date which could not be overstepped without ignoring the clause which settles this essential point; that, moreover, the work of the reorganization of Syria devolves exclusively on his Government; that it cannot be effected till the Commission shall have accomplished its task, and that till then it suffices, as he affirms, that the Porte should have provided the necessary means of ensuring security. He presumes for the rest that the Commissioners have terminated their investigations on the spot, and the Conference, according to him, might express the opinion, in order to hasten the re-establishment of a regular order of things in Syria, that the Commission, whose presence or recall could not modify the material state of the country, should be invited to repair to Constantinople, where it would draw up its Report, of which the Representatives of the Powers would take cognizance without delay, and might thus, in concert with the Porte, hasten the moment of the pacification.

The Plenipotentiary of Russia, after having observed that the official reports received by his Government induce him to share the impressions of the Plenipotentiary of France, as well as the conclusions which he has deduced from them, repeats that authority is not constituted in Syria, and that in the state of disorder in which the country is—a state which does not offer the requisite guarantees—the agents of the Porte are certainly incapable of preventing fresh conflicts. In his opinion, the evacuation should not take place until it should be clearly proved that it could be effected without any fresh injuries resulting from it to the Christian populations, so cruelly tried by the events which preceded and caused the European intervention.

The Plenipotentiary of France maintains that the delays which the progress of the labours of the European Commissioners has suffered must be attributed to causes independent of their will, but that it is none the less true that their instructions, in conformity with the understanding of the Powers, bid them to ensure the punishment of the guilty, to consult on the means of indemnifying the victims, and to prepare a report on the administrative organization of the Lebanon. Now, says he, hitherto no chastisement has been inflicted on the authors of the massacre of the Mountain, no indemnity has been granted to the Christians, and the Commission is not yet ready to present its proposals for reorganization. On the other hand, the Druse Chiefs who have retired into the Hauran are concerting with the Arabs and the Metualis to resist openly the forcible measures which should be taken against them, and push their audacity

to pillaging the villages situated at the gates of Damascus; the Christians, on their side, are preparing themselves to repel the attacks with which they are menaced; everywhere arming is going on, and the civil war, far from being allayed, is again imminent. In face of these contingencies, France declines the responsibility of the consequences which the premature departure of the expeditionary force would entail.

The Plenipotentiary of Great Britain replies that if the point of view taken by the Plenipotentiary of France were adopted, the Conference might as well decide that the occupation should be henceforth permanent, and declares that his Government would not assent to such a resolution, which is moreover rejected by the Plenipotentiary of the territorial Power. He states that the accounts received by his Government represent the situation in a light which induces it to consider the immediate evacuation as an opportune and even necessary measure.

The Commissioner of Great Britain considers, in fact, that the Agents of the Ottoman Government have at their disposal the forces necessary for the maintenance of tranquillity, and that the presence of the foreign troops, useful at the commencement, inspires at present new hopes and fears, the effect of which is to perpetuate animosities which it is desirable to extinguish. He maintains that there exists no connexion between the labours of the Commission and the duration of the occupation; that the object of the Convention is attained; that that object was defined in the preamble of that Act, and consisted in "arresting the effusion of blood by prompt and efficacious measures;" that the arrangements concerted by the Powers have realized the sole object which they had in view; that the Convention, therefore, could be, and ought to be, executed in its final clauses.

It belongs henceforth, he considers, exclusively to the Sovereign Power to provide for the security of Syria, and as the Plenipotentiary of Turkey declares in his opinion, with reason, that his Government can prevent fresh troubles, there is no reason to retard the departure of the troops, whose only mission was to assist in putting an end to the sanguinary conflicts which have broken out in that province.

The Plenipotentiary of France points out that there is no question of providing for a permanent occupation, and that the French Government, for its part, would not consent, in any case, to accept alone the burden of it. He acknowledges that there is not a Conventional connection between the mission of the Commissioners and that of the expeditionary force; that connection, in his opinion, exists by the force of things, as it would be at the risk of fresh misfortunes if an end were put to the effective guarantee which results from the presence of the foreign troops, before the arrangements were made and applied, which the regular and efficacious exercise of any authority requires.

The Plenipotentiary of Great Britain expresses the opinion that Turkey might be seconded in the task of pacification which remains to be accomplished, and the intention of the Powers to assist, if necessary, in the repression of fresh disorders, would be testified to the populations, if it were decided that a combined station of their naval forces should be maintained on the coast of Syria.

The Plenipotentiary of Austria points out that this measure could not be carried out before the month of May, and that lamentable conflicts might arise before that epoch if the expeditionary force quitted Syria at the date fixed by the Convention.

The Plenipotentiary of Prussia expresses the sameopinion.

The Plenipotentiary of Russia considers that the presence of the ships of war would be insufficient to guarantee the security of the Christians, who, inhabiting the Lebanon and the great towns of the interior, could not receive any help from the squadrons, which would be forced to confine their protection to the towns of the coast.

The Plenipotentiary of Great Britain expresses the conviction that the presence of the foreign flags on the coast will suffice by its moral influence to restrain the bad passions of the inhabitants of the Lebanon. Besides, he adds, nothing would be easier than to land a portion of the crews, if it became necessary.

The Plenipotentiary of Turkey says that, in principle, he could not admit any distinction between the occupation by land-troops and the landing of crews. He repeats, moreover, his previous declarations, and persists specially in the

opinion that the state of things in Syria permits the execution of the Convention; but, knowing the sentiments which animate his Government, he considers that the departure of the troops might be regulated in such a manner that the evacuation should take place without exercising an injurious influence on the dispositions of the minds of the people, if it were effected within a period which the Porte would utilize for the establishment of order. He submits no proposition to the Conference; but he is ready to take into consideration, with regard to this step, the opinions of the other Plenipotentiaries, and would consider himself authorized to transmit to his Court an overture tending to prolong the occupation temporarily, and up to a date determined beforehand.

The Plenipotentiary of France acknowledges with pleasure that such a suggestion tends to reconcile opinions, but he anticipates that, at the end of that period, if it is desired simply to fix a date without regard to circumstances, the same difficulties and the same disagreements would present themselves. He proposes, consequently, to prolong the occupation up to the moment when the Porte shall be able, with the suitable explanations, to communicate to the Conference, which would, at its request, be convoked for that purpose, the sum of the measures taken to guarantee the tranquillity of Syria; and the Plenipotentiaries would then decide, after having received that communication, that the evacuation should take place. He takes his stand on the opinions of the British Government, which has acknowledged that, in order to permit the Powers to pronounce themselves with a perfect knowledge of the case, the Porte should inform them of the dispositions adopted to avert fresh conflicts.

The Plenipotentiary of Great Britain observes that his Government has acquired, subsequently to that communication, the conviction that the Porte had put herself in a position to maintain order in Syria. He adds that he sees with regret that, according to the reports of the British Agents, numerous assassinations are being committed at the present moment by the Maronites on the Druses. As the effect of the presence of proper troops is not the prevention of those crimes, that is, in his opinion, a reason the more in favour of putting an end to the occupation; otherwise it would be upon Europe, who sent that expedition, that the responsibility of the impunity of those acts would devolve.

The Plenipotentiary of France says that the isolated facts stated by the Plenipotentiary of Great Britain have not come to the knowledge of the French Government; that, in any case, instead of seeing therein a motive for hastening the evacuation, he considers that the conclusion which should be drawn from it is that it is essential to prolong the occupation.

The Plenipotentiary of Turkey declares that he could not accept, on behalf of his Government, the obligation of justifying measures necessary for the maintenance of security on its own territory.

The Plenipotentiary of Russia proposes to prorogue the evacuation for two months, and to defer taking any resolution till the end of that period, when the Conference would be better instructed upon the situation of affairs in Syria. In his opinion that adjournment would give to the Commission time to terminate its labours; and there would probably be found, in the report of the Commissioners, the elements of a resolution which would obtain the consent of all the Powers. He would not, moreover, oppose the suggestion made by the Plenipotentiary of Turkey if it were understood that, in case fresh incidents should arise during the prolongation of the occupation, the Conference might modify its resolution according to circumstances.

The Plenipotentiary of Turkey states that he cannot acquiesce in any proposition which would leave the evacuation to depend on contingencies; and, in face of the explicit terms of the Convention, he maintains that it should take place on a fixed date.

The Conference inquires whether it can be anticipated that, within a fixed period, moral order will be sufficiently established in Syria to make it possible, at this moment, to fix an irrevocable date for the departure of the troops. At the close of this discussion, in which contradictory opinions were expressed, the Plenipotentiary of Turkey admitted that he might transmit to his Court a proposition which would lead to the signature of a Convention prolonging, at the outside, the term of occupation up to the 1st of May next.

The Plenipotentiaries decided that they will refer the point to their respective Courts.

No. 369.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 19.)

(Extract.) *Paris, March 18, 1861.*

I STATED to M. Thouvenel this afternoon, in the terms of your Lordship's despatch of the 16th instant, that it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to reinforce towards the 1st of May Her Majesty's naval squadron on the coast of Syria; and that Her Majesty's Government would be ready to communicate to the French Government the instructions to be furnished to Admiral Mundy.

M. Thouvenel replied, that the Imperial squadron would be stationed on the Syrian coast about the same time, and that he thought it would be better to defer until a little later the settlement of the instructions to be given to the Commanders-in-chief.

No. 370.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 20.)

My Lord, *Paris, March 19, 1861.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith two copies of the Protocol of Conference on Syrian affairs held on the 15th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure in No. 370.

Protocol of a Conference held at Paris, March 15, 1861.

Présents:

Pour l'Autriche, M. le Prince de Metternich;
Pour la France, M. Thouvenel;
Pour la Grande Bretagne, M. le Comte Cowley;
Pour la Prusse, M. le Comte de Pourtalès;
Pour la Russie, M. le Comte de Kisseleff;
Pour la Turquie, Vefik Effendi.

LE Protocole de la séance du 19 Février est lu et adopté avec des amendements qui ne donnent lieu à aucune discussion.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la France exprime le vœu que les Plénipotentiaires fassent connaître l'avis de leurs Gouvernements respectifs sur la suggestion qu'on était convenu de soumettre à leur appréciation.

Le Plénipotentiaire de l'Autriche dit que depuis la dernière réunion de la Conférence, il s'est écoulé un temps assez long pour qu'il lui semble désirable de fixer à trois mois le terme pendant lequel on prorogerait l'occupation Européenne en Syrie; il lui semble que, pendant ce délai, la Porte pourrait prendre les mesures complémentaires que l'on jugerait opportunes pour dissiper toutes les inquiétudes, et préparer ainsi l'évacuation de manière à prévenir les conflits qui, selon certaines prévisions, ménaceraient d'éclater après le départ des troupes étrangères.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la France fait savoir qu'il a soumis à l'appréciation de son Gouvernement la combinaison proposée à la Conférence dans sa précédente réunion, et qu'elle ne lui a pas paru répondre aux éventualités dont il y a lieu de tenir compte; il reconnait cependant que si l'occupation était prolongée pendant trois mois, on aurait du moins une plus grande latitude pour y aviser.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne déclare que son Gouvernement

n'a reçu aucune information qui puisse le porter à modifier la manière de voir dont il a fait part à la Conférence ; qu'il doit donc persister dans l'opinion qu'il a exprimée ; mais que si les autres Plénipotentiaires sont disposés à ajourner le départ des troupes étrangères, il est lui-même autorisé, dans un esprit de conciliation, à y donner son assentiment pourvu que le délai n'excède pas le terme de trois mois, et que la Sublime Porte n'y fasse point d'objection.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Prusse est d'avis d'adopter cette prolongation ; selon lui, la Commission pourrait terminer ses travaux durant cette période, et le départ des troupes coincidant ainsi avec la nouvelle organisation de l'administration du Liban, on posséderait une garantie de plus pour le maintien de la tranquillité.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Russie adhère pour sa part à cette prolongation, qui, à son sens, répond à une mesure d'urgence recommandée aux Grandes Puissances par l'humanité aussi bien que par les intérêts généraux de l'Europe et de la Turquie. Elle permettra d'ailleurs de mener à bonne fin les mesures d'ordre et d'organisation nécessitées par la situation du Liban et conformes aux vœux de son Gouvernement.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie annonce qu'il a soumis à sa Cour la suggestion consignée dans le Protocole de la précédente réunion ; que saCour l'a chargé de maintenir les déclarations qu'il a faites en ce qui concerne les moyens dont elle dispose pour préserver la tranquillité en Syrie, comme pour ce qui touche l'organisation administrative et les travaux de la Commission ; que cependant, dans un sentiment de gratitude pour le concours que l'Europe lui a prêté, elle l'avait autorisé à consentir à une prolongation de l'occupation jusqu'au 30 Mai ; que l'esprit dans lequel sont conçues ces instructions lui permet d'acquiescer, puisque tous les Plénipotentiaires y adhèrent, au terme de trois mois : si cette clause est combinée de manière à fixer exactement la date de l'évacuation.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne croit pouvoir, après avoir entendu les autres Plénipotentiaires, proposer à la Conférence une rédaction qui lui paraît conforme aux vues conciliantes des Puissances, et il en donne lecture.

Cette rédaction est examinée par la Conférence, qui, après en avoir discuté les termes, tombe d'accord sur le libellé de l'Acte annexé au présent Protocole, et qui reçoit la signature des Plénipotentiaires.

Fait à Paris, le quinze Mars, mil huit cent soixante-et-un.

Annex.

LEURS Majestés l'Empereur d'Autriche, l'Empereur des Français, la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, le Roi de Prusse, l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et l'Empereur des Ottomans, après les explications échangées entre leurs Gouvernements respectifs, s'étant entendus pour modifier la Convention conclue entre eux le 5 Septembre dernier, les Réprésentants de leurs dites Majestés sont tombés d'accord sur les Articles suivants, qui seront textuellement convertis en une Convention dont les instruments vont être aussitôt préparés pour être revêtus de leurs signatures :—

ARTICLE I.

La durée de l'occupation Européenne en Syrie sera prolongée jusqu'au 5 Juin de la présente année, époque à laquelle il est entendu entre les Hautes Parties Contractantes qu'elle aura atteint son terme, et que l'évacuation aura été effectuée.

ARTICLE II.

Les stipulations contenues dans l'Article II de la Convention du 5 Septembre, 1860, en tant qu'elles n'ont point encore été exécutées, ou qu'elles ne sont pas modifiées par la présente Convention, demeureront en vigueur pendant la période qui s'écoulera entre la date de la signature de cet Acte, et le 5 Juin de l'année courante.

ARTICLE III.

La présente Convention sera ratifiée, et les ratifications en seront échangées à Paris dans le délai de cinq semaines, ou plus tôt si faire se peut.

Les Plénipotentiaires sont convenus de se réunir Mardi prochain, 19, pour signer la Convention.

Paris, le 15 *Mars*, 1861.

(Translation.)

Present:

For Austria, Prince Metternich;
For France, M. Thouvenel;
For Great Britain, Earl Cowley;
For Prussia, Count Pourtalès;
For Russia, Count Kisseleff;
For Turkey, Vefyk Effendi.

THE Protocol of the sitting of the 19th of February was read, and adopted with amendments which do not give rise to any discussion.

The Plenipotentiary of France expresses the wish that the Plenipotentiaries should make known the opinion of their respective Governments upon the suggestion which it had been agreed to submit to their consideration.

The Plenipotentiary of Austria says that since the last meeting of the Conference, sufficient time has elapsed to make it seem to him desirable to fix at three months the term during which the European occupation of Syria should be prolonged; it seems to him that, during that period, the Porte would be able to adopt the supplementary measures which should be considered fitted to dissipate all uneasiness, and thus to prepare for the evacuation in such a manner as to prevent the conflicts which, according to certain anticipations, would threaten to break out after the departure of the foreign troops.

The Plenipotentiary of France states that he has submitted to the consideration of his Government the combination proposed to the Conference at its preceding meeting, and that it did not appear to it to meet the contingencies for which it is necessary to provide; he acknowledges, however, that if the occupation were prolonged for three months, there would be at least a greater latitude for considering the question.

The Plenipotentiary of Great Britain states that his Government has not received any information which could induce it to modify the view which he has communicated to the Conference; that he must, therefore, persist in the opinion which he has expressed; but that if the other Plenipotentiaries are disposed to adjourn the departure of the foreign troops, he is himself authorized, in a spirit of conciliation, to give his assent to it provided, that the period does not exceed the term of three months, and that the Sublime Porte does not make any objection to it.

The Plenipotentiary of Prussia is of opinion that that prolongation should be adopted; according to him, the Commission would be able to terminate its labours during that period, and the departure of the troops thus coinciding with the new organization of the administration of the Lebanon, a further guarantee would be gained of the maintenance of tranquillity.

The Plenipotentiary of Russia agrees, for his part, to this prolongation, which, in his opinion, provides for a measure urgently required, and recommended to the Great Powers by humanity, as well as by the general interests of Europe and of Turkey. It will, moreover, allow of the final adoption of the measures of order and organization necessitated by the situation of the Lebanon, and in conformity with the views of his Government.

The Plenipotentiary of Turkey announces that he has submitted to his Court the suggestion recorded in the Protocol of the preceding meeting; that his Court has instructed him to maintain the declarations which he has made concerning the means at his disposal for the preservation of tranquillity in Syria, both as regards the administrative organization and the labours of the Commission; that nevertheless, from a feeling of gratitude for the assistance which Europe has lent to it, it has authorized it to consent to a prolongation of the

occupation till the 30th of May; that the spirit in which his instructions are conceived, permits him to acquiesce, since all the Plenipotentiaries agree to it, in the term of three months, if that clause is so drawn up as to fix exactly the date of the evacuation.

The Plenipotentiary of Great Britain thinks that after having heard the other Plenipotentiaries, he can propose to the Conference a draft which appears to him to meet the conciliatory views of the Powers, and he reads it.

This draft is examined by the Conference, which, after having discussed the terms of it, agrees to the wording of the Act annexed to the present Protocol, and which receives the signature of the Plenipotentiaries.

Done at Paris, the 15th of March, 1861.

Annex.

THEIR Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the Emperor of the Ottomans, after explanations exchanged between their respective Governments, having agreed to modify the Convention concluded between them on the 5th of September last, the Representatives of their said Majesties have agreed upon the following Articles, which shall be adopted verbatim in a Convention which will be immediately prepared for their signatures:—

ARTICLE I.

The duration of the European occupation in Syria shall be prolonged until the 5th of June of the present year, at which date it is understood between the High Contracting Parties that it shall have reached its term, and that the evacuation shall have been effected.

ARTICLE II.

The stipulations contained in the second Article of the Convention of the 5th of September, 1860, in so far as they have not yet been executed, or as they are not modified by the present Convention, shall continue in force during the period which has to elapse between the date of the signature of the present Act and the 5th of June of the present year.

ARTICLE III.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Paris in five weeks, or sooner if possible.

The Plenipotentiaries agreed to meet on Tuesday next, the 19th, to sign the Convention.

Paris, March 15, 1861.

No. 371.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 20.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, March* 7, 1861.

I HAVE not failed, in accordance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's telegram of the 2nd instant, to urge the Porte not to permit the execution of the Druse Chief Said Bey Djumblat, and I have now much satisfaction in acquainting your Lordship that Aali Pasha wrote yesterday to Fuad Pasha to desire his Excellency to comply with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government in this matter.

I have already telegraphed, by way of Smyrna, in the above sense to Lord Dufferin.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

No. 372.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 26.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, March* 4, 1861.

FROM a despatch, dated the 7th ultimo, addressed by his Excellency Lord Cowley to your Lordship, it would appear that M. Béclard has informed M. Thouvenel that the Commissioners had unanimously required his Excellency Fuad Pasha to add largely to the list of twenty persons already condemned to death by the Court-martial of Mokhtara; and that M. Thouvenel having expressed his dissatisfaction at such "a holocaust," has suggested the propriety of restricting the number of executions to one or two of the principal criminals.

What happened was this:—

On the 24th of January, Abro Efendi announced to us, on the part of Fuad Pasha, that in consequence of the Christians having refused to give evidence, the Tribunal at Mokhtara had been able to satisfy themselves of the guilt of only 20 out of the 290 persons specially accused of murder, but that if the Commission would authorize him to do so, his Excellency was anxious to join to this number the twenty-three Chiefs and others already proposed to be condemned by the Extraordinary Tribunal of Beyrout, in all, forty-three persons, whom he would at once proceed to execute.

To this proposal the French Commissioner professed himself anxious to assent, provided that more names were added to the list of those already sentenced at Mokhtara, and he indicated the number eighty as a maximum.

To any proceeding of this kind I felt it my duty to offer the most strenuous opposition. As for including the Chiefs imprisoned at Beyrout in the same category with the blood-stained assassins convicted at Mokhtara, it was out of the question. Most of them were not even accused of participation in the massacres. The *procès-verbal* of their trials had not been yet communicated to us, and the Commission had not ratified the sentences proposed to be passed upon them. They must still, therefore, be considered as uncondemned.

As to inviting the Court-martial in the Mountain to add to the list of twenty they had already sent in, it was a very dangerous expedient. It might, indeed, be urged that twenty convictions for murder bore a very small proportion to the thousands of Christians who had been butchered; but though out of deference to my colleagues I might make this admission in the abstract, it seemed to me a horrible thing to tempt such a Tribunal as that on which we had to depend to force their consciences, and condemn persons on what would prove insufficient evidence.

In reference to the twenty already sentenced I had no scruples. A British officer had been invited by his Excellency Fuad Pasha to watch the proceedings of the Court, and he reported himself satisfied with the guilt of those who had been designated to us. Should he in the meantime have ascertained that substantial proof was forthcoming against some of the others, I should not refuse on his authority to add their names to the list, but that beyond this I could not go.

In consequence of my objections to allow the Druse Chiefs to be thus summarily dealt with, as well as on account of the ambiguous nature of the Commission's reply to his demands, Fuad Pasha returned to Beyrout for the purpose of conferring with us in person on the subject.

The inclosed is a copy of the Protocol of the meeting which followed.

Inclosure in No. 372.

Protocol of the Twenty-first Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, January 29, 1861.

Le vingt-neuf Janvier, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à deux heures et demie.

Il est convenu que les procès-verbaux des deux précédentes séances, auxquelles Abro Efendi a pris part, en qualité de Délégué du Commissaire

Ottoman, seront lus et adoptés dans une réunion particulière à laquelle Abro Efendi sera prié d'assister.

Fuad Pacha expose à la Commission qu'après avoir reçu son avis sur les condamnations du Tribunal de Mokhtarah, il a fait élargir les détenus de la seconde catégorie, et n'a retenu en prison que les 290 individus compris dans la première. Il a cru devoir en outre ajourner l'exécution des condamnations déjà prononcées, afin que toutes puissent s'exécuter simultanément. Ces résolutions une fois prises, Fuad Pacha est revenu à Beyrout pour s'entendre de nouveau avec la Commission. L'avis, formulé par elle dans la précédente séance, pourrait être, selon lui, le résultat d'un malentendu, et il pense qu'en réalité le chiffre total des condamnations qu'il a projeté de prononcer contre les Druses, tant à Beyrout qu'à Mokhtarah, est de nature à remplir le vœu de la Commission. En effet, si l'on ajoute au chiffre des vingt condamnations proposées par le Tribunal de Mokhtarah, celui des vingt-trois condamnations proposées par le Tribunal de Beyrout, savoir, onze contre les individus dont les dossiers ont déjà été transmis à la Commission, six contre les contumaces récemment arrêtés, et six autres dont les dossiers seront prochainement communiqués, on arrive à un total de quarante-trois condamnations contre les Druses, c'est-à-dire, à un chiffre approchant celui des condamnations de Damas que la Commission ne veut pas dépasser, et d'autre part très-supérieur à celui de vingt qu'elle considère comme insuffisant au point de vue politique. Fuad Pacha provoque à ce sujet de nouvelles explications de la part de la Commission, et son Excellence termine, en déclarant que son intention, conforme au deuxième avis exprimé par la Commission, est d'appliquer une peine de second ordre à ceux d'entre les 290 détenus de Mokhtarah qui ne seront point condamnés à la peine de mort.

M. de Rehfues s'attache à démontrer qu'il n'y a eu, de la part de la Commission, aucune espèce de malentendu. La Commission n'ignorait nullement que le Tribunal de Beyrout eût proposé déjà la condamnation de vingt-trois Chefs Druses, puisque les sentences prononcées contre ces Chefs ont été soumises à son appréciation, et qu'il en était fait mention dans la lettre même par laquelle Fuad Pacha demandait l'avis de la Commission relativement aux sentences du Tribunal de Mokhtarah. C'est par rapport à cette seconde catégorie de sentences, et abstraction faite de celles prononcées à Beyrout, que la Commission avait à donner son avis ; elle a distingué dans cet avis ce que par la nature même des choses devait être distingué. A Beyrout sont détenus les Chefs de la nation Druse, ceux que leur haute responsabilité commande de frapper. A Mokhtarah se trouvent ou devraient du moins se trouver les agents secondaires qui ont commis les 6,000 assassinats de la Montagne. C'est de ces derniers seulement qu'il était question, et au sujet desquels la Commission avait à se prononcer, et l'expression de son avis n'est certainement point le résultat d'un malentendu.

Lord Dufferin rappelle que la Commission a été unanime à reconnaître avec lui que le chiffre des condamnations à prononcer dans la Montagne ne devait pas dépasser celui des condamnations exécutées à Damas. La raison, dit-il, en est évidente. A Damas les meurtres ont été aussi nombreux que dans la Montagne, et ils n'avaient point été provoqués, tandis que dans la Montagne il devient chaque jour plus clair que les Druses ont été provoqués d'une manière arrêtée d'avance, et que presque partout ce sont les Chrétiens qui ont commencé l'attaque. Jusqu'à présent M. le Commissaire Britannique avait hésité à se prononcer sur ce dernier point d'une façon trop catégorique, mais il ne craint pas aujourd'hui d'affirmer que les Druses ont pris les armes pour se défendre, et qu'à moins d'être des lâches ils devaient le faire. Ceci posé et le châtiment des atrocités dont ils se sont malheureusement rendus coupables pendant la lutte étant admis en principe, il est évident que dans sa mesure ce châtiment ne doit pas être aussi rigoureux que celui des Damasquins, qui ont commis autant de meurtres et autant d'atrocités, sans y avoir été provoqués par les Chrétiens. M. le Commissaire Britannique est d'avis que, dans la balance des deux répressions, il faut faire entrer en ligne de compte toutes les condamnations, aussi bien celles de Beyrout que celles de Mokhtarah. Il a toujours cru, et les réserves qu'il a faites à ce sujet sont là pour le prouver, qui si le chiffre de vingt condamnations prononcées à Mokhtarah ne semblait pas de nature à remplir l'objet qu'on se proposait, cependant il n'appartenait pas à la Commission d'engager un Tribunal à frapper de mort, dans un but purement politique, des invidus dont la culpabilité ne serait pas démontrée.

Si en principe, et ainsi qu'il a été admis, la répression des Druses ne doit pas égaler celle infligée aux Damasquins, il semble maintenant à Lord Dufferin que cette répression pourrait sans inconvénient être de beaucoup moins rigoureuse, vu d'une part les souffrances endurées par la nation Druse toute entière, vu d'autre part le grand nombre de meurtres isolés qui ont été commis par les Chrétiens sur les Druses depuis les événements. M. le Commissaire Britannique s'engage à communiquer à ses collègues une liste nominale de 136 hommes, 25 femmes et 15 enfants tués, 63 hommes et 22 femmes blessés, par les Chrétiens. Il rappelle la lettre adressée par lui à Fuad Pacha, lorsqu'arriva la première nouvelle de ces représailles, lettre dont il avait fait connaître le contenu au Général Commandant-en-chef du corps expéditionaire, et dans laquelle il exprimait l'opinion que, si tout d'abord un exemple n'était pas fait et la tendance des Chrétiens à se rendre justice eux-mêmes n'était pas réprimée dès le début, ces assassinats se multiplieraient. C'est là malheureusement, ajoute Lord Dufferin, ce qui est arrivé, et dans un tel état de choses, eu égard aux circonstances qui ont précédé, comme à celles qui ont suivi la lutte, il est difficile de reconnaître aux Chrétiens le droit d'exiger que les Druses soient frappés d'un châtiment très rigoureux.

Le Commissaire Français, en réponse au discours de Lord Dufferin, fait observer que, si le Commissaire de Sa Majesté Britannique a pu décliner à bon droit la responsabilité des assassinats commis par des Chrétiens, cette responsabilité, Dieu merci, ne retombe sur aucun des autres membres de la Commission. Ce n'est pas à eux en effet qu'on peut reprocher le retard apporté au châtiment des Druses. Si des assassinats ont été commis, qu'on en recherche les auteurs, mais qu'on ne confonde pas quelques actes de vengeance, accomplis par des Chrétiens égarés, pour qui la répression promise a été trop lente à venir, avec l'œuvre de justice que la Commission poursuit de ses vœux.

Quant au chiffre des condamnations capitales auquel le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Mokhtarah s'était provisoirement arrêté, et que la Commission a déclaré insuffisant, M. Béclard ne pense pas non plus qu'il ait pu donner lieu à un malentendu. La Commission savait en effet, et le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman lui avait fourni à cet égard toutes les explications désirables, que les onze jugements déjà rendus à Beyrout contre des Chefs Druses concluaient à la peine de mort ; que six contumaces condamnés à la même peine venaient d'être saisis, et que les dossiers relatifs à six autres procès criminels également terminés par des condamnations capitales allaient être bientôt soumis à son examen.

Pour atténuer apparemment la culpabilité des Druses et pour leur concilier une indulgence à laquelle ils n'ont aucun droit, on parle aussi de la provocation dont ils auraient été l'objet de la part des Chrétiens. M. Béclard considère cette allégation comme étant tout au moins imprudente. Aucune preuve ne vient la corroborer, tandis que la dévastation, le pillage, et la ruine des villages Chrétiens, tandis que le sang de tant de milliers de victimes, parlent assez haut contre les Druses. Il serait difficile aujourd'hui, si l'on se reporte aux assassinats isolés qui de part et d'autre ont précédé les événements de la Montagne, de dire quels ont été les premiers agresseurs. Cette recherche n'aurait d'ailleurs aucun intérêt ; c'est une question de date et rien de plus. Mais ce qui malheureusement est à l'abri de toute contestation, c'est la partialité, pour ne pas dire la connivance, des autorités Ottomanes. Leur protection s'est-elle jamais exercée au profit des Chrétiens ? Quand les soldats Ottomans sont intervenus dans la lutte, est-ce pour aider les Chrétiens à égorger et à piller leurs adversaires ? On a parlé de provocation. A qui cette provocation a-t-elle été en quelque sorte adressée, lorsque la Montagne, dépossédée de son administration unique et Chrétienne, s'est vue soumise au régime des Caïmacamies ? Prétend-on aussi prouver que les massacres de 1842 et 1845 ont été provoqués par les Chrétiens ? Toujours victimes de la fureur des Druses, ne faut-il voir en eux que des provocateurs et par conséquent des coupables ? Leurs malheurs seuls sont prouvés, ainsi que leur résignation. Et si cette résignation leur eût manqué, pourrait-on bien leur imputer à crime d'avoir aspiré à la délivrance ? On sait dans tous les cas ce qu'ils ont obtenu. En demandant justice pour les Chrétiens, en indiquant la proportion dans laquelle cette justice devait s'exercer, la Commission a fait tout ce qu'elle pouvait faire. Un plus long débat devient inutile ; c'est à l'autorité compétente qu'il appartient d'agir et de satisfaire à de légitimes exigences.

Fuad Pacha ne croit pas pouvoir laisser sans réponse deux idées qui viennent

d'être émises par M. Béclard. De l'avis de son Excellence, la séparation de la Montagne en deux Caimacamies, mesure purement administrative, ne saurait être considerée comme une provocation à l'adresse des Chrétiens. En second lieu, si les agents de l'autorité ont à la vérité dans ces derniers temps mal rempli leurs devoirs, on ne peut en induire que le Gouvernement a toujours favorisé les Druses et retiré sa protection aux Chrétiens.

M. le Commissaire de Russie est d'avis que, pour arriver à une solution pratique de la question, il n'est pas nécessaire de remonter si haut que viennent de le faire ses collègues de France et d'Angleterre. Il n'y a de guerre civile que là où l'on se bat des deux côtés. Or, malheureusement les Chrétiens ne se sont point battus, et bien loin d'avoir été provocateurs, notamment à Hasbeya, Racheya, et Deir-el-Kamar, ils se sont laissés massacrer presque sans résistance. Les assassinats, ou pour mieux dire les représailles individuelles auxquelles ils se sont livrés depuis les événements, fussent-ils au nombre de 150, ne sont point une satisfaction pour la justice. On ne peut même sans inconvénient les faire entrer en ligne de compte, car un tel calcul conduirait à dire que, sur les 6,000 meurtres commis par les Druses, 5,850 restent sans vengeance.

M. Novikow ne croit pas qu'il y ait d'ailleurs lieu de s'appésantir sur le caractère et les conséquences de la décision administrative adoptée en 1842, mesure qui appartient à une phase historique, placée en dehors des attributions de la Commission. Le principe sur lequel la Commission est déjà tombée d'accord, et d'où elle peut tirer une solution pratique de la question pendante, c'est que le nombre des condamnations à mort dans la Montagne ne dépassera pas celui des condamnations prononcées à Damas. Or, que l'on prenne le chiffre de vingt proposé par le Tribunal de Mokhtatah, ou celui de trente à quarante, en y ajoutant les condamnations proposées par celui de Beyrout, il y a toujours de la marge, puisqu'il y a eu quatre-vingt exécutions à Damas, et de quelque manière qu'il entende le vœu exprimé par la Commission, le Commissaire du Sultan, s'il veut y déférer, doit encore étendre les limites de la répression. Afin pourtant de ne point leur donner une extension trop considérable et pour éviter une trop grande effusion de sang, M. Novikow rappelle qu'il a proposé dans la dernière séance l'application d'une peine secondaire, telle que la déportation, à ceux d'entre les détenus de Mokhtarah qui ne seraient point condamnés à mort, et qui cependant méritaient d'être punis. La Commission s'est unanimement ralliée à cette proposition. En conséquence M. le Commissaire Russe est d'avis que la Commission n'a rien à ajouter aux conclusions qu'elle a déjà prises et qui ont été communiquées à son Excellence.

M. de Weckbecker rappelle que la question avait été posée dans les termes suivants :—

Vingt condamnations à mort sont-elles suffisantes au point de vue politique? A cette question la Commission a répondu à l'unanimité négativement. En faisant cette réponse, elle a dû nécessairement supposer que le Tribunal de Mokhtara avait à sa disposition les moyens de constater le degré de culpabilité des prévenus placés sous sa juridiction.

Fuad Pacha revient à ce propos sur les difficultés de toutes sortes qui ont entravé, et parfois même rendu complétement stériles, les recherches de la justice. A défaut de preuves, il a fallu dans la plupart des cas se contenter d'une simple présomption de culpabilité. Si en théorie il est facile de dire que vingt condamnations ne suffisent pas, il est difficile dans la pratique de recueillir des témoignages sur lesquels pourrait s'appuyer un plus grand nombre de condamnations.

Ce que Lord Dufferin redoute par dessus tout, c'est que, pour produire un effet purement politique, on ne frappe des innocents. A ses yeux l'intérêt de la justice passe avant celui de la politique. Peu lui importe au fond le nombre des condamnés, pourvu que ce soient des coupables, et que leur crime soit démontré. Si on lui présentait une liste de cent ou cent cinquante Druses dont la culpabilité serait prouvée par des témoignages bien positifs, il serait le premier à approuver et même à réclamer leur condamnation à mort, sinon leur exécution.

M. Béclard n'admet pas qu'après de tels événements la justice sociale puisse être frappée d'une sorte d'impuissance. Il s'étonne d'entendre ceux qui sont chargés de punir, et ceux qui ont mission de provoquer la répression, arguer sans cesse du défaut de preuves et de témoignages. Il se peut que les témoignages oculaires fassent souvent défaut, et cela n'a rien que de naturel, puisque les Druses ont massacré impitoyablement tout ce qui n'avait pas fui.

Mais dans une telle conjoncture, et quand 6,000 cadavres témoignent d'eux-mêmes, quand il s'agit de rendre, ainsi que la Commission l'a reconnu, une justice prompte et expéditive, le devoir des tribunaux est de se plier aux circonstances et de condamner sur d'autres preuves que celles requises en temps ordinaires.

M. de Weckbecker est d'avis qu'en pareil cas la dénonciation, la voix publique peuvent servir d'indication à la justice.

Fuad Pacha met fin à cet entretien, en déclarant que le principe de la simultanéité des exécutions étant adopté, et la Commission n'ayant pas encore donné son avis sur les condamnations proposées par le Tribunal de Beyrout, il s'écoulera encore quelque temps d'ici à ce que la répression soit définitivement arrêtée. Il tâchera de mettre ce temps à profit pour recueillir de nouvelles indications sur la culpabilité des 290 individus détenus à Mokhtara. Ces recherches lui permettront peut-être d'augmenter le chiffre des condamnations à mort, et alors une fois l'avis de la Commission, relatif aux sentences du Tribunal de Beyrout, à lui transmis, il fera procéder simultanément et immédiatement aux exécutions.

M. Béclard saisit l'occasion qui s'offre à lui pour demander à Fuad Pacha s'il a enfin reçu de Constantinople des instructions relatives à l'indemnité des Chrétiens de Damas, affaire déjà examinée depuis trois mois par la Commission.

Le Commissaire Ottoman répond qu'il n'a pas encore reçu de réponse aux demandes pressantes qu'il a adressées à ce sujet à son Gouvernement, mais qu'il ne désespère pas d'en recevoir prochainement.

Lord Dufferin est d'avis que le retard mis par la Porte au réglement de cette question est de sa part une très-grave faute.

M. le Commissaire Français donne connaissance à Fuad Pacha de la copie d'une requête qui a été adressée à son Excellence par quarante-trois habitants notables de Baalbek, et appelle l'attention du Commissaire Ottoman sur la situation alarmante de cette localité.

Fuad Pacha déclare n'avoir pas reçu cette requête, et promet de prendre toutes les mesures qui, après information, auront été reconnues nécessaires pour améliorer la situation de Baalbek.

Au sujet de Djezin les renseignements qu'il a fait recueillir l'ont conduit à penser que l'état des choses n'y était pas aussi désespéré qu'on le disait. La situation des habitants de Djezin est pénible à beaucoup d'égards ; mais elle n'est pas exceptionnellement mauvaise. Il a fait distribuer aux plus nécessiteux des billets sur la remise desquels il auraient pu recevoir à Mokhtara des objets de literie de première nécessité. A son grand étonnement, pas un ne s'est présenté.

M. le Commissaire Français demande à son Excellence Fuad Pacha s'il a pris des informations touchant le fait signalé dans une précédente séance de 500 Damasquins exilés à Tripoli, et qui, par leurs propos et leur attitude, jettent l'épouvante au sein des populations Chrétiennes.

Fuad Pacha répond qu'il a écrit à ce sujet à Ahmed Pacha. Il n'en a point encore reçu de réponse, mais il croit pouvoir dire que le chiffre de 500 Damasquins lui paraît d'avance très-exagéré.

M. Béclard interpelle Fuad Pacha relativement aux incidents de diverse nature qui se sont produits dernièrement dans les environs de Damas.

Fuad Pacha entre à ce sujet dans quelques développements, d'où il résulte que des Bédouins ont pillé un village de Hauran ; que dans un autre village l'annonce de la perception d'un impôt a occasionné des troubles et la fuite des habitants ; que les Druses réfugiés dans le Hauran avaient offert de restituer les objets pillés qu'ils détiennent, pourvu qu'on leur accordât une amnistie en compensation ; que le Gouvernement n'a pas cru pouvoir amnistier des criminels condamnés par contumace à la peine de mort ; que s'ils ont échappé jusqu'à présent au glaive de la justice et trouvé un refuge dans le Hauran, cela tient uniquement à ce que l'autorité ne peut pas, vu le mauvais état de la saison, aller les y poursuivre, mais qu'en attendant que le moment soit venu de diriger contre eux les forces militaires nécessaires pour les réduire à l'obéissance, il use de ménagements à leur égard, afin d'empêcher qu'ils ne portent le désordre dans les contrées environnantes.

M. Béclard pose la question de savoir, si une expédition dans le Hauran, jugée nécessaire par le Commissaire Ottoman, n'aurait pas pu être tentée par les troupes de la garnison de Damas avant la mauvaise saison.

M. Novikow fait observer que les ménagements dont Fuad Pacha a cru devoir user à l'égard des Druses réfugiés dans le Hauran, ne paraissent pas avoir atteint le résultat qu'il avait en vue, puisque des actes de brigandage se commettent journellement dans cette portion du territoire de l'Empire.

Fuad Pacha répond que ce ne sont pas là des faits exceptionnels, mais qu'ils constituent l'état normal du pays ; qu'il peut répondre de la tranquillité dans les villes, mais que dans les campagnes qui sont hors de sa portée, et où il n'a pas les moyens d'action suffisants, il lui est impossible de maintenir dans l'ordre des populations qui ne reconnaissent aucune loi et n'ont jamais été qu'à moitié soumises.

M. Novikow émet l'avis que, sans la réduction du Hauran, il n'y a point de tranquillité à venir possible pour la Syrie.

Lord Dufferin est aussi d'avis que cette mesure est très-urgente.

La séance est levée à 5 heures et demie.

(Suivent les signatures.)

No. 373.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 26.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, March* 10, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 373.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, February* 27, 1861.

I HAVE to apologize for having delayed to comply with the instructions contained in your Excellency's despatch of the 12th instant, but I have been so busily occupied during the last week by business connected with the judicial proceedings of the Extraordinary Tribunal of Beyrout, that it was impossible for me to transmit, by last Monday's mail, the information with which your Excellency desires to be furnished respecting the amount of the indemnity it is proposed should be levied on the Moslem population of Damascus.

On the 10th of last November M. Béclard communicated to the Commission a paper, with which he had been furnished by M. Outrey at Damascus, in which the losses of the Christian population were calculated at 150,000,000 piastres (1,250,000*l.* sterling). After due inquiry it was decided by the Commission that this was a very moderate estimation of their claims, and Fuad Pasha himself was the first to accept it as a basis for the settlement of the indemnity.

The next question that arose was, as to the mode in which such a large sum was to be provided. M. Outrey had suggested that a tax of 34,000,000 piastres should be levied on Damascus ; that the villages in the neighbourhood, whose inhabitants largely participated in the plunder, should be mulcted to the amount of 24,000,000 piastres, either in cash or in building materials ; that 8,000,000 piastres should be furnished by the people of the Hauran ; 30,000,000 piastres by the other inhabitants of the province ; and that the Porte should supply the remainder by the sale of Government property and of confiscated estates, to the amount of 22,000,000 piastres more ; the payments to be made in instalments, extending over a period of one year and a-half.

Two objections were made to this proposal, one emanating from M. Béclard and the Representatives of Russia and Prussia, and the other from myself.

The French Commissioner found fault with the delay permitted for the collection of the money, which, he suggested, should be exacted in the course of a week, and I ventured to protest against the injustice of involving the

innocent peasantry of the whole province in the same penal sentence with the citizens of Damascus; but no one seemed to consider that the 35,000,000 piastres, at which that city had been assessed, was an extravagant sum, and Fuad Pasha himself had even suggested 60,000,000 piastres, as the proper proportion which its inhabitants might be called upon to pay.

My representations on behalf of the uncompromised rural populations having been successful, and his Excellency making no objection to the amount of 40,000,000 piastres for Damascus, that is to say, 16 per cent. on one year's income of every tax-paying inhabitant, or to 24,000,000 piastres for the villages, it was agreed that the remainder of M. Outrey's proposal should be dropped, and that it should be left to the discretion of the Porte to supply the 86,000,000 piastres deficit, the Commission merely reserving to itself the right of pronouncing on the far narrower question of the periods at which the instalments were to fall due.

After the most careful inquiries I satisfied myself that 10,000,000 piastres a month was the most rapid rate at which the sum in question could be collected without injuring the city's already half-paralyzed springs of industry, and five months from the beginning of the year, practically seven months from the date when the question first arose, was finally adopted. Fuad Pasha contended for nine months; I did my best to support him, and a very satisfactory compromise was on the point of being arrived at, when the Porte suddenly transferred the settlement of this important question from Syria to Constantinople.

The consequence of this interference on the part of the Central Government has been most pernicious. As I have already informed your Excellency, there is a fixed conviction in the minds of the Christian population of the Province that the calamities which lately overtook them were authorized by the Porte. The only way for Fuad Pasha to remove such an impression was by at once entering on the work of reparation. But whence were the necessary funds to be obtained? It was evident Constantinople could not be expected to supply them. A retributive tax on Damascus seemed to be the most expeditious, just, and natural expedient within his reach, supplying, as it did, a striking indication of the sincerely beneficent intention of the Government towards its Christian subjects.

From any politic act of this kind he was unexpectedly debarred. The consequence has been, that up to this moment, although he has been more than seven months in the country, not a single step has been taken to restore the wretched Christians of Damascus to their homes. Their quarter stands as it was left on the morning after the massacres. The greater part of its inhabitants are at Beyrout, and the small proportion who have lingered behind, under the sinister shelter of the Moslem houses, into which they were originally thrust, are coming away as soon as the roads are open, not unreasonably refusing to sojourn any longer in a town where they can have no homes of their own, where no means remain of earning a livelihood, and where the daily rations of the Government on which they have been dependent during the winter are kept thirty or forty days in arrear.

This renewal of the exodus, stimulated and encouraged by designing persons at Damascus, exaggerated and attributed to other causes by designing persons here, naturally enough reacts upon the minds of the panic-struck Christian population of the country, and a state of unreasonable alarm is everywhere maintained which paralyzes every description of trade, and will probably greatly endanger the silk crop in the Mountain.

If only Fuad Pasha could have been put in a position to make a *bonâ fide* commencement of the work of reparation at Damascus, if it had become generally known that the question of the indemnities was settled in a manner satisfactory to the European Commission, and that the Porte in its solicitude for its Christian subjects was prepared even to press, with a certain amount of vigour, their Mahometan persecutors, the position of the Government at the present moment would have been less disadvantageous, and we who are endeavouring sincerely to aid its efforts, would be enabled to countervail more successfully the efforts of those whose only object is to vilify all it does.

Your Excellency will now understand the sense in which I alluded to the way in which the Turkish Commissioner's action on the spot has been sometimes prejudicially hampered by his colleagues at head-quarters. I was far from

desiring to make any complaint against his Excellency. In a most difficult and painful position, he has done his best to act in accordance with the interests of his Sovereign, and it is probable that no one in the service of the Porte would have held up so stoutly against the difficulties which beset him on every side.

P.S.—I ought to have informed your Excellency long ere this that the Commission had furnished Fuad Pasha with a joint list, containing the names of those persons who, in consideration of their good conduct during the disturbances, ought to be exempted from the tax it was proposed should be levied on Damascus.

Inclosure 2 in No. 373.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, March* 4, 1861.

I TRUST your Excellency will forgive me if I venture to trouble you with a short explanation relative to one of the Articles in my Memorandum for the reorganization of Syria, to which you attach a very different meaning from that which I intended it should convey.

The Article in question proposes "to extend the benefit of European intervention to all the Christians in Syria;" but your Excellency has concluded that I intended "to place all the Christian subjects of the Porte in Syria under foreign protection."

This is quite the reverse of what I should ever think of advocating. If I talked of extending the benefit of the intervention of Europe to the Christians of Syria, it was with reference to the labours of the Commission itself who represented that intervention, and whom I thus invited to devise a plan for the reorganization of the whole province, instead of merely confining their attention to the Lebanon.

So far from desiring to enforce the system of "Consular protection," which appears to me to be one of the greatest curses of the country, I had even gone so far as to propose to my colleagues that its entire abolition should be especially recommended in our Report.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 373.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, March* 7, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copies of two letters: one from Bishop Tobia to the Christians of Deir-el-Kamar, written previously to the occurrences at that place; and the other from a Christian named Halib Akawi, also of Deir-el-Kamar, to Said Bek Jumblat, written about the same time. Accompanying the latter is an explanatory Memorandum by Mr. Consul Rogers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 373.

Bishop Tobia to the Chief People of Deir-el-Kamar.

(Translation.) *May* 20, 1860.

AFTER invoking on you the Divine blessing, and inquiring after your state, I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the day before yesterday (May 18), and am much pleased to hear of your peace. I understand the

excuses which you therein give to me for your reluctance up to the present time in furnishing intelligence of occurrences in your neighbourhood. Your excuse has been accepted, and no blame has been attached to you. I am pleased with your zeal and your excessive energy in everything which concerns public good, love of the country, peace, quietness, and domestic happiness. We have made out a diary containing the news of your district up to the present day, which exhibits the direction of the thoughts of the Chiefs of the Druse community for quietness, and removal of motives for intriguing disturbance which might lead to an outbreak and the kindling of the fire of war.

When I examined these thoughts, and compared them with the thoughts of the Christian community (who are opposed to the creation and perpetuation of hatred, and seek to turn away from all movements and all intriguing, both openly and covertly, as is well known to you), from this comparison I am obliged either to turn aside, and accept as true the statements of the thoughts of the Chiefs of the Druse community which have been represented to you as desiring the destruction of the root of evil and the cessation of all movement and intrigue, or to the comparison of these statements with what has been seen by their acts, and is still seen by their deeds, against the people of the district of Jezzin, slaying and ruining them by false testimony, and stoppage of the roads from their homes in all directions, so that they (the people of Jezzin) have become shut up and deprived of business from all quarters, while they have beheld an assemblage of the Druses over against them. Therefore I shall be obliged to alter my opinion, but I fear being betrayed; and if that happen, seeing that the Christians are sleeping on the cushions of security, without doubt there will happen to them what happened in the years 1841 and 1845, and we cannot rely on our thoughts nor assure ourselves from betrayal until we see the road to Jezzin open, at least before you, and until you are able to repair to Jezzin in all security. When you have accomplished this, then indeed we will consent to that which you saw and witnessed. We decide against everything which is opposed to this, because the people of the district of Jezzin have clearly shown that they have given up all hope of their lives, owing to the stoppage of all communications with them from every direction.

Direct your attention and give true intelligence of this attempt; and if you succeed in it, I shall be grateful for your acts of zeal, and I shall be able to agree entirely to your proposition for the expulsion and hatred of the Druses, (who are) the causes of movements and intrigues. If you do not succeed in this endeavour in a short time, we shall be obliged to follow the thought which is hateful; and, what is more, will have a bad end if you divert your attention and confide matters to chance. This, for the excellence of your intelligence, is sufficient, and we look for an answer on this matter as soon as possible, for the tranquillity of our mind.

We pray God to open the eyes of the foolish, that they may foresee the end of these matters, and beware of dangers which lead to destruction and perdition. May the Divine blessing rest upon you, and may you be preserved.

(Signature.)

Inclosure 5 in No. 373.

Halîb Akawi to Said Bek Jumblât.

(Translation.)

ON my arrival at this place (Beyrout), I found the Maronites here causing great excitement, informing the people in all the districts of the Mountain from Jibbet B'sheni to Zahlé, that war had broken out between the Druses of Shûf and the Christians of Aklîm Jezzin, and telling them to keep themselves in readiness to proceed upon the receipt of another letter. I found that they had sent fifty men of Deir-el-Kamar and of Aklim Jezzin, with Tannûs Shahin, the Aga and Emir Nasif of Jezzin, to Hadeth; that thence, on their numbers being completed, they should go by the way of Sidon to Jezzin, and that they should kill any Druses or Metualis they might meet on the road. On hearing this I went immediately to Mr. Nicola Portalis, who gave notice of it to the Government. The Government sent and gave notice to the Maronites of Beyrout, telling them, that if they did not send and disperse their people, soldiers would

be sent against them, who would seize them and take them to the galleys for life. So the Maronites sent and informed the assemblage of this message.

On the following day this answer was received in Beyrout :—

"We have made all our preparations, and it is our intention to send 500 people to the assistance of those at Jezzin, &c., and have given notice in all the districts for the people to prepare themselves."

This letter came to Bishop Tobia.

They answered that they should send word to Jibbet B'sheni, to Jebeil, to Batrún, to Youssef Keram, and to Tannûs Shahin, to prepare themselves to come to the Meten, and asking them for ammunition to be sent to Juneh. The people of Beyrout then took the letter, sent copies of it to all parts, and excited the people to rise in numbers and repair to the Meten.

On hearing this, Assaad Shawsh went to Bishop Tobia and asked what was the object of the proceedings, showing the ruin which would accrue. The Bishop answered him, "If you, people of Deir-el-Kamar, do not obey, and refuse to go to war, then I will cause the Druses and Christians together to attack you."

On receiving this answer he left the Bishop, who afterwards sent B'shara Faroon to Tannûs Shahin to excite him to make haste and come, and also sent Shantiri to the Meten and to the Mokâtâa, to collect people of the Mokâtâa in the Meten. We understand that they went. The heads of this movement amongst the Maronites are Khalil Efendi Nakash, Naun Kikano, and Assaad Tabet; and the Maronite community have declared themselves willing to pay expenses to the amount of 1,000 purses (about 4,170*l.* sterling), and it is Bishop Tobia's wish to head the troops in person.

Assaad Shawish and myself (your servant), when we saw this, we foretold the ruin of the country.

We went together to the notables of our community, and informed them: we found that they knew nothing about it. They told us to go to the British Consul-General, so we went and told him all, and he answered that he would inform the Government, and also said that if the Christians persisted, the Government would attack them with soldiers, and, moreover, he promised to take measures. The Greek Catholic community wrote letters to their co-religionists at Zahleh, warning them not to do anything, but to remain at home, and to publish that this movement was from the Maronites alone, and it is certain that after the receipt of such a letter they (the Greek Catholics) will take no part.

When I left Beyrout, I sent a messenger to Khalil Efendi Shawish, and asked for an interview at Kefr Shima; he came, and I told him all, and I begged him to inform the Kaimakam, and afterwards to inform the Mushir. Immediately after the interview he went to Shweifat to tell his Excellency.

There was a talk with Emir Mejid that he should become the leader; he promised to do so after the commencement of hostilities, and they promised him that they would excite the people to rise. On the road, I met a messenger from Beyrout going to Abei.

This is what I have learnt, and I here communicate it to you. I beg you to inform the Government that the information from the Consuls, from the Kaimakam, and from yourself, be all in accordance,

In Beyrout the Greeks and the Greek Catholics refused to join the Maronites in this work; the latter invited them to a meeting, but they would not go, yet the Maronites say that the Greeks and Greek Catholics are wishing for war, and that they themselves wish to avoid it.

Yours, &c.

(Signed) HALIB AKAWI.

Memorandum on Halib Akawi's Letter to Said Bek Jumblât.

THE writer of this letter is a Christian of Deir-el-Kamar, whose house and much of whose property were destroyed by the assailants during the siege. His evidence at the trial of Said Bek, and the information he has imparted at private conferences, is framed in temperate language and bears the stamp of truthfulness. The Emir Mejid, who is alluded to, is of the Shehab family, and is the same who, some time ago, divorced his Turkish wife and embraced Christianity, on

the promise of the Bishop Tobia that he should be proposed as Kaimakam of Mount Lebanon, and who has now been proposed by the Christians for that office.

This letter bears no date, but appears to have been written a few days before the outbreak, probably a day or two after the accompanying letter from Bishop Tobia. It is even probable that the inclosed letter from Bishop Tobia is the one alluded to, and that the important matter was detailed in an unsigned note inclosed in it, as is the custom in this country.

(Signed) E. T. ROGERS.

Beyrout, March 1, 1861.

Inclosure 6 in No. 373.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, March* 10, 1861.

WITH reference to the 22nd Protocol, inclosed in my despatch of the 7th instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a letter addressed by Tannus Shaheen to the inhabitants of the district of Jebail, in the Kesrouan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 7 in No. 373.

Tanios Shaheen to the Wakeels and Inhabitants of Jebail.

(Translation.)

(After compliments.) *April* 3, 1860.

I HAVE received your letter and understood all that you say with regard to the arrival of Emir Yousef and the Bimbashi, bearing a bouyourouldi for the administration of Jebail. Do not accept it, for I have a bouyourouldi from the seven Sovereigns for the emancipation of all the Christians, who are no longer to be in bondage to any one; if you desire to be emancipated from your slavery no one can prevent you, neither the Mushir nor the Kaimakam. I inclose an order to the Emir Yousef to return to his place: deliver it to him without delay, and do not fear anything. If you require a body of men let me know, and I will send one immediately. Should the Emir venture to do anything let me know, and I will come myself with all my men. Fear nothing, for this is a matter which no longer concerns you, it concerns me. Any village of Jebail that wishes to unite with you let it name Vakeels over it in the village, who will enter their names with the Vakeel, lest the assembly should break up entirely; he that wishes to do so let him come on the part of the village, or let him inscribe his name in the register, which will be sufficient. I have charged the bearer with certain verbal communications, which he will deliver to you.

Your Brother,

(Signed and sealed) TANNUS SHAHEEN.

P.S.—I transmit herewith a letter to Emir Yousef; deliver it to him at once and immediately, for it is most important that it should be delivered; and let me know what his answer will be; for I have plainly told him that if he hesitates he will have my men upon him from every direction. I also inclose a letter to Yezbek Lahood; deliver it to him and intimate to him verbally that he is to desist from his design; do not fear anything; and this is sufficient for your sagacity.

(Sealed) TANNUS SHAHEEN.

No. 374.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 26.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, March* 10, 1861.

PERHAPS I may be permitted to correct a misapprehension relative to the late outbreak at Damascus, which I see has found its way into the newspapers.

It is stated, and I believe generally credited, that it was a horde of Druses who broke into that city and sacked the Christian quarter. This, however, is not what took place. The slaughter, rapine, and burning at Damascus were the work of its Moslem population. A certain number of Druses resided in the town, and a few may have come in from the neighbourhood, and some of them, no doubt, participated in the plundering, as did also a large number of the inhabitants of the Koordish villages in the vicinity; but the authors of what occurred, and the chief actors, were the citizens themselves.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 375.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 26.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, March* 10, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copies of my despatches to Sir Henry Bulwer relative to the judgments which have been passed by the Extraordinary Tribunal of Beyrout, and by the Court-martial of Mokhtara, on the Turkish and Druse prisoners.

It is not my intention to trouble your Lordship with any further observations on the painful and anxious question connected with these proceedings; but I cannot allow the mail to be closed without particularly calling your attention to the inconsistent reasonings of a portion of the communication (Annex 3 to the twenty-third Protocol) addressed by his Excellency Fuad Pasha to the Commissioners of France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, in reply to the note they had the honour of transmitting him.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiary justifies the sentence of death passed indiscriminately on all the Druse Chiefs by a reference to a Law of the Empire which decrees capital punishment against those "who organize a conspiracy to promote a rising of one section of a population against another." But a little further on he states, "Le Kesrouan était devenu depuis longtemps le foyer de cette opposition, et d'une grande agitation." And again, "Ce sont les Maronites qui se sont soulevés en masse contre les Druses. Le signal de la guerre est donné par les premiers; une bande armée de Chrétiens était venue la première passer de la Kaimakamie Chrétienne dans celle des Druses. Ce fut le début de cette guerre civile qui a fini par tant de calamités."

If these latter statements are true—and all the information I have been able to obtain tends to confirm them—how can those who were attacked be punished as "conspirators who plotted a rising?"

This time, at all events, it was the lamb who dirtied the stream, and if the wolf standing lower down took it amiss, it must thank its own folly for the consequences. As far as I have been able to unravel the abominable mystery of the late disturbances in the Mountain, the case stands pretty much thus:—

For some time past the Christian population, already agitated by the success of the anti-feudal movement, and stimulated to further efforts by the intrigues of their priesthood, had been long meditating an onslaught on the Druses, which was eventually to end in the overthrow of Turkish authority in Lebanon. The Turks perceiving what was intended, and afraid, probably, of using force towards the Christians, determined to chastise them through the instrumentality of the Druses.

Whether they foresaw the length to which matters would be carried it is impossible to say, but it is certain they evinced in the pursuit of their object a

brutal indifference to the loss of human life which might ensue. Now that the affair has assumed its present tragic aspect, they utterly deny all complicity, and represent themselves as the victims of Christian insolence and Druse disobedience; but whatever may be the truth of the former of these statements, every one acquainted with the country must smile at the transparent inaccuracy of the latter. Had the Turkish Pasha really desired the Druses to keep quiet, not a man would have stirred; and although all evidence on the subject has been suppressed, there are unmistakeable indications of the kind of understanding which existed between the authorities and the Chiefs. Said Bek seems to be the only one of the Druse magnates who foresaw the trap into which they might fall, and although he could not openly withstand the continued pressure of his own people's enthusiasm, and the tacit encouragement of the Government, he evidently did his best to keep out of the scrape. Are, then, the Turks to be allowed to make scapegoats of the Druses? In order to be logical, Fuad Pasha has sentenced the eleven Chiefs to death. By stigmatizing them as rebels he hopes to make us forget they were accomplices. If his victims were really the men who perpetrated the horrors that astounded Europe last summer, the title under which they suffered would be a matter of more indifference. But the scandalous character of the present proceeding consists in the fact that it is the innocent portion of the community that are sacrificed.

Against such an outrage it is natural to suppose all Europe would protest; but unfortunately, among the prisoners who surrendered themselves, are one or two especially obnoxious to the Maronite nation.

In conclusion, it is unnecessary for me to assure your Lordship that during the whole of this anxious time I have done my best to act with honesty and impartiality. Convinced that it was not your Lordship's wish I should constitute myself the partizan of any particular community, or still less become the apologist of murderers and assassins, I determined that no local jealousies should sway my judgment. Having done what was possible to correct the flagrant abuses which characterised the commencement of the Court's proceedings, I waited patiently till the investigation was concluded before pronouncing an opinion. As long as the case was pending I would not even speak to his Excellency upon the subject; and I have never endeavoured, by my personal influence, to modify his intentions. Had the prisoners been proved guilty, though I might have appealed to his clemency on behalf of a certain number of those condemned, I should not have disputed the justice of the sentence; and if I have now interfered to prevent the ratification of the verdict of the Court, it is because I considered it to be unjust.

Inclosure 1 in No. 375.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, March* 7, 1861.

I HAVE now the honour of forwarding to your Excellency the Protocols of the final Conferences of the Commission on the proceedings and judgments of the Extraordinary Tribunal of Beyrout.

Your Excellency will perceive that in consequence of the great divergence of opinion which manifested itself between the majority of the European Representatives and himself regarding the degree of culpability attaching to the Turkish officials, as well as on account of the want of unanimity among ourselves on many vital points affecting the Druse Chiefs, the Turkish Plenipotentiary has determined to maintain *ad interim* the verdicts recorded by his Court, and to refer the further consideration of the subject to Constantinople.

Such a course seems to have been the only one left open to his Excellency, and I cannot but congratulate myself that so favourable an opportunity should be afforded for revising the decisions of the Beyrout Tribunal, founded, as I believe many of them to be, on a false interpretation of the law, and on insufficient evidence. It is also a very fortunate circumstance that the ultimate appreciation of a question on which the lives of so many human beings are depending, should be transferred from a locality so rife with passion and prejudice as Beyrout to the more tranquil atmosphere of a distant capital; and above all things it is a

personal satisfaction to myself to think that your Excellency's efficient interposition will probably lead to the reversal of many of the absurd and iniquitous decrees of the incompetent Court of justice which Fuad Pasha, on his arrival in Syria, was obliged to extemporize out of the first materials that came to hand.

As I have already written at great length on the various topics connected with the Beyrout trials, and as the Protocols I now transmit still further elucidate the subject, I need not trouble your Excellency with many additional observations, more especially as I have minutely described in my previous despatches the individual opinions of each of my colleagues. Nevertheless, it it may be well, before altogether concluding the exposition of the case, to notice the various considerations which have induced me to adhere now to one, now to another of the sections into which each successive phase of the debate divided the Commission.

As, however, no two of us thought exactly alike on every point, the combinations into which we were resolved after every discussion became as various and complex as the changes in a kaleidoscope, and it becomes difficult to do more than distinguish the broader features of the dispute. For example, in conjunction with my colleagues of France, Prussia, and Russia, I felt compelled to call for an aggravation of the sentences passed on the two Turkish Pashas and Colonel Nouri Bey; but at this point M. Novikow and myself separated from the French and Prussian Commissioners, and united with the Austrian Representative in declining to press for any extreme punishment being inflicted on the subordinate Turkish officials. Again, M. Weckbecker, M. Novikow, and I opposed the indiscriminate, and in our opinion unjust, severity with which Fuad Pasha, M. Béclard, and M. de Rehfues desired to visit the Druse Chiefs in prison at Beyrout, inasmuch as most of them had merely taken part in the war, and were far less deserving of punishment than the ringleaders of the massacres who had been condemned at Mokhtara. The case of Said Bey, however, again separated M. Novikow from the Austrian Commissioner and myself, for whereas we thought he ought to be acquitted with the other five Druse prisoners, against whom nothing had been proved, the Russian Representative, though admitting that no evidence had been produced on his trial sufficient to secure a legal conviction, considered that he ought to be put to death.

Your Excellency will thus perceive that independently of the difference of opinion existing between myself, in common with the majority of the Commission, and Fuad Pasha, supported by M. Weckbecker, on the culpability of the two Turkish Pashas, I am also at issue with his Excellency and two of my colleagues on the principles which ought to guide us in estimating the guilt or innocence of the Druse Chiefs. As almost all the Commissioners share my opinion on the first point, it is unnecessary I should trouble your Excellency by enforcing it; I will, therefore, merely confine myself to that which has regard to the Druse prisoners.

The Turkish Commissioner contends that because the Druse nation flew to arms, they come within the meaning of that section of the Turkish law which condemns to death all those who excite one portion of the Sultan's subjects to make war on another. But as it is universally admitted that it was the Christians who commenced the attack, it is absurd to apply the canon in question to the present case. The relations of the Lebanon tribes to each other are so exceptional, their right to defend themselves when attacked has been so often recognised, the Turkish authority has always been so incompetent to maintain order, and its attitude on this occasion was, to say the least, so very ambiguous, that the Druses have clearly the right to require that a distinction should be maintained between the ordinary hostile encounters which in this country are dignified by the name of war, and the massacres which succeeded.

Now, among the captive Druse Chiefs at Beyrout there are certainly five who are not even supposed to have had anything to do with the butcheries in which the contest terminated, and another, Said Bey Jumblatt, who seems from the first to have desired peace, to have remained at home, and to have saved hundreds of Christians. Are these men to be treated as murderers? Are they even deserving of punishment? It is said they are the Chiefs of the nation. The nation has been guilty of great crimes; punish the Chiefs, and you punish the most guilty. Then why put them on their trial? To what end this long delay of five months, the innumerable witnesses, and the superfluous

intervention of a Court of Justice? Why not have taken their heads off directly they surrendered themselves into the hands of Fuad Pasha? Again, is no distinction to be drawn between those who are known to have been the most moderate of the Druse leaders, who voluntarily challenged an investigation of their conduct, and the bloodstained barbarians whose avowed atrocities induced them to fly to the Hauran? Are the least compromised to suffer because the most guilty have escaped? Such jurisprudence would render the Commission odious in the eyes of Europe.

M. de Rehfues' opinion on this subject is identical, I believe, with that of the Russian Commissioner.

The case then, as it regards the Druses, may be stated in the following simple manner:—

If a participation in the defensive war forced upon them by the Christians is to be considered an act of high treason, punishable with death, the sentences of the tribunal are just.

If the first Chiefs who put themselves within the reach of the Turkish authorities are to expiate the guilt of the whole nation, the sentences of the tribunal are just.

If public opinion is to be accepted as proof, if the tales current among an exasperated multitude is proof, if, irrespective of all internal evidence to the contrary, and in spite of manifest exaggerations and self-contradictions, it is sacrilege to dispute the oath of a Christian witness, the sentences of the tribunal are just.

But if a distinction is to be drawn between mountain warfare and savage massacre; if each prisoner's case is to be decided on its own individual merits; and if the verdict is to depend on the evidence adduced before the Court by whom the case is examined,—of the eleven Druse prisoners tried by the Extraordinary Tribunal of Beyrout, six, including Said Bey, must be acquitted. The sentences of three more ought to be commuted, and two may be allowed to suffer the just penalty of their crimes.

P.S.—In order to make the matter as clear as possible, I transmit a Table of the prisoners' names, the sentences passed by the Court, together with the opinions of the several Commissioners on each sentence.

Inclosure 2 in No. 375.

Protocol of the Twenty-second Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, February 27, 1861.

LE Mercredi, vingt-sept Février, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à 2 heures et demie.

Le procès-verbal de la dernière séance en date du 29 Janvier, est lu et adopté.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha fait part à la Commission de diverses informations qu'il a recueillies, touchant les questions qui lui ont été posées au sujet de Baalbek et Tripoli. Il résulte d'une première pièce, signée par les sept membres du Medjlis de Tripoli, que trente-trois Damasquins seulement résident dans cette ville. Une lettre, adressée par l'Evêque Grec de Tripoli au Gouverneur, atteste que le Mudir du district du Caïti ne retient dans son harem aucune femme Chrétienne de Damas, comme on l'en avait accusé. En troisième lieu, par une déclaration en règle, les Représentants des Patriarches Grec, Catholique, et Maronite, et des Evêques, ainsi que de plusieurs religieux et laïques notables de Baalbek, déclarent que le Gouverneur de cette localité, Emin Bey, bien loin d'y commettre des exactions, y procure aux Chrétiens toute la sécurité désirable; s'emploie avec zèle tant à leur faire restituer les objets qui leur avaient été enlevés, qu'à leur fournir les secours nécessaires pour la culture de leurs terres, le tout conformément aux intentions de son Excellence.

Son Excellence le Commissaire Ottoman informe ensuite la Commission de l'envoi qui lui a été fait des instructions qu'il attendait de son Gouvernement sur la question de l'indemnité due aux Chrétiens de Damas. Le réglement de

cette question, dit Fuad Pacha, est impérieusement réclamé par les circonstances; cependant il est une autre affaire dont la solution est plus urgente encore, c'est celle de la répression et du châtiment à infliger aux individus qui ont participé aux massacres de la Montagne, ou aux fonctionnaires et Chefs Druses qui, par position, en ont été considérés comme responsables. Son Excellence a reçu à ce sujet de MM. les Commissaires de France, de Grande Bretagne, de Prusse, et de Russie, une note collective, contenant l'expression de leur opinion sur les sentences proposées par le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrout (Annexe 1), et de M. le Commissaire d'Autriche une note séparée (Annexe 2), concernant le même objet. En réponse à cette double communication, Fuad Pacha a rédigé un mémoire, dans lequel il expose les motifs qui le déterminent à confirmer les sentences du dit Tribunal.

Après lecture de ce mémoire (Annexe 3), son Excellence le Commissaire du Sultan ajoute que, s'il conclue à l'application d'une peine de second ordre aux fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans, ce n'est point que ses pouvoirs ne l'autorisent à modifier les sentences, puisque le Tribunal ne les rend, pour ainsi dire, que provisoirement et à titre consultatif; ni qu'il se sent porté à l'indulgence vis-à-vis des agents de l'autorité, puisque à Damas il n'a pas hésité à frapper de mort un grand nombre d'entr'eux, et nommément Ahmed Pacha, personnage considérable qui avait même autrefois rendu de grands services à l'Empire; mais c'est parce que sa conscience ne lui permet pas de condamner à la peine capitale des hommes en faveur desquels des circonstances atténuantes peuvent être légitimement invoquées.

M. le Commissaire Français remarque à ce sujet que, dans le mémoire dont il vient d'être donné lecture, on présente, comme circonstance atténuante, ce fait que Kourchid Pacha se serait plaint antérieurement auprès de son Gouvernement de n'avoir point à sa disposition des forces suffisantes pour maintenir l'ordre, et que même, à plus d'une reprise, il aurait offert sa démission. Si en effet de telles démarches, réitérées par l'ex-Gouverneur de Sayda, sont demeurées sans résultat, on est amené à en conclure que sa responsabilité, sans être complètement mise à couvert, est au moins partagée par la Sublime Porte. C'est là une conséquence dont la gravité ne doit certainement pas échapper au Ministre de l'Empereur, et que M. Béclard éprouverait pour son compte de la répugnance à admettre. Il persiste à croire que Kourchid Pacha avait à sa disposition des moyens suffisants pour maintenir l'ordre, puisque, sur les 5,000 hommes composant l'effectif total des troupes de Syrie, il y en avait 2,000 dans la Province de Sayda. Quant à la démission offerte par Kourchid Pacha, M. Béclard ne voit pas pourquoi elle serait invoquée comme une circonstance atténuante en sa faveur. Le Gouverneur de Damas lui aussi avait offert sa démission, et cependant il a été puni de mort, comme responsable des évènements qui s'étaient accomplis à Damas, pendant qu'il était encore en fonctions. Sous ce rapport, la situation de Kourchid Pacha et celle d'Ahmed Pacha présentent une analogie parfaite, et M. le Commissaire de France verrait une sorte d'injustice à ce que le sort de l'un ne fût pas partagé par l'autre. Il fait en outre remarquer que, dans son mémoire, Fuad Pacha accuse les Chrétiens d'avoir été les agresseurs partout, et même sur divers points de la Montagne, où leurs plus dangereux adversaires ne les avaient jamais soupçonnés jusqu'à présent de l'avoir été. Il est vrai qu'une troupe de Chrétiens du Kesrouan a passé le fleuve du Chien, sous la conduite de Tannious Chain, le 29 Mai, et qu'une partie d'entr'eux est allée attaquer le village de Beït-Meri et Baabda. Mais le Commisaire du Sultan ne doit point ignorer que, le 13 Mai, les Druses de Ouaddi-Etten se sont rassemblés pour arrêter les Chrétiens sur les routes;

Que, le 15, les Druses de Chouf ont levé l'étendard de guerre et se sont portés vers Djezin, sans que les Chrétiens sortissent même de chez eux pour venir à leur rencontre;

Que, le 19, deux Cheiks Druses de la famille de Beit-el-Eïd, accompagnés de dix des leurs, ont attaqué les villages de Mazara et de Merjah, désarmé les Chrétiens et pillé des maisons;

Que, le même jour, les Druses du Menaceb et de Baklin, avec armes et drapeaux, se sont portés sur Deir-el-Kamar, et que, les Chrétiens n'étant pas même venus à leur rencontre, ils ont rebroussé chemin, non sans se livrer au pillage, notamment à Mazare et à Menouf, où ils tuèrent un Chrétien, désarmèrent les autres, et détruisirent un moulin;

Que, le 27 Mai, les Druses du district de Chenbar, après s'être réunis et

avoir pris les armes, se rendirent à Ebay, où ils tuèrent Elias Gantour, et que ceux de Araamoun-el-Garb se sont portés au Mazare d'Ein-draafil, où ils pillèrent et incendièrent les récoltes ;

Que, le 29 enfin, jour où pour la première fois les Chrétiens, après tant de provocations, donnèrent signe de vie, Melhem-el-Amad, avec les gens du district d'El Arkoub et de Chouf, se précipitèrent sur le village d'Ein-el-Masjer et a Beitddin-el-Emir, où ils massacrèrent plusieurs personnes, brulèrent les récoltes et incendièrent quelques maisons. Il résulte de ces faits et de ces dates dont l'exactitude peut être prouvée, que les Druses ont pris les armes bien avant les Chrétiens ; que ces derniers mêmes ont trop longtemps tardé à le faire pour leur salut, et que l'autorité, en ne réprimant point les premiers mouvements des Druses, et en les encourageant par son inaction, demeure entièrement responsable des fatales conséquences de l'insurrection.

M. le Commissaire de France n'admet pas non plus que les conditions administratives particulières auxquelles la Montagne se trouvait soumise, puissent être considérées comme une circonstance atténuante en faveur de Kourchid Pacha. Sans administrer directement la Montagne, il était tenu de maintenir l'ordre, et cette obligation découlait pour lui de ce seul fait, qu'il avait des troupes à Beiteddin et à Deir-el-Kamar.

Fuad Pacha répond qu'il n'a pas eu l'intention de déplacer la question. L'état critique des choses en Roumélie a pu mettre la Porte dans la nécessité de dégarnir la Turquie d'Asie, et dans l'impossibilité de déférer à la demande des Gouverneurs qui, à Damas et à Sayda, réclamaient des renforts de troupes, sans qu'il soit pour cela possible de faire remonter jusqu'à elle l'accusation qui pèse sur les agents de l'autorité Ottomane en Syrie. Kourchid Pacha, bien que réduit à des forces insuffisantes, aurait pu faire un meilleur emploi de celles dont il disposait. Avec plus d'énergie et d'habilité, il eût réussi non pas sans doute à prévenir les évènements, ni à les réprimer, mais il aurait au moins mis sa responsabilité à couvert ; il ne l'a pas fait. Voilà comment il mérite, pour l'exemple, d'être sévèrement puni. Il avait offert sa démission. Cela ne le dispensait point à coup sûr d'agir, mais cela prouve du moins l'embarras où il se trouvait. Ahmed Pacha avait offert sa démission, mais sa situation, par rapport aux évènements de Damas, était toute différente. Il ne prit aucune mesure pour les arrêter, tandis que Kourchid Pacha fit quelques efforts, et donna des ordres qui ne furent point exécutés, ou le furent très mal. Ahmed Pacha n'en avait donné aucun, et cependant les désordres avaient lieu dans la ville même qu'il habitait, sous ses yeux pour ainsi dire, tandis que ceux de la Montagne se produisaient en beaucoup d'endroits à la fois et hors de la présence de Kourchid Pacha.

Après une étude approfondie des pièces de ce procès, tant en ce qui concerne les fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans, qu'en ce qui concerne les Cheiks Druses, M. le Commissaire Russe est obligé, à son grand regret, de déclarer qu'elles ne lui paraissent pas de nature à établir d'une manière bien positive ni la certitude judiciaire de la culpabilité des accusés, ni la valeur intrinsèque des circonstances atténuantes qui ont été prises en considération par le Tribunal de Beyrout. Il s'est donc trouvé dans la nécessité de rechercher des éléments de conviction en dehors des pièces qui lui ont été communiquées. N'ayant à donner son avis dans cette affaire ni comme Juge, ni comme juré, mais comme Agent Politique, il doit se borner, aux termes de ses instructions, à déterminer la part de responsabilité qui revient à chacun des coupables et provoquer leur punition. Si comme individus, placés dans telle ou telle position, ayant à lutter contre telle ou telle difficulté, les principaux accusés ont pu invoquer, et Kourchid Pacha tout le premier, des circonstances qui paraissent atténuer leur culpabilité personnelle, il en est autrement de la responsabilité qui pèse sur eux comme délégués du pouvoir, chargé de veiller efficacement au maintien de l'ordre. De deux choses l'une : ou ils sont innocents, et dans ce cas ils doivent être acquittés, ce que le Tribunal lui-même n'a pas admis ; ou bien ils sont coupables, et dans ce cas leur faute les rend passibles d'une peine d'autant plus rigoureuse que les conséquences en ont été plus funestes. Or, il y a eu dans la Montagne une immense effusion de sang qui aurait pu et dû être prévenue par les Représentants de l'autorité.

Le Gouverneur-Général de Sayda a encouru la plus grave responsabilité, comme Chef supérieur de la province. Le Général de Division Tahir Pacha partage cette responsabilité, comme Chef militaire. De plus, ayant été chargé par Kourchid Pacha de la Mission Spéciale d'assurer la tranquillité à Deir-el-

Kamar, il a rempli cette mission de manière à ce que les résultats en ont été diamétralement opposés au but qu'il s'agissait d'atteindre. Nouri Bey, par une négligence fatale dans l'exécution des ordres, contenus dans le bouyourouldi qui lui traçait sa ligne de conduite, s'est rendu coupable d'un grave délit. La chûte de Zahlé, qui a entrainé d'autres malheurs, en a été le résultat.

Quant à Vasfi Efendi et à Ahmed Efendi, la voix publique les accuse d'avoir exercé la plus funeste influence sur les déterminations de Kourchid Pacha. Toutefois les réponses qu'ils ont données au Tribunal sont tellement évasives et leurs dénégations si complètes, que, tout en opinant pour une aggravation de leur peine, le Commissaire Russe ne croit pas pouvoir provoquer à leur égard la peine capitale, d'autant plus que, comme subordonnés, il leur est, jusqu'à un certain point, possible de se retrancher derrière la responsabilité de leurs Chefs. Au dire de son Excellence le Commissaire Ottoman, les premiers actes d'agression, même à Racheya et Hasbéya, seraient venus des Chrétiens. Mais ce n'est qu'après huit jours de calme parfait, et après que les Chrétiens avaient été désarmés par la garnison Ottomane à Hasbeya que l'arrivée d'Aly Amadé y a donné le signal du massacre. Un fait analogue s'est passé à Deir-el-Kamar, où une population inoffensive a été surprise et massacrée, après quelques jours d'un calme relatif. Peu importerait au fond que les Chrétiens aient été les agresseurs sur quelques points, et s'ils l'ont été, ce qui est bien loin d'être prouvé, si même on peut les accuser de s'être rendus coupables de quelques provocations morales, cette circonstance ne disculperait pas les fonctionnaires Ottomans de n'avoir tenté aucun effort pour réprimer l'insurrection matérielle des Druses, et le châtiment qu'ils ont encouru doit être proportionné à l'étendue des désastres qui ont résulté de leur inaction, pour ne pas dire de leur connivence.

En ce qui concerne Kourchid Pacha, Tahir Pacha, et Nouri Bey, son Excellence le Commissaire du Sultan croit devoir répondre que des ordres avaient été adressés par le premier à Tahir Pacha, qui les avait transmis à Nouri Bey et à Abdul Selam, chargés l'un de se rendre à Zahlé et l'autre d'empêcher les troubles à Deir-el-Kamar. Ces ordres ne furent point exécutés ponctuellement à Deir-el-Kamar ; ce qui amena la condamnation d'Abdul Selam, comme des autres officiers qui se sont trouvés présents à des massacres dans d'autres localités. Noury Bey, mal reçu par les habitants de Zahlé, fut dans l'impossibilité d'exécuter son mandat, et cette circonstance constitue évidemment une atténuation de sa faute. Vasfy Efendi et Ahmed Efendi ne peuvent qu'à peine être considérés comme des fonctionnaires, et leur responsabilité s'efface devant celle de leurs Chefs.

Avant d'émettre une opinion sur chacune des sentences soumises à son examen, M. le Commissaire Britannique croit devoir exposer avec précision les principes qui l'ont guidé dans cet examen. D'après ce qui a été convenu entre les Représentants des cinq Puissances et son Excellence Fuad Pacha, la Commission avait le droit d'assister, soit en personne, soit par délégué, aux séances du tribunal, et avant qu'une sentence quelconque fût rendue exécutoire par Fuad Pacha, les Commissaires pouvaient soumettre à son Excellence toutes les observations qu'ils jugeraient nécessaires. Par suite de cet arrangement, les Représentants de l'Europe sont devenus en quelque sorte les assesseurs du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, et doivent partager avec lui la responsabilité des arrêts qui seront définitivement prononcés. Cette participation leur impose le devoir de se faire non seulement une conviction sur la culpabilité ou l'innocence absolue, mais même sur le degré de culpabilité de chacun des accusés. L'importance de ce point de vue est d'autant plus sérieuse, qu'il y a, on doit le remarquer, plus de deux parties engagées dans la cause. Les Chrétiens accusent non seulement les Druses, mais encore les autorités Ottomanes ; les Druses à leur tour accusent les Chrétiens, et les autorités Ottomanes accusent les uns et les autres. Il est donc du devoir de ceux qui assistent à ce débat, au nom de l'Europe, de démêler soigneusement la vérité du réseau de récriminations qui l'enveloppe, afin de mieux rendre ensuite à chacun ce qui lui appartient.

L'enquête ordonnée par son Excellence pour l'éclaircissement de cette grave question simplifie déjà beaucoup la difficulté. Le tribunal condamne à la peine capitale non seulement les Chefs Druses qui se sont réfugiés dans le Hauran, mais encore les onze Chefs qui sont venus volontairement, il y a cinq mois, soumettre leur conduite à l'appréciation de l'autorité. D'autre part, il inflige aux fonctionnaires et officiers Musulmans une peine beaucoup moins sévère. La Commission a donc été d'abord conduite à se demander par quel raisonnement le tribunal est arrivé à faire peser la responsabilité d'une façon

si inégale entre les deux parties principales incriminées. Lord Dufferin rappelle qu'à l'exception d'un seul de ses membres, la Commission a été d'avis que ce partage n'était pas équitable. Dans la note qu'ils ont adressée à son Excellence, les quatre Représentants de France, de Grande Bretagne, de Prusse, et de Russie ont déclaré que la responsabilité des fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomanes était au moins égale à celle des Chefs Druses les plus coupables. Lord Dufferin n'hésite pas à renouveler cette déclaration et à dire que ce seul fait, que des massacres si abominables ont eu lieu dans l'étendue des territoires placés sous l'autorité de ces fonctionnaires, suffit à établir contre eux, *à priori*, la présomption de leur culpabilité. Ils sont d'avance et par position réputés coupables. C'est donc à eux qu'incombe le soin de se disculper, et si pendant la durée d'une si longue procédure, ils n'ont pas réussi à fournir la preuve certaine de leur innocence, ils sont coupables, et il y a lieu de prononcer contre eux la peine la plus rigoureuse. M. le Commissaire Britannique, n'ayant trouvé ni dans les pièces du procès, ni dans le mémoire que son Excellence vient de communiquer, aucune preuve de leur innocence, ou de l'atténuation de leur faute, persiste dans sa demande, tendante à ce que la sentence du tribunal de Beyrout, concernant Kourchid Pacha, Tahir Pacha, et Nouri Bey, soit révisée dans le sens d'une aggravation de peine. Pour ce dernier, il ne verrait pas d'inconvénient à ce que l'arrêt de mort fût recommandé à la miséricorde du Souverain. Quant à Vasfy Efendi et Ahmed Efendi, il ne croit devoir à leur sujet émettre aucun avis.

La position des Chefs Druses dans le procès est, selon Lord Dufferin, bien différente. Ce n'est point comme représentants de l'autorité, et responsables à ce titre du maintien de l'ordre, qu'ils comparaissent ; c'est comme Chefs et membres éminents de la nation qui est entrée en lutte avec celle des Maronites. Ils ne sont pas d'avance réputés coupables. Ils sont seulement prévenus, et, comme tout prévenu, réputés innocents jusqu'à preuve contraire. Ce n'est point à eux à se disculper. C'est au Ministère Public, et comme dit Lord Dufferin, à la Couronne, qu'incombe la charge de prouver tout d'abord leur culpabilité. Malgré une position si avantageuse, il y a lieu de remarquer que, tandisque les fonctionnaires Ottomans sont tous plus ou moins condamnés à la prison, il n'y a pas un Druse, parmi les onze détenus de Beyrout, qui échappe à la peine de mort. Cette uniformité de part et d'autre semble étrange et s'explique d'autant moins que, parmi ces onze Chefs Druses, les uns sont accusés d'avoir pris personnellement part aux massacres, tandis que d'autres sont en thèse générale accusés seulement d'avoir pris part à la guerre. On est porté à croire que le tribunal de Beyrout a jugé que la nation Druse s'étant rendue coupable d'un grand nombre d'atrocités, il fallait en tirer vengeance, en appliquant uniformément et indifféremment la peine de mort à tous ceux d'entre ses Chefs qui viendrait se remettre entre les mains de l'autorité. S'il en était ainsi, M. le Commissaire Britannique n'hésiterait point à s'élever contre un tel principe. Il croirait devoir, dans tous les cas, protester contre l'application d'un système de pénalité si exceptionnel. Mais l'instruction des procès a mis au grand jour certains faits dont la portée inattendue doit exercer une grande influence sur le jugement définitif de ce conflit.

Lord Dufferin avoue que, lors de son arrivée en Syrie, il était sous l'impression d'un sentiment d'indignation très naturel que lui avait inspiré le récit des atrocités commises par les Druses. Il avait autrefois, à son premier voyage, entendu parler vaguement d'un état de lutte entre les deux races, mais on lui avait laissé ignorer leur énorme disproportion numérique, et il ne savait pas que l'existence même de la nation Druse ou son expulsion de la Montagne étaient, pour ainsi dire, deux questions à l'ordre du jour chez les Chrétiens. Il a appris seulement depuis que sur toute la ligne de démarcation qui sépare le Kesrouan des districts Mixtes, une attaque contre les Druses avait été préparée et devait se terminer, telle était du moins l'attente des Maronites, par l'extermination des Druses ou leur expulsion ; que des armes étaient importées en quantité extraordinaire, et des réunions belliqueuses fréquemment tenues dans plusieurs parties de la Montagne ; que le pays était inondé de mandements incendiaires que l'on disait émanés des Chefs spirituels de la nation ; qu'une sorte de Conseil central d'un caractère fort suspect siégeait à Beyrout, et que, selon toute apparence, les Chrétiens des autres rites étaient appelés, sous peine de vengeance ultérieure, à prendre part à la guerre sainte ; que, enfin, non content de la supériorité d'une nation de 150,000 âmes contre une tribu de 35,000, le clergé cherchait à animer le courage de ses ouailles, en leur donnant

l'assurance que leurs efforts, quels qu'ils fussent, pour acquérir la possession incontestée du Liban, seraient appuyés par les Puissances de la Chrétienté.

Il n'est guère supposable que de tels desseins, ouvertement poursuivis et devenus notoires plusieurs mois avant l'événement, demeurèrent ignorés de ceux contre qui ils étaient dirigés. L'insolence et l'ambition de l'un des parties devait naturellement éveiller les instincts féroces de l'autre, et les préparatifs d'attaque commandant les mesures défensives, l'atmosphère se charge peu à peu et l'explosion devint imminente. Des collisions isolées, provoquées on ne sait par qui, mais remarquables de part et d'autre par une cruauté traditionnelle, furent les avant-coureurs de l'orage qui allait éclater. Des corps d'hommes armés passèrent du Kesrouan dans les districts Mixtes, laissant sur leur passage l'incendie et le massacre. Les Chrétiens de Zahlé marchèrent au combat, et c'est ainsi que la guerre devint inévitable, après avoir été longtemps imminente.

Dans une telle conjoncture en effet, quel parti les Chefs de la nation Druse pouvaient-ils prendre? Demeurer tranquillement chez eux, tandis qu'on pillait et brulait les villages de leur proches? Une telle conduite eût été aussi insensée que lâche. Les autorités Ottomanes ne paraissant point disposées à intervenir dans l'intérêt du maintien de la paix publique, il ne restait aux Druses qu'à prendre en main leur propre défense. Mais cet acte de bravoure, autorisé, commandé même par la loi naturelle, doit-il-être confondu avec ces horribles massacres qui eurent lieu en dehors des limites de la Montagne Druse, en présence des garnisons Ottomanes? Si, par suite du tempérament propre aux peuples montagnards non encore civilisés, et surtout grâce à l'attitude équivoque des soldats Ottomans, d'épouvantables excès ont été commis, dira-t-on que chaque Chef qui, après avoir rassemblé ses vassaux, se prépara à la lutte et même y prit part, doit répondre de toutes les violences que ses gens auront pu commettre, et être confondu avec des incendiaires et des assassins? A Dieu ne plaise! Il est impossible de ne pas établir une distinction fondamentale entre ceux qui ne firent que courir aux armes pour leur propre défense et celle de leur nation, et ceux qui seraient convaincus d'avoir organisé le massacre et trempé leurs mains dans le sang. Lord Dufferin espère que la Commission reconnaîtra avec lui la nécessité de cette distinction, et qu'elle se gardera de frapper, comme des assassins, les hommes qui ont seulement pris part à une guerre dont l'initiative, de l'aveu de tous, revient de droit aux ennemis de la nation Druse.

M. le Commissaire de Prusse regrette vivement d'avoir à dire que, selon lui, l'instruction des procès en question n'a point été conduite avec régularité, et que l'insuffisance, pour ne pas dire la partialité, de cette procédure l'a péniblement frappé. Il y a un grand nombre de témoins dont la déposition était indiquée, rendue nécessaire pour l'éclaircissement de différents points, et qui n'ont pas été entendus. Il est souvent fait mention dans les interrogatoires de pièces, de lettres, de correspondances, qui n'ont pas été recherchées, ou du moins qui n'ont pas été produites et jointes au dossier. Une confrontation entre les Chefs Druses et quelques-uns des agents de l'autorité Ottomane était nécessaire; elle n'a pas eu lieu.

Toutes ces observations ont conduit M. de Rehfues à penser qu'une instruction supplémentaire serait utile, et qu'il faudrait même la confier à un jurisconsulte Européen; mais, eu égard aux retards qu'une telle mesure entrainerait et à l'incertitude du résultat final, il ne croit pas devoir insister sur cette idée, quelque juste qu'elle lui paraisse.

Pour arriver à se former une opinion sur ce procès et sur la culpabilité des différents accusés, il a donc dû, lui aussi, chercher en dehors des documents, des éléments de conviction, et il n'hésite pas à déclarer, comme il l'a déjà fait concurremment avec ses collègues de France, de Grande Bretagne, et de Russie, que la responsabilité des fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans demeure pleine et entière. De quelque côté que vint le signal du désordre et la provocation, avec les forces dont ils disposaient et au péril même de leur vie, les représentants de l'autorité, chargés de veiller au maintien de l'ordre, devaient s'interposer entre les combattants, essayer au moins d'arrêter un mal qu'ils n'avaient pas su prévenir. Ils ne l'ont pas fait. On ne peut citer, on ne cite de leur part aucun effort sérieux. Ils sont donc responsables au premier Chef, et méritent de subir les conséquences de leur coupable conduite. Le Gouverneur de Sayda eût-il offert vingt fois sa démission avant les événements, tant qu'il était Gouverneur,

il se devait tout entier, sans réserve, aux devoirs de sa position. Il n'y a donc aucune circonstance atténuante qui puisse être invoquée en sa faveur. Tahir Pacha mérite la mort à un égal titre, car il commandait en chef des troupes à Deir-el-Kamar qu'il a livré aux massacres ; et Nouri Bey a forfait aux lois de l'honneur, en n'exécutant point l'ordre formel qui lui avait été donné d'occuper Zahlé. Vasfy Efendi a prouvé après les événements, par le meurtre juridique d'un Chrétien, qu'il était capable d'y avoir trempé, et sa part de responsabilité dans les événements est telle qu'il mérite la peine de mort. La sentence rendue contre Ahmed Efendi devrait aussi être revisée dans le sens d'une aggravation.

M. le Commissaire d'Autriche a fait une double étude de cette affaire. Il a examiné les dossiers avec soin, et il a été le témoin des événements. Ces deux études ont tour à tour contribué à faire naître en lui l'opinion qu'il a exprimée dans sa note particulière, savoir, que les désordres qui ont eu lieu dans la Montagne doivent être considérés comme une guerre de peuple à peuple, et que les fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans ont fait ce qui était en leur pouvoir pour l'empêcher d'éclater.

Dans les districts du Nord, dans le Kesrouan, comme dans le Meten et les districts du Sud, l'abus des droits féodaux dont les seigneurs ou Mokatadjis étaient en possession, avait soulevé dans les classes inférieures de la population un vif mécontentement. Dans les districts de la partie septentrionale, où les Mokatadjis étaient les coreligionnaires des Fellahs, l'insurrection, quand elle eut lieu, conserva le caractère d'une guerre civile. Dans les districts où les populations Chrétiennes étaient soumises à des Mokatadjis Druses, la difficulté politique et sociale prit naturellement le caractère d'une lutte militaire entre deux nationalités. Au fond, le principe des troubles était le même dans les deux Caimacamies. Mais, dans le Sud, à ce principe il se joignait d'autres circonstances qui aggravèrent singulièrement le mal et amenèrent de véritables désastres. L'organisation des Druses, leur esprit de solidarité, la facilité pour les Chefs de rassembler en un moment autour d'eux leurs vassaux, permirent à cette nation, la moins nombreuse, de se défendre avec succès contre l'autre, et même de remporter facilement sur elle une victoire qui fût souillée par de déplorables excès. M. le Commissaire d'Autriche ajoute que ces atrocités ont soulevé en Europe une douloureuse émotion, et il ne croit pas se tromper en disant que ce n'est point le fait de la guerre lui-même que l'Europe a blamé, car en Europe il y a aussi des guerres qui coûtent la vie à beaucoup d'hommes. Ce sont les assassinats, c'est l'incendie, le pillage effrené que l'opinion publique a flétris et qu'elle voudrait voir réprimer. Or, dans les pièces du procès des accusés de Beyrout, M. de Weckbecker a vainement cherché la preuve que les accusés, tant Ottomans que Sheiks Druses, aient été les instigateurs du massacre, ou qu'ils y aient pris personnellement part, sauf deux, Mouhieddin Chibli et Bechir Meri, au sujet desquels il a déjà fait des réserves dans sa note particulière. Il ne peut que persister dans l'opinion générale qu'il a exprimée, savoir, que le Tribunal de Beyrout n'a point tenu suffisamment compte, à ses yeux, du caractère qu'il vient d'assigner à la lutte entre Druses et Maronites. Quant aux fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans, M. de Weckbecker a été à même de constater qu'ils ont, et cela est vrai surtout de Kourchid Pacha, fait appel à tous les moyens qu'ils avaient à leur disposition pour prévenir la guerre civile. Mais les forces matérielles étaient insuffisantes, et leur force morale s'est trouvée impuissante. Kourchid Pacha avait réuni le Corps Consulaire, et lui avait dit : Je n'ai d'influence que sur les Druses et les Musulmans ; vous en avez sur les Chrétiens ; retenez les uns, je retiendrai les autres. Conformément à l'invitation qui lui était adressée par Kourchid Pacha, M. de Weckbecker, en sa qualité de Consul-Général d'Autriche, conjointement avec son collègue M. le Comte Bentivoglio, engagea Monseigneur Tobie, l'Evêque Maronite le plus influent et le plus populaire, à se rendre dans le Kesrouan pour y faire entendre une parole de paix. L'Evêque se rendit avec empressement à ce Conseil. Il s'efforça de calmer les esprits, et adressa peu de jours après aux Consuls des lettres dans lesquelles il exprimait sa reconnaissance pour la démarche sage et bienveillante que le Gouverneur-Général avait faite auprès d'eux, afin de rendre possible la reconciliation des deux partis. Le Commissaire d'Autriche peut présenter cette lettre à la Commission. Malheureusement les efforts de ce prélat demeurèrent impuissants. Les Chrétiens ne voulurent pas se retirer avant que les Druses n'eussent mis bas les armes, et les Druses de leur côté refusèrent de se disperser avant que les Chrétiens ne fussent rentrés chez eux. Ainsi Kourchid Pacha n'a pas réussi à maintenir les Druses, non plus

que les Consuls n'avaient réussi à calmer les Chrétiens; néanmoins on peut dire que, eu égard au petit nombre de troupes dont il disposait, il a mis sa responsabilité à couvert par la manière dont il s'est conduit.

M. le Commissaire Français trouve dans les propres paroles que M. de Weckbecker vient de prononcer, la justification d'une motion qu'il a déjà faite dans une réunion particulière des cinq Commissaires, et tendante à ce que les Chefs Druses étant rigoureusement frappés, les coupables vulgaires, détenus et condamnés à mort à Mokhtara, soient après cette condamnation l'objet d'une commutation de peine. L'organisation de la nation Druse à laquelle M. le Commissaire d'Autriche a fait allusion, l'influence énorme, presque absolue, des principaux Chefs sur le reste de la nation, prouvent d'une manière certaine que ce sont eux qui doivent surtout porter la responsabilité des événements, et qu'il n'est point indispensable à l'œuvre de répression que ceux qui n'ont été que des instruments soient punis de la peine de mort. M. Béclard donne lecture de la note dans laquelle il a développé cette idée, et demande qu'elle soit annexée au procès-verbal (Annexe 4). M. le Commissaire Français rappelle à ce propos que son Excellence Fuad Pacha avait promis à la Commission de faire de nouvelles recherches pour arriver à prononcer un plus grand nombre de condamnations à Mokhtara, conformément au vœu émis par la Commission. Si ces recherches ont amené un résultat, il prie son Excellence de vouloir bien le faire connaître. Il y aurait lieu dans ce cas d'étendre à ces nouveaux condamnés, comme aux vingt premiers, la faveur d'une commutation de peine, mais seulement après que leur condamnation aurait été prononcée et publiée avec solennité. Ce qu'il a en vue, en faisant cette proposition, c'est d'éviter l'effusion du sang, et de favoriser, par cette mesure de clémence, la réconciliation si désirable des Druses avec les Maronites. Il espère que ce double objet sera également pris en considération par tous ses collègues.

Lord Dufferin s'associe au vœu exprimé par M. Béclard.

Fuad Pacha répond à la question qui vient de lui être posée au sujet des condamnés de Mokhtara. Après de nouvelles investigations, il est arrivé à un chiffre total de cinquante-huit condamnations à mort, auxquelles il y aurait lieu d'adjoindre encore quelques individus, récemment arrêtés à Damas, et qui avaient pris part aux désordres de la Montagne. On pourrait appliquer à tous ces gens là le bénéfice d'une commutation de peine.

M. de Rehfues adhère à la proposition de M. Béclard, mais à une condition toutefois; c'est que cette commutation de peine pour la masse des criminels de Mokhtara n'entraînera point de mesure analogue en faveur des Cheiks détenus à Beyrout.

M. Béclard fait observer que, bien loin d'entraîner cette conséquence, elle l'exclue. On n'épargnerait les coupables d'ordre secondaire que parce que la reponsabilité, et par conséquent la peine de premier ordre, pèseraient sur les Chefs. Ces deux idées sont si étroitement liées, à ses yeux, qu'elles ne peuvent être séparées.

M. le Commissaire de Russie s'associe de grand cœur à l'idée de clémence qui a dicté la proposition de M. Béclard, avec cette réserve qu'elle ne puisse être prise par les uns comme un encouragement, ni par les autres comme un déni de justice. Il reconnait la nécessité de confirmer les sentences des tribunaux contre quelques-uns des Druses les plus coupables; il voudrait seulement que l'on mit un discernement tout particulier dans leur désignation. M. le Commissaire de France croit devoir provoquer la peine capitale à l'égard de la presque totalité des Chefs Druses condamnés à Beyrout, comme appartenant à la catégorie des Chefs, et il réclame une commutation de peine pour les condamnés de Mokhtara qu'il considère tous comme des assassins obscurs. Cette classification ne paraît pas entièrement exacte. Parmi les condamnés de Mokhtara, il se trouve des membres de la famille Arian, une des plus considérables de l'Anti-Liban, et des Chefs de bandes, convaincus d'avoir pris part aux massacres. Par contre, sur les onze condamnés de Beyrout, il y a des individus de la basse classe, et des Chefs de second ordre qui sont seulement convaincus d'avoir parcouru le pays à la tête de leurs bandes les armes à la main, mais sans qu'il soit prouvé que ces bandes aient commis des meurtres. En conséquence M. le Commissaire Russe est d'avis que le principe de la peine de mort à Beyrout, et celui de la commutation à Mokhtara, ne doivent être appliqués ni l'un ni l'autre rigoureusement. Il y aurait lieu peut-être, selon lui, de condamner à des peines graduées quelques détenus de Beyrout, tels que Ellad Talhouk, Essad

Amad, Cassim Neked, et l'Emir Cassim Roslan, et à exécuter la condamnation à mort contre ceux d'entre les détenus de Mokhtara qui, appartenant ou non à des familles influentes, seraient convaincus d'avoir conduit des bandes aux massacres. L'amendement proposé par M. le Commissaire Russe à la motion de M. Béclard, ne soulevant aucune objection, paraît de nature à être adopté. Lord Dufferin fait observer toutefois que la clémence en faveur des condamnés de Mokhtara, convaincus pour la plupart d'assassinat, ne saurait servir à ses yeux de justification à une aggravation de peine contre une autre classe d'accusés dont la culpabilité doit être considérée isolément.

M. le Commissaire d'Autriche appuie la proposition de M. Béclard, relativement aux condamnés de Mokhtara, mais en réservant expressément l'opinion qu'il a formulée dans sa note particulière touchant les onze accusés de Beyrout. Il considère en général la clémence comme le moyen le plus propre à rétablir l'union entre deux peuples destinés à vivre l'un à côté de l'autre sur un même territoire.

La séance est levée à six heures et démie.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Annex 1.

Beyrout, le 23 *Février*, 1861.

Les Soussignés, après avoir pris connaissance des pièces du procès des fonctionnaires Ottomans et des Cheiks Druses détenus à Beyrout, croient devoir se borner à constater que, de ces pièces, il ne résulte aucune circonstance atténuante de nature à établir avec certitude que les fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans ne sont pas responsables en principe des événements qui ont ensanglanté la Montagne et amené le massacre de 6,000 Chrétiens. Dans la pensée des quatre Commissaires de France, de Grande Bretagne, de Prusse, et de Russie, cette responsabilité continue, ils ont regret à le dire, à peser sur les agents de l'autorité Ottomane au moins autant que sur les plus coupables des Cheiks Druses, et la différence des châtiments infligés aux uns et aux autres ne trouve pas, à leurs yeux, sa justification suffisante dans les pièces du procès soumises à leur examen.

En conséquence les Soussignés ont l'honneur d'inviter son Excellence Fuad Pacha à suppléer, par sa propre initiative et dans le légitime exercice des pleins-pouvoirs dont il est muni, en consultant à la fois les inspirations de sa conscience et les nécessités aussi impérieuses qu'urgentes de la justice, à ce qu'il y a d'incomplet dans l'instruction et d'inéquitable dans les sentences du tribunal de Beyrout, et à terminer le plus promptement possible cette œuvre de répression dont les lenteurs ont entravé depuis six mois le rétablissement de l'ordre dans le Liban.

(Signé) L. BECLARD.
DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.
DE REHFUES.
NOVIKOW.

Annex 2.

Beyrout, le 23 *Février*, 1861.

Le Soussigné a lu avec attention les dossiers que son Excellence Fuad Pacha a soumis à l'examen de la Commission Internationale.

Il voit avec une vive satisfaction que les organes du Gouvernement Impérial à Beyrout ne sont pas complices des atrocités commises envers les Chrétiens du Liban. Ils paraissent au contraire s'être efforcés de réprimer les désordres, et s'ils n'y ont pas réussi, c'est qu'ils n'avaient à leur disposition que des forces militaires insuffisantes, et qu'ils furent promptement débordés par les évènements. Le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrout, en proposant de les frapper d'une peine rigoureuse, a eu sans doute en vue un genre de culpabilité que l'examen attentif des pièces du procès ne fait pas apercevoir.

Quant aux Chefs Druses, le Soussigné est d'avis que le Tribunal n'a pas pris suffisamment en considération le caractère particulier de la lutte entre Druses et Chrétiens. Ce n'était pas un acte de rébellion de la part des Cheiks Druses contre l'autorité du Souverain, c'était une guerre civile entre deux populations

rivales qui, en se disputant un territoire, se sont défendues ou ont pris l'offensive tour à tour et selon l'occurrence.

La Commission, loin de méconnaître le caractère de la lutte, avait pris soin de le constater, pour ainsi dire, elle-même, en établissant dans sa dixième séance du 24 Novembre, 1860, trois catégories de coupables qu'elle jugeait passibles de la peine de mort, savoir :

Les instigateurs des massacres ;

Les chefs des bandes des assassins et des incendiaires ;

Et les assassins les plus sanguinaires, c'est-à-dire, les individus ayant pris une part personnelle aux massacres, sans distinction s'ils sont des chefs de la nation ou de simples administrés.

Or, le Soussigné ne trouve pas que les Druses détenus a Beyrout et condamnés par le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrout, à l'exception peut-être de deux, savoir, Mehyeddin Chibli et Bechir Meri, puissent être compris dans l'une ou l'autre de ces trois catégories. Il faudrait, selon lui, faire reviser la sentence des autres condamnés contre lesquels les preuves à charge ne lui paraissent pas tout-à-fait convaincantes.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) DE WECKBECKER.

A son Excellence Fuad Pasha,

&c. &c. &c.

Annex 3.

Fuad Pacha a pris en sérieuse considération la communication collective que MM. les Commissaires de France, de la Grande Bretagne, de Prusse, et de Russie, lui ont adressée au sujet du procès des fonctionnaires Ottomans et des Cheiks Druses, donc les pièces de procédure leur avaient été communiquées. MM. les Commissaires des quatre Puissances, voyant une différence entre les peines auxquelles le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrout condamne les agents de l'autorité Ottomane et les Chefs Druses, et considérant que la responsabilité des premiers dans les événements de la Montagne est aussi grande que la culpabilité des derniers, constatent dans leur opinion la nécessité pour le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan de suppléer, par son initiative et d'après l'inspiration de sa conscience et l'exigence de la justice, à ce qu'il y a d'incomplet dans l'instruction et d'inéquitable dans les sentences de ce Tribunal.

Fuad Pacha, appelé par les pouvoirs que le Sultan son auguste Maître lui a confiés, à sanctionner les sentences que les Tribunaux Extraordinaires donneraient, conformément aux dispositions des lois existantes de l'Empire, a cru de son devoir impérieux de laisser une liberté d'action aux Tribunaux qu'il avait institués d'office, et se conformant aux attributions du pouvoir exécutif qu'il représente en Syrie, il s'était abstenu de se constituer soit en défenseur, soit en accusateur à l'égard des individus que la justice poursuivait. Comme la communication de MM. les Commissaires des quatre Puissances invite aujourd'hui le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman à se mettre au-dessus d'un Tribunal, et à rendre un jugement suprême par sa propre initiative, il se trouve dans la nécessité d'exprimer ici les inspirations de sa conscience, d'après lesquelles il doit non pas faire appliquer une sentence, mais rendre, pour ainsi dire, un jugement en dernier ressort.

Il faudra d'abord établir la différence qu'il y a entre les crimes commis dans la ville de Damas, et les événements qui ont ensanglanté la Montagne. Le premier est un soulèvement d'une partie de la population d'une ville contre une autre, sans cause et sans provocation. C'était un crime prévu explicitement par le Code de l'Empire. Une peine sévère fut infligée à cette population, et ceux parmi les fonctionnaires qui n'ont pas su remplir leurs devoirs, en protégeant les sujets de leur Souverain, ont été frappés de la plus sévère punition.

Quant aux événements de la Montagne, ils diffèrent, de l'avis et de l'aveu de tout le monde, dans leur cause et dans leur forme de ceux de la ville de Damas, quoique le caractère de ces événements ne soit pas légalement établi. Les atrocités commises contre les Chrétiens, et le torrent de sang humain qui a été versé, ont produit naturellement une telle émotion que sous son empire on ne voit, pour ainsi dire, que le corps du délit, sans entrer dans la récherche des causes qui ont produit ces méfaits. Mais pour bien éclairer la justice, il aurait

fallu du prime abord, et avant d'entrer dans des procès individuels, prescrire la nature et le caractère de ces événements. C'est sous cette inspiration que le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman avait énoncé, lors de l'ouverture de la Commission Européenne, en répondant aux quatre points qui avaient été soumis à son examen, l'idée que la Commission Européenne doit, comme un Tribunal, juger d'abord non pas les individus dont le jugement appartient à leur autorité légitime, mais les événements dans leur cause et leur forme. Ce procès général et politique aurait fourni au jugement individuel des matières d'éclaircissement, si nécessaires pour le rendre aussi juste qu'impartial.

Le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman ayant été obligé de donner une autre direction à ce procès, c'est-à-dire, d'ordonner des poursuites individuelles, le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrout n'a cherché que les individus auxquels les peines indiquées dans les Articles 56 et 57 du Code Pénal pourraient être appliquées. D'après ces articles les individus qui sont passibles de la peine capitale sont :

1. Ceux qui organisent et dirigent un complot dans le but de soulever une partie de la population de l'Empire contre l'autre.

2. Ceux qui exercent, dans une bande organisée pour un complot, un commandement.

3. Ceux qui, faisant partie d'une bande armée, commettent des assassinats.

Le Tribunal Extraordinaire, conformément au rôle qui lui a été assigné, n'a fait qu'instruire le procès des individus qui ont été accusés de ces trois degrés de crimes, sans entrer dans aucune considération politique. De cette procédure il a constaté ces crimes sans pouvoir chercher dans leurs causes des circonstances atténuantes ou aggravantes, et il a donné sa sentence pour l'application des peines prévues par la loi.

Quant aux agents de l'autorité, aucun indice ne venant constater leur participation aux crimes de ceux qui ont été accusés comme gravement compromis dans ces événements, à trois degrés de culpabilité cités plus haut, le Tribunal les a condamnés non pas comme coupables de ces mêmes crimes, mais pour avoir manqué aux devoirs qu'ils étaient tenus à remplir comme Agents du Gouvernement. C'est à une peine disciplinaire qu'on a dû les condamner, et cette condamnation a été prononcée dans toute la sévérité de la loi par l'application de peines qui viennent immédiatement après la peine capitale, et qui comportent la mort civile. Telle est la différence qui existe entre les crimes que les Druses ont commis et la culpabilité des agents de l'autorité ; telle est la graduation des peines qui leur ont été appliquées.

Si l'on cherche aujourd'hui des circonstances atténuantes pour les uns, ou des circonstances aggravantes pour les autres, il faudra faire ce procès des événements que le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman avait en son temps indiqué comme base de cette procédure extraordinaire, et puisqu'on semble demander une aggravation de peine pour les agents de l'autorité, ou une explication sur les circonstances atténuantes qui ont engagé le Tribunal Extraordinaire à leur appliquer une peine inférieure à celle qui a été appliquée aux Chefs Druses, on devra remontrer aux circonstances qui ont entouré la situation des fonctionnaires Ottomans à l'époque où ils exerçaient leurs fonctions. On sait qu'aucun agent de l'autorité locale n'a été compromis dans les événements de la Montagne comme complice ni instigateur, et les accusations ne peuvent être portées que contre leurs actes comme Agents du Gouvernement. Aussi est-ce sous le point de vue de leur responsabilité que le degré de leur culpabilité doit être constaté. Dans ce cas deux questions se présentent à l'esprit : avaient-ils tous les moyens de prévenir le mal ? étaient-ils en mesure d'empêcher un conflit entre les deux parties ?

Pour répondre à la première de ces deux questions, il faut se rendre compte de la situation politique dans laquelle se trouvait la Montagne. Les deux populations Maronite et Druse, placées sous un régime exceptionnel, étaient soustraites à l'action directe de l'autorité. Sa voix n'a été entendue nulle part, et une partie de la Montagne s'est mise en opposition directe non seulement avec le Gouvernement de Beyrout, mais avec l'autorité même qui régit la Montagne Chrétienne. Une lettre d'un des Chefs de cette partie de la Montagne, dont tout le monde connaît la teneur, prouve jusqu'à quel point l'autorité du Gouvernement a été méconnue. Les Druses, plus soumis en apparence, n'étaient pas en réalité moins désobéissants que les Chrétiens. La Montagne, théâtre de crimes isolés qui restaient toujours impunis, était devenu le refuge non seulement des malfaiteurs des autres parties de la province, mais même de ceux qui

voulaient échapper aux procès ordinaires qu'on leur intentait. Les plaintes, trop souvent répétées, des agents étrangers de déni de justice qui se pratiquaient ici, prouvent d'une manière évidente la situation anormale dans laquelle se trouvait le pays. Les Maronites et les Druses, se considérant chacun appuyé, il est temps de le dire, par des influences étrangères, étaient en opposition plus ou moins manifeste contre l'autorité souveraine qui n'avait aucun moyen d'empêcher les funestes conséquences de cette guerre sourde qui existait entre les deux populations, également mues par leur haine et leurs passions. Fallait-il donner des ordres ou des conseils ? ni les uns ni les autres n'étaient écoutés. Fallait-il employer la force ou la punition ? l'une et l'autre restaient sans effet. Le Kesrouan était devenu depuis longtemps le foyer de cette opposition et d'une grande agitation. L'autorité locale, ne pouvant agir de son chef, avait soumis à la Sublime Porte la nécessité d'exercer une intervention, devenue urgente pour prévenir le mal qu'elle prévoyait ; mais le Gouvernement du Sultan, déjà en butte à tant de récriminations, a préféré plutôt tolérer cette insubordination que d'être taxé de l'idée de frapper les Chrétiens. L'autorité locale, réduite donc au rôle de simple spectatrice, voyait sans pouvoir et sans force venir les événements, sans avoir les moyens, découlant de la liberté d'action, de les empêcher. Comme Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Fuad Pacha croit remplir un devoir de loyauté, en constatant ici que Kourchid Pacha, en présence d'une situation si tendue et des grandes difficultés qui l'entouraient, et dont la responsabilité devait peser sur lui, a offert à trois fois sa démission, que la Sublime Porte n'a pas acceptée.

Après cet exposé sommaire de la situation dans laquelle se trouvait l'autorité locale, on doit convenir qu'il lui était impossible de prévenir un mal dont on veut faire péser sur elle toute la grande responsabilité ; on n'est responsable que lorsqu'on a la liberté d'action pour remplir son devoir.

En passant à la question de savoir si l'autorité locale se trouvait en mesure d'empêcher un conflit entre les deux populations, il n'est pas à douter que cette même position qui a empêché l'autorité de prévenir le mal, n'ait paralysé aussi toute son action, lorsque les deux parties adverses sont venues aux mains. C'est à l'autorité locale qu'était dévolu incontestablement le devoir d'intervenir pour repousser les premiers agresseurs et protéger ceux qui étaient attaqués ; mais aurait-elle pu le faire dans la situation où elle se trouvait ? Les faits seuls répondront à cette question, et c'est ici qu'on doit préciser le caractère et la nature des événements qui ont ensanglanté la Montagne.

Une enquête minutieuse peut prouver aujourd'hui que les Maronites et les Druses ont été tour à tour agresseurs ou attaqués. Ce sont les Maronites qui se sont soulevés en masse contre les Druses. Il sera prouvé peut-être que ce soulèvement des Chrétiens ne s'est produit que par suite des vexations que les Druses exerçaient sur eux, en commettant sur leurs coreligionnaires des crimes isolés. Le signal de la guerre est donné par les premiers. Une bande armée de Chrétiens était venue la première passer de la Caimacamie Chrétienne dans celle des Druses. Ce fut le début de cette guerre civile qui a fini par tant de calamités. Les habitants Chrétiens de Djezin attaquèrent les premiers les villages des Druses leurs voisins, mais ayant subi une défaite, ils furent envahis par les Druses, qui commirent les crimes dont ils sont accusés. A Hasbeya et à Rachéya les Chrétiens commencèrent à attaquer les Druses, et ils les chassèrent de leurs maisons. A Sayda même Youssuf Moubéiz, un Chef Chrétien, est allé à la rencontre d'un Chef Druse, nommé Cassim Youssuf, pour se venger des crimes isolés commis de la part des Druses sur les Chrétiens.

Qu'aurait dû faire dans cette circonstance l'autorité locale ? Si elle avait empêché les Chrétiens de vive force, elle aurait été encore plus gravement accusée de partialité pour les Druses, considérés aujourd hui comme provocateurs par leurs vexations. Si au contraire elle avait commencé par châtier les Druses, on aurait imputé à l'autorité de la partialité dans un autre sens, vu qu'on aurait considéré ces derniers comme attaqués par les Chrétiens.

Cette situation était embarrassante non seulement pour l'autorité locale, mais pour le Gouvernement Central même. La Porte, voulant toujours couvrir d'une égale protection ces deux populations et démontrer toute l'impartialité de sa politique, avait donné l'ordre à l'autorité locale de se placer entre les deux parties pour empêcher leur collision et les agressions de part et d'autre, mais en évitant toutefois tout ce qui pourrait donner lieu à une idée de partiale intervention, et c'est seulement lorsque le Gouvernement du Sultan a été surpris par

une perpétration d'atrocités sans exemple de la part des Druses qu'il s'est empressé de donner l'ordre de les châtier.

Voilà la position dans laquelle se trouvait l'autorité locale, lorsque cette guerre éclata entre les deux populations, et il faut ajouter une circonstance qui n'est pas moins forte pour servir à la décharge des Agents de cette autorité. Depuis deux ans les embarras suscités de la part de la Serbie et du Montenégro, en Bulgarie, en Bosnie, et en Herzégovine, avaient attiré toute l'attention et toutes les forces du Gouvernement vers ces provinces. Obligée de faire une concentration de troupes en Roumélie, la Sublime Porte a été, à son grand regret, forcée de dégarnir la plupart des provinces d'Asie, de sorte que, lorsque les évènements éclatèrent, l'effectif de l'armée de la Syrie ne comptait pas plus de 5,000 hommes, et dans la Province de Sayda il ne se trouvait pas plus de 2,000 soldats. C'était cette force, disséminée sur une si grande étendue, qui était appelée à empêcher la guerre civile sur une Montagne dont la configuration a toujours contribué à soutenir l'opposition directe de ses populations contre l'autorité.

Telles sont les considérations qui impliquent en faveur des Agents de l'autorité des circonstances atténuant la peine qui est infligée aux coupables de crimes prévus par la loi. Une conduite plus habile et plus énergique de ces Agents aurait pu diminuer les charges de leur responsabilité, mais elle n'aurait pas arrêté l'accomplissement de si grands malheurs. L'autorité n'avait ni assez de pouvoir pour les prévenir, ni assez de force pour s'y opposer. Les officiers qui se sont trouvés à Hasbeya, à Rachéya, à Deir-el-Kamar, et à Beiteddin, n'ayant pas rempli leurs devoirs, en défendant les Chrétiens qui s'étaient réfugiés sous la protection de leurs armes, ont été jugés et condamnés comme coupables de trahison. Les deux premiers sont déjà exécutés, et les deux derniers subiront immédiatement leur peine.

Le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, étant désireux plus que personne de finir un moment plutôt cette partie si pénible de sa tâche, espère qu'une entente qui ne manquera de s'établir entre les membres de la Commission le mettra à même d'achever l'œuvre de justice qui traine depuis trop longtemps, contrairement à sa volonté.

Beyrout, le 7 Février, 1861.

Annex 4.

Note Particulière présentée par M. le Commissaire Français.

Le Commissaire Français, après avoir fait une étude attentive des documents communiqués à la Commission par son Excellence Fuad Pacha, déclare que dans son opinion, tandis que les condamnations capitales prononcées contre les Chefs Druses, détenus à Beyrout, sont pleinement motivées et justifiées, rien n'explique au contraire l'indulgence relative dont le Tribunal a fait preuve envers l'ex-Gouverneur Kourchid Pacha, le Général Tahir Pacha, le Colonel Noury Bey, le Kiahia Vasfy Efendi, et l'employé Ahmed Efendi. La responsabilité la plus entière pèse toujours à ses yeux sur les fonctionnaires ou officiers Ottomans dont il vient de citer les noms, et il ne voit pas pourquoi ces derniers, instigateurs ou complices des massacres dont le Liban a été le théâtre, ne seraient pas aussi sévèrement punis que ceux qui ont toléré ou provoqué les mêmes crimes à Damas. Mais, tout en réclamant contre eux une aggravation de peine que lui parait d'accord avec les exigences de la justice, le Commissaire Français croit devoir poser à ses collègues la question de savoir si, exercée dans de telles limites, c'est-à-dire, appliquée avec la dernière rigueur aux principaux accusés, tant Musulmans que Druses, la répression, en ce qui constitue son caractère le plus terrible, n'aurait pas atteint pleinement le résultat auquel il était permis de prétendre. Sa conscience qu'il a d'abord interrogée sur ce point, lui dit que l'humanité, pour venger les outrages qu'elle a subis, n'admet pas l'emploi immodéré de ces mêmes armes dont on s'est servi contre elle. D'après ce principe, le sang des plus grands coupables devrait être considéré comme une expiation suffisante. Quant aux autres accusés, si leur conduite est également odieuse, leur responsabilité est moindre. Il y aurait donc lieu de les recommander à la clémence du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman. En agissant ainsi, la Commission ne devrait pas craindre de se mettre en contradiction avec elle-même.

Cette contradiction d'ailleurs n'existerait pas. La Commission a pu vouloir, et elle a voulu en effet qu'une flétrissure méritée fût infligée à un nombre plus ou moins grand d'accusés parmi ceux que le Tribunal de Mokhtarah avait classés en diverses catégories ; il lui est certainement loisible aujourd'hui, une fois cette satisfaction obtenu, d'intervenir, au nom de l'Europe civilisée, en faveur d'individus, obscurs pour la plupart, qui n'ont été que les instruments de passions détestables, qu'une différence soit faite entre les assassins qui ont frappé sans discernement et ceux qui, au lieu d'empêcher le mal, l'ont favorisé, soit par une impulsion déterminante, soit par une lache inaction. Ceux-ci pouvaient arrêter le bras des assassins : ils l'ont en quelque sorte dirigé. A eux la responsabilité des crimes commis ; aux autres une punition moindre, quoique proportionnée à leurs forfaits, une punition qui, en les séquestrant du reste de la société, leur permette de se purifier par le repentir. Les nécessités inhérentes au rétablissement de l'ordre et de la sécurité dans la Montagne pourraient ainsi se concilier avec les conseils de la clémence.

Inclosure 3 in No. 375.

Protocol of the Twenty-third Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, February 28, 1861.

LE vingt-huit Février, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à midi.

MM. les Commissaires reviennent sur le sujet qu'ils ont traité la veille. Ils l'examinent en détail, et cherchent à établir, chacun tour à tour, selon les lumières qu'ils possèdent, le degré de culpabilité des différents accusés. Après l'exposé développé de toutes les opinions contradictoires, son Excellence le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman résume le débat, et rend compte à la Commission de l'embarras où il se trouve par suite des divergences qui se sont produites dans son sein.

M. de Weckbecker, dit-il, demande que je révise dans le sens d'un acquittement les sentences prononcées par le Tribunal de Beyrout contre les fonctionnaires Ottomans, tandis que les quatre autres Commissaires demandent qu'un châtiment sévère leur soit infligé. Une divergence d'opinion radicale existe d'ailleurs entre ces quatre Commissaires au sujet des Druses ; et même sur le premier point concernant les agents de l'autorité, ils diffèrent d'avis sur le degré de culpabilité, et par conséquent sur le degré de la peine qu'il faut appliquer.

M. le Commissaire de France demande que la peine de mort soit infligée aux cinq fonctionnaires, Ottomans incriminés; M. le Commissaire de Prusse aux quatre premiers; M. le Commissaire d'Angleterre et celui de Russie à trois seulement. Encore M. le Commissaire Britannique admet-il que le troisième, Noury Bey, puisse être recommandé à la bienveillance miséricordieuse du Sultan. Lord Dufferin et M. Novikow ne demandent pour le quatrième et le cinquième qu'une aggravation de peine d'un degré.* Sur la première question, relative aux agents de l'autorité Ottomane, Fuad Pacha, s'il veut prendre en considération l'avis exprimé par les Commissaires, se trouve donc en présence d'au moins trois opinions.

Quant aux Chefs Druses, les avis sont encore plus contradictoires. Les Représentants de l'Autriche et de l'Angleterre demandent la révision du procès pour six accusés dans le sens de l'acquittement, une mitigation de peine pour trois, et la confirmation du jugement pour deux seulement, Mouhieddin Chibli et Bechir Meri. M. de Rehfues et M. Béclard demandent la confirmation de toutes les sentences, sauf pour Hussein Talhouk et Ali Said, en faveur desquels ils admettent une commutation de peine. M. Novikow, tenant pour ainsi dire une position intermédiaire, réclame une diminution de peine pour Hussein Talhouk, et s'abstient de se prononcer sur Essad Talhouk, Cassim Nekid, Essad Amed, et Emin Mohammed Cassim Roslan.

Il est clair que toutes ces opinions, également respectables aux yeux de son Excellence le Commissaire Ottoman, ne peuvent être en même temps satisfaisantes. Comme Représentant du pouvoir exécutif du Sultan, il a mission de donner force exécutoire aux sentences rendues par le Tribunal conformément à la loi. Comme membre de la Commission il a le droit de se former une opinion personnelle sur

* This is a mistake, I do not require the two subordinates to be imprisoned for life; I merely confirm the Judgment of the Court.—D. AND C.

ces sentences. S'il use de ses pleins-pouvoirs pour réviser les sentences, il doit rendre compte à son Gouvernement du motif de sa résolution. Il aura obéi à l'inspiration de sa conscience ou bien à une nécessité de l'ordre politique. Or, en ce qui concerne les fonctionnaires Ottomans et Kourchid Pacha notamment, qui, d'après les renseignements fournis dans la séance d'hier par M. de Weckbecker, a fait appel au Corps Consulaire pour réclamer son intervention, nouvelle circonstance évidemment très atténuante, Fuad Pacha déclare que, suivant les inspirations de sa conscience, les accusés sont assez sévèrement punis par la détention à perpétuité, peine dont le retentissement de ce procès et son caractère pour ainsi dire Diplomatique assurent la continuité. S'il dit qu'il a, contrairement à sa conscience, frappé de mort des fonctionnaires et des officiers, parce que les Représentants des Puissances étrangères demandaient leur tête, il assumerait à son tour une responsabilité telle, vis-à-vis de son Gouvernement, qu'en aucun cas il ne pourrait prendre cette résolution. En conséquence M. le Commissaire du Sultan ne voit d'autre moyen de trancher la question que de confirmer purement et simplement les sentences, et d'en référer, pour leur exécution, à Constantinople.

M. le Commissaire Français fait observer que, si malgré les instances de la majorité de la Commission, son Excellence ne croit pas devoir user sur-le-champ de ses pleins-pouvoirs pour réviser dans le sens d'une aggravation la sentence du Tribunal, en ce qui concerne les officiers et fonctionnaires Ottomans, ses collègues et lui sont obligés de souscrire à cette démarche, et d'accepter les nouvelles lenteurs qu'elle entraine. Mais par rapport aux Cheiks Druses la même difficulté n'existe pas, puisque sa tâche se bornerait à confirmer les sentences du Tribunal. M. le Commissaire de France pose à son Excellence la question de savoir si elle ne jugerait pas convenable de procéder immédiatement à leur exécution pour terminer au moins cette partie de la répression.

Son Excellence le Commissaire du Sultan se déclare prêt à obtempérer au désir formulé par M. le Commissaire de France. La pacification du Liban est ce qu'il a le plus à cœur, et il espère y arriver, ainsi qu'on l'a proposé, par l'emploi simultané de la répression qui corrige et de la clémence qui ramène. Plus heureux à l'égard des Druses qu'à l'égard des fonctionnaires Ottomans, il pourra peut-être donner dans une certaine mesure satisfaction aux opinions divergentes de ses collègues.

Il se propose de ratifier d'abord purement et simplement les sentences rendues tant à Beyrout qu'à Mokhtara ; mais avant de faire procéder aux exécutions, il accordera aux soixante-neuf condamnés à mort quelques jours de grâce, pendant lesquels ils seront admis à présenter de nouvelles défenses, et si des circonstances atténuantes, telles que celles indiquées ci-dessus, paraissent devoir être prises en considération, il atténuera ce que les sentences du Tribunal auraient pu avoir de trop rigoureux.

M. le Commissaire Français s'élève contre l'adoption de ce système, et exprime la crainte que l'œuvre de la répression ne soit complètement manquée. Nous avions, dit-il, devant nous trois catégories d'accusés :

Les fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans ;

Les Cheiks Druses détenus à Beyrout ;

Et les Druses de rang inférieur détenus à Mokhtarah.

Si le procès des premiers, ainsi qu'il a été dit, est renvoyé à Constantinople, si la sentence des seconds est confirmée, mais non exécutée sur-le-champ et soumise à une sorte de révision déguisée, si enfin la peine des Druses de Mokhtarah est commuée en masse, ainsi qu'il a été convenu, il n'y a plus aucune répression.

Fuad Pacha fait observer que le principe de la répression est admis, et M. de Weckbecker que la répression peut avoir lieu sans la peine de mort. M. Novikow s'associe à la remarque de son collègue de France, et M. de Rehfues exprime la crainte que la répression ne devienne tout-à-fait illusoire. Si après six mois d'efforts de la part du Tribunal et d'instances de la part de la Commission, Fuad Pacha admet de nouveaux délais, et contrairement à la sentence du Tribunal accepte le principe des circonstances atténuantes en faveur des Cheiks Druses, la répression disparaît de tous les côtés à la fois : aucune satisfaction éclatante n'est donnée à la justice, le malaise du pays se prolonge, et de nouveaux désordres sont rendus possibles. M. de Rehfues croit devoir se prémunir contre un tel résultat.

M. le Commissaire Britannique, en se plaçant à un autre point de vue, ne saurait davantage approuver la marche indiquée plus haut par Fuad Pacha.

Son Excellence propose de ratifier uniformément toutes les sentences, et de prononcer ensuite, partout où besoin serait, des commutations de peine; ce qui, dans la pensée du Commissaire Ottoman, équivaudrait à une révision du jugement. Lord Dufferin regrette de ne pouvoir accepter cette manière de voir. Il est absolument nécessaire, selon lui, de distinguer entre une révision de sentence et une commutation de peine. La première permet à celui qui est innocent d'échapper à la condamnation, tandis que la seconde ne peut pas empêcher que le condamné n'ait été, pendant un moment, reconnu coupable. Or, il serait souverainement injuste de confondre les Cheiks Druses, détenus à Beyrout, avec les criminels détenus à Mokhtarah. Ceux-ci, reconnus coupables individuellement, mais à l'égard desquels Lord Dufferin renouvelle les réserves exprimées par lui dans une précédente séance, peuvent être l'objet d'une grâce inspirée par les besoins de la situation politique. Mais ceux-là ne peuvent être condamnés à une peine quelconque par le seul fait qu'ils sont des Chefs, et sans que leur culpabilité ait été bien démontrée.

La divergence d'opinion qui existe entre les différents membres de la Commission, par rapport aux Chefs Druses, se reproduisant de nouveau sur ce terrain, et une conciliation, par voie de discussion, semblant de toute façon impossible, M. le Commissaire d'Autriche émet l'avis que c'est à la source même de ce dissentiment qu'il faudrait remonter pour essayer de le faire disparaître. On diffère sur le principe, c'est-à-dire, sur le bien-fondé des preuves du procès, mais chaque opinion a été conçue de part et d'autre séparément. Chaque Commissaire a examiné individuellement les pièces du procès qui ont été communiquées. Peut-être une lecture collective et l'échange des idées et des appréciations qu'elle suggérait, seraient-ils de nature à faciliter entre tous une certaine entente.

Lord Dufferin appuie cette proposition, et M. Novikow la considère comme un dernier effort de conciliation qu'il est au moins louable de tenter. M. de Rehfues déclare se rallier à l'avis de la majorité, et M. Béclard ne point s'opposer à cet expédient. Fuad Pacha propose d'introduire auprès de la Commission deux des membres du Tribunal qui pourront, s'il y a lieu, donner sur-le-champ des explications sur tel ou tel point. Cette seconde proposition est encore adoptée. M. le Commissaire de France demande toutefois la permission de faire observer que la Commission est sur le point de se transformer en cour de justice et de perdre son véritable caractère, celui d'une réunion diplomatique, chargée non pas de juger les coupables, mais de provoquer seulement leur punition. Cette réserve est admise par tous les Commissaires.

La séance est levée à six heures et demie.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 4 in No. 375.

Protocol of the Twenty-fourth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, March 2, 1861.

LE deux Mars, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à midi.

Mehemed Ruschid Efendi et Abro Efendi, membres du Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrout, sont introduits, et il est donné lecture de l'interrogatoire de Said Bey Jumblat, ainsi que des dépositions faites par les témoins à charge ou à décharge, et de diverses autres pièces jointes au dossier concernant cet accusé. A diverses reprises durant cette lecture, MM. les Commissaires font ressortir soit les lacunes qui se trouvent dans la procédure, soit les preuves qui leur semblent établir la culpabilité de l'accusé ou son innocence.

M. le Commissaire Britannique, après l'audition de cette longue procédure, ne veut pas prétendre que Said Bey Djumblat s'est conduit en héros, et qu'il a tenté ce qu'Abd-el-Kader n'a pas craint de faire à Damas. Mais ceci posé, il y a lieu de remarquer la faiblesse de toutes les preuves sur lesquelles le Tribunal appuie sa condamnation. Ce ne sont guère que des présomptions, et il est au moins étrange que si l'accusé a participé aux désordres de la Montagne, un Tribunal évidemment peu disposé à la bienveillance à son égard, n'ait pas pu recueillir en six mois une preuve certaine et autre chose que des accusations vagues des Chrétiens, c'est-à-dire, d'hommes tirés du camp opposé à sa nation.

Il y a un fait qui résulte du procès avec évidence, c'est qu'au milieu d'une conflagration générale, où chacun devait suivre le parti de sa nationalité, Said Bey, bien loin de pousser à la lutte, s'est efforcé de rester neutre et d'observer une attitude très réservée. Lord Dufferin fait observer en outre que la duplicité des populations de ce pays étant peu commune, et l'époque où les témoignages furent entendus étant signalée par une grande surexcitation, il n'y a pas lieu, selon lui, d'attacher une importance décisive aux dépositions des témoins à charge. Mais au contraire, le seul fait que plusieurs Chrétiens ont, à une pareille époque, déposé en sa faveur, est une des circonstances qui selon Lord Dufferin commande de réviser la sentence du Tribunal de Beyrout. Pour ces diverses raisons, sa Seigneurie croit devoir persister dans l'opinion qu'elle a déjà émise à ce sujet.

M. de Weckbecker trouve que, par sa nationalité, Said Bey Djumblat était fatalement placé dans le camp opposé aux Chrétiens. Comme Mokatadji et homme influent, il a fait des efforts pour empêcher la guerre, et une première fois il y a réussi ; s'il a été moins heureux la seconde fois, on doit lui savoir gré d'avoir encore osé recueillir chez lui un grand nombre de Chrétiens et les sauver, en bravant l'impopularité qui l'a un moment atteint. Il n'est nullement prouvé qu'il ait été instigateur à Hasbeya, ni complice à Deir-el-Kamar.

M. le Commissaire Français regrette que, malgré la recherche des circonstances atténuantes, à laquelle il vient de se livrer en faveur de Said Bey Djumblat, il ne puisse changer de conviction à son égard. En principe, la responsabilité de ces événements pèse sur les agents de l'autorite Ottomané ; la responsabilité immédiate pèse sur les Chefs Druses influents : or, Said Bey était le plus influent de tous, et rien certainement n'aurait pu se faire dans la Montagne sans son consentement. La morale publique exige une réparation. La seule circonstance qui put paraître favorable à l'accusé, c'est le secours qu'il a prêté à des Chrétiens, le refuge qu'il leur a donné. Mais d'autre part, la contrainte par laquelle il exige d'eux des certificats rend ce fait même très suspect, et permet de lui supposer une arrière-pensée. L'organisation sociale des Druses, où rien ne se fait sans l'aveu des Chefs, suffirait à prouver sa participation, au moins morale, dans les événements. A défaut d'un grand nombre de coupables et pour l'exemple, c'est parmi les Chefs les plus élévés que la justice doit frapper. M. Béclard ne peut donc modifier en rien l'opinion qu'il a émise précédemment au sujet de l'accusé, et il se borne à demander la confirmation pure et simple de la sentence du Tribunal.

M. le Commissaire Prussien, après la lecture de ce long interrogatoire, demeure convaincu que Said Bey Djumblat est le principal instigateur de la lutte qui a ensanglanté le Liban. Plus fin, plus rusé que les autres, plus puissant aussi, il a pu cacher son jeu et s'assurer d'avance des certificats de bonne conduite, écrire des lettres qui présentent aujourd'hui son attitude sous un jour favorable ; mais ces preuves, arrangées à l'avance, sont amplement contrebalancées par l'ensemble des témoignages et de l'instruction du procès. M. le Commissaire de Prusse réclame donc la confirmation du jugement qui condamne Said Bey à la peine de mort.

M. le Commissaire Russe, ayant à donner son opinion définitive sur un aussi grave sujet, croit devoir la motiver en entrant dans quelques détails. Il avait déjà dit précédemment, et la lecture qui vient d'être faite en commun prouve la justesse de cette impression, que le dossier du procès de Said Bey Djumblat, bien que le plus volumineux de tous, était cependant insuffisant pour établir une certitude judiciaire complète sur le rôle qu'il a joué dans les événements de l'année passée. M. le Commissaire Russe a donc dû rechercher, dans un ensemble de preuves morales, recueillies en dehors du procès, les éléments d'une conviction que l'enquête du Tribunal n'avait pas fait naître dans son esprit.

On a invoqué en faveur de Said Djumblat plusieurs circonstances. Le fait qu'il s'est remis spontanément entre les mains de l'autorité n'est pas concluant. Coupable ou innocent, qu'aurait-il pu faire ? Fuir dans le Hauran comme un aventurier, en laissant derrière lui tous les avantages de sa position, en se privant à tout jamais des chances d'acquittement, uniquement dans le but d'avoir la vie sauvé ? C'eût été un faux calcul. En le supposant coupable, il était toujours dans son intérêt d'aller au devant de la justice, et de jouer le tout pour le tout, en faisant valoir les preuves qu'il s'était préparées à l'appui de son innocence.

Une de ces preuves, c'est son abstention de toute participation matérielle aux événements de la Montagne. Mais, si l'on suppose que toute sa conduite a été guidée par le plan préconçu d'aboutir à un acquittement judiciaire, il a dû

non seulement s'abstenir de toute participation à la guerre, mais encore se ménager l'apparence de quelques efforts pour l'empêcher. Judiciairement parlant, ce fait ne peut donc pas servir, pas plus que le premier, de circonstance atténuante en sa faveur. La seule circonstance de cette nature qui existe réellement, c'est le fait qu'il a sauvé la vie à de nombreux Chrétiens. Quelqu'intéressés que fussent ses motifs, il n'en est pas moins vrai que des centaines de Chrétiens ont été préservés par lui d'une mort certaine.

Après avoir rendu cet hommage à la vérité, M. Novikow passe à la question de savoir si Said Bey est réellement coupable ou non, et jusqu'à quel point il l'est. La voix publique et les conclusions du Tribunal le considèrent comme l'âme et le Chef occult du mouvement des Druses. M. Novikow partage ce point de vue. La guerre entre les Maronites et les Druses était en effet, aux yeux des uns et des autres, une guerre nationale, qui semblait devoir être décisive et dont l'enjeu était la possession de la Montagne. Les rivalités de parti ont dû nécessairement se taire devant ce grand intérêt; on voit en effet que tous les Druses du Liban se sont étroitement unis entre eux et avec leurs compatriotes du Hauran. Said Djoumblat pouvait-il rester en dehors de ce mouvement, lui qui était le plus considéré des Cheiks de sa nation, Chef d'un grand parti, Mokatadji héréditaire de cinq districts, le plus riche et le plus influent parmi ses compatriotes? On a établi une distinction de fond entre la guerre civile et les massacres. En effet les Chefs secondaires qui ont conduit leurs bandes à la guerre sont moins coupables que ceux qui les ont conduites au massacre. Mais Said Bey Djoumblat n'appartient ni à l'une ni à l'autre de ces catégories. Il se trouvait dans une situation toute particulière. Du moment où il ne se mettait pas franchement en travers du mouvement des Druses, il en devenait forcément le Chef; et dans ce cas il assumait la responsabilité de toutes les conséquences de la guerre. Qu'il eût voulu ou non les massacres, que ses intérêts particuliers eussent été pour ou contre la guerre, peu importe; la même responsabilité qui pèse en principe sur le délégué du pouvoir Ottoman retombe en plein sur Said Bey Djoumblat, dans la sphère de son influence et de ses attributions.

On trouve sous ce rapport, dans les pièces de l'instruction, la preuve de l'énorme influence que Said Bey Djoumblat exerçait sur ses compatriotes au début comme à la fin de la guerre, et la lettre d'Ismaïl-el-Atrache en est un indice très grave. On sait en outre qu'il distribuait des munitions aux Druses qui, avant d'aller à la guerre, passaient par Mokhtara. La déposition d'un témoin oculaire et assermenté, Youssouf-el-Hacqed, de Djezzin, ne laisse aucun doute à cet égard. Un autre témoin, Derviche Roza, juge Grec-Catholique de la Caïmacamie Druse, cité par Said Bey lui-même, a reconté qu'un simple écrit de ce dernier avait suffi, lors de la première attaque dirigée contre Deir-el-Kamar, pour dissiper un attroupement très considérable de Druses, appartenant à des Chefs divers, qui tous ont obéi à un ordre émané de lui. Aucun des envois de Chrétiens qu'ils faisait escorter par ses gens à Sayda ne fut inquiété par les Druses, et à la fin de la guerre il dominait si bien la situation au midi de la Montagne que Kourchid Pacha lui déléguait le soin de sauver le reste des Chrétiens à Deir-el-Kamar, et que le commandant de la garnison de cette ville lui délivrait un certificat de bonne conduite, afin d'obtenir qu'il veuille bien faire arriver sa famille saine et sauve à Sayda.

De nombreux témoins à charge ont déposé dans la cause de Said Djoumblat. Il a été accusé, à diverses reprises, des plus grands crimes: d'avoir endormi les Chrétiens dans une fausse sécurité; d'avoir provoqué les massacres de Deir-el-Kamar, de Hasbeya, du couvent de Deir-Moukhallis, de n'avoir pas été étranger à ceux de Sayda. Chacun de ces chefs d'accusation eut été accablant pour Said Bey, si les témoins qui les ont portés avaient déposé soit de vue, soit d'ouïe, et en pleine connaissance de cause. Mais le plupart de ces témoignages ne sont basés que sur la voix publique ou sur les indications de tiers qui, pour diverses raisons, n'ont pu comparaître devant le Tribunal. Les chefs d'accusation relatifs aux massacres de Sayda et de Deir-Moukhallis n'ont même été touchés qu'incidemment par le Tribunal. L'évidence judiciaire de la culpabilité personnelle ne jaillit donc pas des pièces mêmes du procès. Des témoins, tant Chrétiens que Musulmans, ont été cités à la demande de l'accusé.

Or, les témoins Musulmans, tout en faisant son éloge, se prononcent sur sa conduite pendant les événements d'une manière très-réservée. Ils ont déclaré qu'il n'a pas pris personnellement part à la guerre; que, selon les apparences, elle

ne s'est pas faite d'après sa volonté ; qu'il a sauvé un grand nombre de Chrétiens ; mais la plupart ajoutent que Dieu seul connaît la vérité.

Quant aux témoins Chrétiens à décharge, quelques-uns d'entr'eux ont imputé à Said Bey tous les malheurs de la Montagne, qu'il aurait eu, disaient-ils, le pouvoir d'empêcher, s'il l'avait voulu ; d'autres enfin l'ont accusé d'avoir été personnellement l'instigateur des massacres, et chose étrange, ce sont ceux-là mêmes auxquels il avait sauvé la vie et qui avaient pu observer son attitude pendant leur séjour à Mokhtara.

Il découle en outre de la déposition des Chrétiens réfugiés chez Saïd Bey que les certificats signés par eux et cités en sa faveur ont été le résultat d'une contrainte morale.

Le chef d'accusation le plus grave porté contre lui, est celui d'avoir organisé les massacres de Hasbeya, en y envoyant Ali Hamadé avec la mission ostensible d'en ramener sa sœur Naïfé.

La vénération toute particulière dont les Druses de l'Anti-Liban entourent le nom de Saïd Djoumblat ; les rapports suivis de correspondances et de messages qui existaient entre lui et sa sœur Naifé ; l'influence qu'elle exerçait incontestablement sur la garnison Ottomane de cette ville, qui a livré les Chrétiens aux Druses ; l'arrivée presque simultanée d'Ali Hamadé et de Guendj-Aamad à Hasbeya, envoyés, le premier de Mokhtara par Said Djoumblat, pour ramener sa sœur ; le second de Damas par le Seraskier Ahmet Pacha, pour amener les Emirs et les Chrétiens de Hasbeya, et qui, au lieu de remplir leur mission, dirigent l'un et l'autre les massacres de cette ville ; l'entourage d'Ali Hamadé composé en partie de serviteurs intimes de Said Djoumblat, qui prennent une part active aux massacres, et qui certes n'auraient pas osé le faire sans un encouragement de la part de leur maître : toutes ces données constituent à la charge de Said Djoumblat un ensemble de preuves de nature à établir sa culpabilité.

En résumé, le Commissaire Russe est d'avis que Said Bey Djoumblat a encouru la plus grave responsabilité dans les événements de 1860, et qu'il y a lieu de confirmer le jugement porté contre lui par le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrout.

Lord Dufferin, en prenant acte de ce que M. Novikow a dit qu'une certitude judiciaire de la culpabilité personnelle de Said Bey ne résultait point des pièces du procès, ne croit pas d'un autre côté pouvoir admettre qu'il soit loisible à chacun des Commissaires de faire entrer dans la discussion des bruits publics, des correspondances, des témoignages, en un mot, des faits d'aucune nature qui ne seraient point authentiques, et n'auraient point été appréciés suivant les régles ordinaires de la procédure. Les pièces du procès, recueillies judiciairement, authentiquement communiquées, voilà, selon Lord Dufferin, la seule base possible de l'espèce de révision collective du procès à laquelle les Commissaires se livrent ensemble en ce moment. Si chacun d'eux appuie son opinion personnelle sur des faits que lui seul peut apprécier, il semble alors au Commissaire Britannique que toute entente demeure plus que jamais impossible.

En ce qui concerne les témoignages des Chrétiens, seuls témoignages qui aient été recueillis, sans prétendre leur refuser toute valeur, Lord Dufferin ne croit pas non plus que, par cela seul que les témoins Chrétiens ont été assermentés, leur serment doive être considéré comme une garantie absolue de véracité.

Fuad Pacha constate avec regret que l'espèce de révision du procès, à laquelle la Commission vient de se livrer, n'a abouti à aucun résultat, et que les deux opinions qui s'étaient produites ne sont pas moins divergentes qu'auparavant.

M. le Commissaire de France rappelle qu'il n'avait accepté la proposition de M. de Weckbecker que sur réserve et comme un expédient auquel les Commissaires, à bout de ressources pour s'entendre, devaient faire appel. En réalité la Commission n'a pas pu se constituer en Tribunal. La justice dans l'Empire Ottoman doit être rendue et a été rendue dans l'espèce par un Tribunal Ottoman. Le rôle des Commissaires consiste uniquement à provoquer l'action de la justice locale. Les sentences ont été rendues, et des avis émis au sujet de ces sentences. C'est au Plénipotentiaire Ottoman qu'il appartient de leur donner ou non force exécutoire.

Il résulterait, selon Lord Dufferin, de ce que vient de dire M. Béclard, que la Commission aurait eu tort de prendre même connaissance des dossiers.

M. de Weckbecker explique la proposition qu'il avait fait dans la précédente séance. Avant de manifester leur dissentiment, les Commissaires, selon lui,

devaient, en conscience, employer tous les moyens qui s'offraient à eux de se mettre d'accord.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha expose que, dans l'état de la question, un tribunal ayant rendu régulièrement des sentences ou mazbatas, comme représentant du pouvoir exécutif, il n'a qu'à les confirmer tant pour les Chefs Druses que pour les fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans. Mais, eu égard à la divergence d'opinion qui s'est manifestée dans le sein de la Commission, il ajournera toute autre mesure ultérieure jusqu'à ce qu'il ait reçu, sur l'ensemble de la question, les ordres de son Gouvernement. C'est là, dit-il, la seule issue qui s'offre à lui pour résoudre cette difficulté. Toutefois, il réclame encore à ce sujet l'avis de la Commission.

M. le Commissaire de France déclare que, du moment où le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman ne croit pas devoir exécuter immédiatement les sentences du tribunal concernant les Chefs Druses, il ne reste aux membres de la Commission qu'à souscrire à la décision qui vient de leur être notifiée.

Son Excellence ajoute que, confirmant tous les mazbatas rendus, elle va seulement donner suite à ceux qui sont relatifs aux détenus de Mokhtara condamnés à des peines de second ordre, et au sujet desquels aucune divergence d'opinion ne s'est produite.

La séance est levée à 7 heures et demie.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 5 in No. 375.

TABLE of Prisoners, with their Sentences; and showing the Opinion of the Commissioners on their respective cases.

Prisoners.	M. Béclard's Opinion.	Lord Dufferin's Opinion.	M. de Weckbecker's Opinion.	M. de Rehfues' Opinion.	M. Novikow's Opinion.	Sentences of the Tribunals.
Khorshid Pasha	Death	Death	Perpetual imprisonment.	Death	Death	Perpetual imprisonment.
Tahir Pasha	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Nouri Bek	Ditto	Recommended to mercy.	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Wasfi Effendi	Ditto	Confirmation of sentence.	Acquitted	Ditto	Perpetual imprisonment.	Temporary imprisonment and perpetual deprivation of rank.
Ahmed Effendi	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Detention for life	Ditto	Ditto.
Saïd Bek Joumblat	Ditto	Acquitted	Ditto	Death	Death	Death.
Hussein Talhouk	Recommended to mercy on account of old age	Ditto	Ditto	Recommended to mercy.	Recommended to mercy.	Ditto.
Assad Talhouk	Death	Ditto	Ditto	Death	Declines opinion	Ditto.
Kassim Neked	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Death	Ditto.
Assad Amad	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Declines opinion	Ditto.
Mir Mohamed Kassim Rosslan	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Selim Joumblat	Ditto	Recommended to mercy.	Ditto	Ditto	Death	Ditto.
Jemel-el-Din Hamadan	Ditto	Ditto	Declines opinion	Ditto	Declines opinion	Ditto.
Mehied-din-Shibli	Ditto	Death	Death	Ditto	Death	Ditto.
Ali Saïd	Recommended to mercy.	Recommended to mercy.	Revision of trial	Recommended to mercy.	Declines opinion	Ditto.
Beshir Meri	Death	Death	Death	Death	Death	Ditto.

Inclosure 6 in No. 375.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, March* 7, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith for your Excellency's information, a list of Druses condemned to death by what his Excellency Fuad Pasha terms "a summary process."

The evidence against twenty-two of these persons was considered convincing by Mr. Vice-Consul White and by Colonel Fraser, who was allowed to take cognizance of the proceedings of the court-martial who condemned them; and it appears they may be numbered amongst the most savage of their nation, some of them having butchered, in cold blood, dozens of Christians.

Many of them are Sheikhs and persons of influence, and I am sometimes almost tempted to think that if all of these persons were allowed indiscriminately to profit by the act of grace which is recommended by the British and French Governments, the consequence might be the reverse of what is intended.

In this country of blood-feuds, it is considered incumbent on the next of kin to remedy, by his personal interposition, any laxity of the criminal law, and the habit of "vendettas" has been created by the absence of more legitimate punishment.

If then, all these recognized assassins are suffered to escape without any graver punishment than imprisonment, the relatives of those they have slaughtered may think it necessary to satisfy their vengeance on some innocent member of the murderer's family, and the origin of future atrocities may be thus engendered.

No. 376.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 27, 1861.

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatch of the 10th instant, explaining the course which you pursued in regard to the trial of the Druse prisoners and their condemnnation, and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve your proceedings in those matters.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 377.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 28.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, March* 15, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 377.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, March* 15, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that in addition to sixty-eight Druses whose cases have been referred to Constantinople, and certain others whom Fuad Pasha proposes to imprison here, there are a body of about 150 or 200 more whom he has determined to transport to Tripoli.

At first it was his Excellency's intention to send them to Constantinople or some other locality in that neighbourhood, but I ventured to suggest the propriety of their being sent to an Arab-speaking country.

Although it is very probable that most of these persons were engaged in the disturbances of the Mountain, and that some of them took part in the atrocities which followed, they cannot be considered as criminals in the legal acceptation of the term, inasmuch as very little evidence was produced against any of them.

At the same time, I am myself of opinion that it would be unadvisable to set them immediately at liberty. Some satisfaction must be given to the Christians, and if these persons are immediately allowed to return to the villages where the wives and children of their victims are residing, it would give rise to an amount of panic and clamour against the Government which might become extremely embarrassing.

On the other hand, it is revolting to the principles of every just man to allow any one to be punished whose guilt has not been fully proved; but any misgivings on this head have been considerably diminished by his Excellency assuring me that these persons are not to be treated as prisoners when they arrive, that due provision shall be made for their support there and for that of their families here, and that he has purposely refrained from affixing any term to the duration of their exile, in order that no obstacle may exist to their return to their own country whenever the present excitement shall have a little subsided. The climate, moreover, is healthy, as his Excellency has assured me, who was once there himself when attached to the army in a medical capacity, and at no great distance from the shore rise a chain of mountains not unlike the Lebanon.

Inclosure 2 in No. 377.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, March* 15, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the twenty-fifth sitting of the Syrian Commission held on the 5th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 377.

Protocol of the Twenty-fifth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, March 5, 1861.

LE cinq Mars, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à midi.

Les procès-verbaux des 22me, 23me, et 24me séances ayant été lus et adoptés dans une réunion exclusivement consacrée à cet objet, Fuad Pacha propose à MM. les Commissaires de passer immédiatement à la discussion du projet d'indemnité relatif à Damas, et récemment envoyé de Constantinople.

Lord Dufferin demande la permission de faire auparavant des réserves formelles et explicites au sujet des nouvelles condamnations à mort prononcées contre des détenus de Mokhtara. Déjà, lorsque la Commission a été d'avis que le chiffre de vingt condamnations ne remplissait pas le but politique qu'on se proposait, Lord Dufferin avait eu soin de faire connaître que, tout en ne s'opposant point à l'émission de cet avis, il ne croyait pas toutefois que la Commission pût engager un Tribunal à frapper de mort dans un but politique des hommes dont la culpabilité ne serait point parfaitement démontrée au point de vue judiciaire. Il vient d'apprendre que les formalités de procédure dirigées contre les trente-huit nouveaux condamnés ont été encore plus contraires aux règles ordinaires de la justice que celles qui avaient été suivies à l'égard des vingt premiers; que, notamment, ces trente-huit sentences de mort subséquentes avaient été prononcées, à Beyrout, par une partie seulement des juges de

Mokhtara, et hors de la présence des accusés, qui n'ont pas pu se faire entendre. M. le Commissaire Britannique croit devoir en conséquence déclarer que ces nouvelles condamnations ne peuvent être considérées par lui comme ayant une valeur quelconque. Lord Dufferin demande ensuite à Fuad Pacha, si, par suite des décisions qui ont été prises dans les précédentes séances, il ne se propose point de mettre un terme aux inquiétudes et aux souffrances de la nation Druse, en lui faisant savoir qu'elle est désormais à l'abri de toute poursuite. Les nombreuses pétitions qu'il reçoit le portent à croire qu'une mesure de ce genre est impérieusement réclamée par l'état des esprits dans la Montagne.

Fuad Pacha répond que les formalités suivies pour les trente-huit nouvelles condamnations à mort sont celles d'une procédure extraordinaire. La Commission, y compris Lord Dufferin, avait été elle-même d'avis que la justice à rendre contre les Druses devait être sommaire, expéditive, militaire pour ainsi dire, et d'un caractère exceptionnel, comme les évènements qui l'ont rendue nécessaire. On a suivi pour les Druses nouvellement condamnés exactement les mêmes formalités d'instruction que pour les vingt premiers.

Sur la seconde question son Excellence répond que l'idée d'une sorte d'amnistie judiciaire au profit de la nation Druse toute entière est loin d'être abandonnée. Mais il est clair qu'elle ne peut recevoir d'exécution qu'après la clôture définitive de l'œuvre de répression. Or, la nécessité où Fuad Pacha se trouve d'en référer à Constantinople, et le caractère conditionnel des diverses propositions relatives à la répression, l'obligent à attendre les instructions de son Gouvernement. Il a toutefois donné à ses agents l'ordre de ne plus procéder dans la Montagne à aucune arrestation, et il a menacé de frapper d'un châtiment exemplaire ceux d'entre les habitants qui chercheraient à se faire justice eux-mêmes par des représailles individuelles.

M. le Commissaire Russe pense que l'inquiétude et le malaise qui régnent encore dans la Montagne et notamment dans les environs de Racheya, seraient en partie calmés par un commencement de répression qui consisterait à exécuter les sentences qui infligent des peines de second ordre à un certain nombre des accusés de Mokhtara.

Fuad Pacha répond que l'on est actuellement en train de préparer par son ordre des mesures d'exécution. Quant aux habitants des environs de Racheya venus à Beyrout, il a fait droit à leur réclamation, en envoyant dans leur pays de nouvelles troupes, et en adressant au nouveau Commandant des instructions très sévères pour le maintien de l'ordre.

M. de Rehfues est d'avis que, pour rétablir le calme dans la Montagne, il faudrait déployer une égale et très grande rigueur contre les Chrétiens et les Druses qui si livreraient à des actes de représailles individuelles.

M. le Commissaire Français a appris que deux assassinats venaient d'être commis aux environs de Baalbek. Il demande que des poursuites soient dirigées contre les meurtriers et qu'ils soient frappés d'un châtiment. Il persiste à croire, d'après ses propres renseignements, et malgré les pièces officielles récemment communiquées, que l'état des choses dans cette partie de la Syrie laisse beaucoup à désirer.

Fuad Pacha fera prendre de nouvelles informations sur l'état du pays, et a déjà ordonné des poursuites relativement aux deux assassinats qui viennent d'être signalés.

Son Excellence le Commissaire du Sultan fait part ensuite à la Commission des instructions qu'il a reçues de Constantinople au sujet de l'indemnité due aux habitants Chrétiens de Damas. La Porte a reconnu, comme la Commission, que le principe d'une somme fixe et déterminée à l'avance, à répartir ensuite entre les ayants-droit au prorata de leurs pertes, était le meilleur qu'on pût adopter. Mais, si la Porte est tombée d'accord avec la Commission sur le principe, elle s'en éloigne dans l'application. Au lieu de 150,000,000 de piastres que la Commission proposait de répartir entre les Chrétiens, la Porte serait d'avis, eu égard aux ressources dont elle croit pouvoir disposer, de s'en tenir au chiffre de 75,000,000 de piastres, dont le Gouvernement du Sultan se constituerait le débiteur vis-à-vis des Chrétiens, et qu'il leur paierait en six à-comptes semestriels, c'est-à-dire, dans le laps de trois années. Dans le plan arrêté à Constantinople, une imposition sur Damas et les environs serait le moyen employé pour faire face aux intérêts et à l'amortissement des sommes que le Gouvernement avancera.

M. le Commissaire d'Autriche est d'avis que, si l'arrêté de la Porte est définitif, toute discussion semble inutile. Si ce n'est qu'un projet, il doit dire

que dans sa pensée le chiffre de 75,000,000 de piastres est insuffisant. En étendant les délais du paiement, la Porte pouvait élever le chiffre même de l'indemnité sans grand inconvénient. Elle pourrait même encore adopter ultérieurement le chiffre proposé par la Commission, en divisant le paiement en douze à-comptes semestriels. M. de Weckbecker fait remarquer en outre que le taux de l'argent dans la Montagne étant actuellement de deux et même trois pour cent par mois, toute lenteur apportée au paiement de l'indemnité occasionne pour les Chrétiens un surcroît de pertes considérables.

M. le Commissaire Français constate que la Porte, après avoir écarté le système proposé par la Commission, et paru donner la préférence à celui d'une enquête spéciale et judiciaire pour chaque individu, adhère maintenant au principe de la Commission, c'est-à-dire, à la fixation d'une somme totale déterminée à l'avance et à répartir ensuite entre tous les ayants-droit. Quant aux chiffres qu'elle a posés, M. Béclard ne trouve pas qu'ils soient de nature à assurer aux Chrétiens une réparation suffisante des dommages qu'ils ont soufferts. 150,000,000 de piastres étaient dans la pensée de la Commission un minimum indispensable, et le terme de huit mois pendant lesquels la population Musulmane de Damas et des environs devait payer la portion de l'impôt mise à sa charge, était un délai suffisant pour les Musulmans et déjà très-long pour les Chrétiens. La Commission avait été conduite à proposer ces chiffres par des recherches nombreuses et approfondies. Rien ne vient au contraire à l'appui des nouveaux chiffres présentés par la Porte. En conséquence, M. le Commissaire Français ne peut que persister dans l'opinion que d'accord avec ses collègues il a émise, il y a déjà trois mois, sur la question de l'indemnité. Mais quelle que soit la combinaison définitivement adoptée, il y a un point sur lequel il doit s'empresser de faire dès aujourd'hui les réserves les plus formelles, c'est qu'en aucune partie de l'Empire les populations Chrétiennes ne seront ni directement ni indirectement tenues de concourir au paiement de l'impôt d'indemnité. Il est bien entendu en effet que les Musulmans seuls doivent être soumis aux conséquences de la mesure financière quelle qu'elle soit, qui sera ultérieurement adoptée.

M. Béclard demande en outre que des délégués Européens soient appelés à participer aux travaux de la Commission de répartition. Une telle mesure lui paraît être la conséquence nécessaire de la concession faite au Gouvernement local à l'égard des protégés, en faveur desquels le principe d'un arrangement particulier entre Fuad Pacha et les Commissaires respectifs n'a point été réservé.

Lord Dufferin ne voit aucune raison pour que la Commission revienne sur l'avis qu'elle a exprimé. 150,000,000 de piastres d'indemnités étaient le résultat du calcul le plus modéré auquel on pût se livrer sur les pertes subies par les Chrétiens de Damas, en ne comprenant encore dans cette évaluation ni bijoux, ni matières précieuses ni argent comptant. Quant aux délais fixés à la perception de l'impôt, Lord Dufferin a toujours été d'avis que la Commission s'était montrée trop rigoureuse à l'egard de Damas. Il est convaincu que, pour ne pas épuiser la force contributive de cette cité, on ne peut lui demander au plus que 10,000,000 de piastres par mois ; mais en revanche il continue de croire que 40,000,000 n'excèdent pas la somme totale que Damas devrait fournir dans l'ensemble des ressources affectées au paiement de l'indemnité. Lord Dufferin est d'avis en outre que ce n'est pas sur la population, soit Musulmane, soit Chrétienne, de la province dans sa généralité, mais seulement sur Damas et les villages environnants compromis dans les désordres, que l'impôt pénal en question devrait porter.

M. le Commissaire Prussien rappelle que la Commission, en donnant son avis, il y a trois mois, sur cette question, avait été guidée par deux motifs : éviter les lenteurs d'une enquête judiciaire, et frapper Damas d'un impôt pénal. Les retards que le rappel de la Porte a entraînés dans le réglement de cette question ont déjà fait perdre aux Chrétiens tout le bénéfice du système qui n'avait été proposé que parce qu'il était sommaire et expéditif ; et en ce qui concerne les Musulmans de Damas, la combinaison financière que propose la Porte n'a aucun rapport avec l'impôt pénal que la Commission avait en vue. M. de Rehfues ne cesse pas de croire que le plan d'indemnisation indiqué par la Commission était aussi expédient que modéré, et qu'il correspondait au minimum de ce que le Gouvernement Ottoman doit faire en faveur d'une population sujette du Sultan, et que la protection de son Souverain n'a pas empêchée d'être chassée de ses foyers, soumise aux plus horribles traitements, et réduite en masse à la plus extrême misère.

M. le Commissaire Russe déclare n'avoir presque rien à ajouter à toutes les idées justes qui viennent d'être exprimées par ses collègues. Il renouvelle pour son compte la réserve faite par M. Béclard, et d'après laquelle les Chrétiens d'aucune localité ne doivent contribuer à la création des ressources nécessaires pour le paiement des 127,000,000, attribués dans le projet de la Commission aux victimes de Damas, abstraction faite de ce qui reviendrait aux établissements religieux indigènes, au sujet desquels le principe d'une enquête séparée a été et demeure admis d'un commun accord, les indemnités dues aux Consulats et nationaux étrangers seulement devant être l'objet d'un arrangement particulier entre Fuad Pacha et les Commissaires de chaque Puissance intéressée.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha, manquant d'informations suffisantes pour soutenir contradictoirement, soit auprès de son Gouvernement, soit auprès de la Commission, l'un et l'autre des deux projets qui se trouvent en présence, va, dit-il, se rendre à Damas et y recueillir sur les lieux tous les renseignements dont il a besoin. Lors de son retour et même auparavant, s'il est nécessaire, il fera connaître à la Commission le résultat de son enquête.

Sur la proposition de M. Béclard, appuyée unanimement par la Commission, M. le Commissaire Ottoman s'engage à faire payer immédiatement par la population Musulmane de Damas un premier à-compte de 12,500,000 piastres. Fuad Pacha promet de dépasser même le chiffre de 12,500,000 piastres, s'il trouve que cela soit possible, et prie la Commission de vouloir bien s'en remettre à lui sur ce dernier point.

Il est bien entendu d'ailleurs que, dans la pensée de la Commission, ce paiement d'un premier à-compte ne préjugera rien sur la fixation ultérieure et définitive du chiffre total de l'indemnité. Il est en outre convenu qu'une fois le chiffre fixé et le tableau de répartition établi, les Chrétiens, devenant pour ainsi dire les créanciers du Gouvernement, seront payés dans les délais de rigueur, et qu'il leur sera même loisible de transférer à des tiers, pour se procurer l'argent dont ils auraient besoin avant l'expiration de ces délais, les titres de créance dont ils seront munis.

MM. les Commissaires des cinq Puissances se proposent de mettre à profit l'absence de Fuad Pacha, en préparant un projet de réorganisation du Liban, au sujet duquel ils devront ultérieurement s'entendre avec son Excellence, avant de le transmettre à leurs Cours respectives.

La séance est levée à quatre heures et demie.

No. 378.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received April* 4.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, March* 23, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copy of a communication which has been addressed to the European Commissioners by Bishop Tobia and three other Maronite Prelates, denying all cognizance of the denunciatory lists furnished to his Excellency Fuad Pasha, and stating that the 4,600 names inscribed thereon were taken from a mixed array of 30,000 Mussulmans, Metuali, and Druses, of the Hauran, as well as of the Lebanon.

As these assertions differ materially from the account of the transaction I have felt it my duty to convey to your Lordship, it is necessary I should recapitulate the facts of the case.

By a reference to the Protocol of the tenth sitting of the Commission, it will be seen that it was determined to try those of the Druse nation supposed to be implicated in the disturbances of the Mountain, by the summary process of a court-martial; that death was the sole penalty the Court was declared competent to pronounce; and that only those persons were to be put upon their trial who were supposed to have instigated or directed the massacres, or who were denounced, "par la voix publique," as more particularly notorious for the atrocity of their crimes.

This decision was then followed by a discussion as to how Fuad Pasha was to ascertain the names of those who would come within the above categories, as his Excellency had justly observed that it would be necessary "d'avoir presqu'exclusivement recours aux dépositions des Chrétiens, et qu'alors il en

redoubtait le nombre ; si on lui demande 1,000 ou 1,500 têtes, et s'il consente à les faire tomber, il craint de s'exposer à l'accusation d'être plus Druse que les Druses eux-mêmes, et de répondre à un massacre par une boucherie."

In order to avoid this danger, it was agreed that recourse should be had to the intervention of the Christian Bishop, through whose influence it was hoped the denunciations might be restrained within reasonable limits ; and it was agreed, on the proposition of Fuad Pasha, " que les notables de chaque localité serout invités par lui à faire devant leurs Chefs spirituels, et sous la foi du serment, les dépositions qui, sans être dans la plupart oculaires, serviront cependant de bases aux mises en accusations."

From the letter of the Prelates themselves it would appear that in compliance with the arrangement thus come to, an interview took place upon the subject between themselves and the Turkish Commissioner, the result of which we find recorded in the Protocol of the 16th Conference.

Abro Efendi, a Christian, and Fuad Pasha's delegate to the Commission, " constate à son tour que la conduite des Prélats Chrétiens ne parait pas avoir été inspirée par un sentiment de justice Chrétienne qui devrait la caractériser. Ils ont d'abord dénoncée 4,600 personnes. M. le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman a dû leur faire remarquer qu'il s'agissait uniquement de condamnations à mort, et que le chiffre de leurs dénonciations n'était point en rapport avec la gravité de cette peine. Ils ont alors, sur l'invitation de son Excellence, divisé leur liste en trois catégories, comprenant seulement dans la première les noms de ceux qui doivent être condamnés au dernier supplice. Cette première catégorie renferme encore, au grand étonnement du Haut Commissaire du Sultan, les noms de 1,200 individus, parmi lesquels son Excellence, après avoir communiqué les projets de sentences, se trouvera dans le cas de faire exécuter seulement les plus coupables."

This statement of his delegate Fuad Pasha himself confirmed at the next meeting of the Commission (see 17th Protocol): " La Commission sait comment ces listes ont été dressées et quel nombre de dénonciations elles contiennent. Fuad Pacha entre dans de nouveaux détails à cet égard et confirme ceux qui ont déjà été donnés par Abro Efendi dans la précédente séance. Une première liste générale contenant 4,600 noms avait été dressée. Fuad Pacha, eu égard au système de pénalité qu'il a résolu d'adopter, conformément au vœu de la Commission, a cru devoir demander aux Evêques une liste des principaux coupables. Les Evêques ont alors dressé trois listes d'accusations graduées selon le degré apparent de la culpabilité. La première de ces listes contient encore 1,200 noms d'individus accusés comme organisateurs, chefs des bandes, ou assassins."

In the presence of such a sequence of facts, and considering the notorious influence exercised by the spiritual Chiefs of the Maronites over their co-religionists, it seems impossible to admit the assertion of Bishop Tobia and his colleagues that they were not cognizant of the lists in question. It is possible perhaps, that Fuad Pasha was not quite exact when he stated that they were " dressés par les Evêques." This operation would naturally be performed by the Christian notables, but that it was done with the knowledge and approval of the prelates in question can scarcely be questioned. Did any doubt exist upon the subject it would be set at rest by the following circumstance, the truth of which is vouched for by three persons who were present, two of them being Christians.

When Fuad Pasha required the number of denunciations to be reduced, it was for the Bishops as well as for the notables that he sent. The lists were canvassed in their presence ; they took part in the discussion ; and it was not until after a debate of upwards of three hours that his Excellency could obtain, not a reduction on the original figure of 4,600, but a division of that number into three classes : even so, 1,300 individuals remained still designated for death, and a person who was present, and took part in the discussion, states positively that when he hazarded a remonstrance against the enormous total, Bishop Tobia turned round on him, and said, " Hold your tongue, you'll spoil everything," or words to that effect.

It is now pretended that the names furnished to Fuad Pasha were merely " des renseignements propres à éclairer la justice," but the whole tenour of the proceedings I have narrated is inconsistent with such a supposition. If this had been the case how can we account for the subsequent refusal of the Christians to come forward with any supplementary evidence. Had the lists been regarded as nothing but a preliminary indication, a mere " renseignement," the obstinacy

with which all further testimony was withheld from the Court-martial at Mokhtara becomes unaccountable, and it is known that on that occasion the Maronite notables acted in accordance with the advice of their spiritual Chiefs. Such an interpretation of the transaction is, in fact, a disingenuous after-thought, and reflects but little credit on those who invented it. In this country, blood for blood is a formula consecrated by immemorial usage. The lists in question were drawn up in accordance with it, and the Maronite Bishops, to put the most favourable construction upon their conduct, seem at all events to have sanctioned, if they did not encourage, the application of this horrible doctrine.

I would wish, however, particularly to mention that none of the above observations ought to be referred to the clergy of the Greek Church. Their conduct on this occasion has been most moderate and humane, and although the loss of life among the members of their congregation has been probably greater than that among the Maronites, they have denounced but comparatively few persons. It is also to be observed that they have not signed the document now under our consideration.

Before concluding, I will pause to examine another remarkable assertion contained in the communication of the Maronite prelates, as its extreme inexactitude will show with what caution their other statements ought to be received.

Referring to the proportion which the number of 4,600 might be supposed to bear to the total of those implicated in the late disturbances, the Maronite prelates state that the names in question are taken indiscriminately from a horde of Mussulmans, Metâwali, and of Druses, not merely of the two Lebanons, but also of the Hauran, and that, therefore it is unfair to represent it as a per-centage on a population of 8,000 males. Now this assertion is simply untrue, and its falsehood is proved in the most obvious manner. The lists furnished to Fuad Pasha distinguish not only the nationality of each individual mentioned, but the name of the village of which he is an inhabitant. His Excellency Fuad Pasha has allowed me to have access to these lists, and they have been carefully examined by four persons. The result of this analysis, which has been repeated twice over, shows that the total of names sent in was not 4,600, but 4,946. Out of these 4,946 persons stated by the Bishops to represent a mingled array of Moslems, Metâwali, and Druses of the Lebanons and the Hauran, it appears that only 632 are Moslems or Metâwali, and that only four are inhabitants of the Hauran ; the remaining 4,310 persons being Druses of the Lebanon.

According to the statistics which have been furnished to the Commission by the French and Austrian Consulates, but which the Austrian Consul and Commissioner tells me are not very accurate, it would appear that in Mount Lebanon Proper, there are no more than 5,000 taxable Druses, *i. e.*, males, above the age of 15. On referring to the documents appealed to by the Bishops themselves, it would appear that out of this adult male population of 5,000, the names of no less than 3,479 persons, or about two-thirds of the adult population, have found their way into the lists of the Christians.

Such, as far as I have been able to ascertain, are the exact facts connected with this transaction.

As the letter of the Maronite prelates contains an express allusion to myself, and as it is probable copies of that document will be forwarded to the Governments of Europe, I should esteem it a great kindness if your Lordship would allow the narrative contained in this despatch to be communicated to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at the Courts of the Five Powers.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 378.

Communication addressed to the European Commission by Bishop Tobia and three other Maronite Prelates.

A Messieurs les Membres de la Commission Internationale en Syrie.

C'EST avec affliction et douleur que nous avons lu dans "l'Indépendance Belge" du 11 Février l'article dont copie est ci-jointe. Si cet article calomniateur, appuyé sur les déclarations faites à la Chambre des Communes par Lord John Russell dans la séance du 8 Février, ne concernait que nous, nous ne nous

serions point soucies de le refuter; mais il s'agit ici des populations Chrétiennes que l'on cherche à représenter comme indignes des sympathies que leurs malheurs leur ont attirées de la part du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Sultan et des Grandes Puissances Européennes, venues si généreusement à leur secours. C'est donc un devoir pour nous de rétablir les faits, et ce qui nous encourage à l'accomplir, c'est, que nous savons que nous n'en appelons point en vain aux souvenirs de son Excellence Fuad Pacha, à la loyauté de Lord Dufferin dont la pensée n'a pu être que mal interprétée, et aux sentiments de justice des Représentants des Puissances Européennes.

Lorsque son Excellence Fuad Pasha a dû s'occuper de la répression des Druses, il a réuni chez lui six Evêques Chrétiens et les a priés de lui faire connaître ceux des notables Chrétiens, hommes consciencieux et au courant des événements, qui pourraient lui donner des indications sur les coupables. Les Evêques firent observer que le caractère dont ils étaient vêtus leur interdisait de s'immiscer dans une question qui était du ressort exclusif de la justice. Fuad Pacha reconnut la justesse de cette observation et s'empressa d'ajouter qu'il ne leur demandait pas de se substituer à la justice, mais de désigner seulement quelques personnes capables de le bien renseigner. Les Evêques désignèrent alors seize Chrétiens laïques choisis parmi les plus honorables qui furent chargé par son Excellence de lui fournir les renseinements dont elle avait besoin et qui s'engagèrent par serment à ne dire que la vérité. Ces notables remirent quelques jours après à son Excellence une liste nominative de 4,600 Druses, Musulmans, et Métoualis habitant le Liban, l'Anti-Liban, et le Hauran, et pris parmi 30,000 combattants et non pas seulement parmi 8,000 Druses comme le prétend "l'Indépendance Belge," en indiquant la nature des crimes qui étaient reprochés à chacun des individus compris dans la liste. Son Excellence fit de nouveau appeler les Evêques pour leur dire qu'elle savait fort bien que tous les Druses étaient criminels, mais que le nombre désigné à la justice était trop considérable, et qu'il fallait se borner à désigner les plus coupables. Les Evêques répondirent qu'ils n'avaient connaissance ni de la liste ni des individus qui y étaient portés, et que vu leur caractère il ne leur convenait point de se mêler de cette affaire. Mais les seize notables Chrétiens appelés de nouveau par Fuad Pasha, répondirent que la liste qu'ils avaient remise sur son ordre n'était qu'un renseignement propre à éclairer la justice, et que bien certainement ni eux ni la population Chrétienne ne songeaient à demander que la répression atteignît un aussi grand nombre de victimes. Toutefois sur la demande de son Excellence ils réduisirent alors la liste à 1,200 des plus compromis, laissant à la justice le soin d'établir leur culpabilité et au Gouvernement celui de fixer l'étendue et le nombre des châtiments.

Les Evêques n'ont point eu à se mêler de la repression, et les notables n'ont eu pour mission que de fournir à titre de renseignements les indications que son Excellence avait elle-même demandées. Quant au document dont il a été parlé à la Chambre des Communes les Evêques soussignés déclarent qu'ils n'ont jamais signé une pièce de cette nature et qu'on serait dans l'impossibilité d'en produire aucune.

Tels sont les faits; en les rappelant au souvenir de la Commission, les Evêques soussignés osent lui demander, au nom des Chrétiens auxquels on cherche à enlever par cette étrange calomnie les sympathies du monde civilisé, de vouloir bien faire connaître cette déclaration à leurs Gouvernements respectifs et de la livrer à la publicité afin que l'intérêt dont les Chrétiens de Syrie sont l'objet ne puisse être amoindrie par la pensée qu'ils ont pu s'en montrer indignes.

Beyrout, le 15 *Mars,* 1861.

(Signé) TOBIA AOUN, *Evêque de Beyrout.*
BOTROS BOSTANI, *Evêque de St. Jean d'Acre.*
BASILIOS CHAHIAT, *Evêque de Zahlé et Beca.*
MATATHIOS, *Evêque de Baalbec et Dépendances.*

(Translation.)

IT is with pain and sorrow that we have read in the "Indépendance Belge" of February 11 the article of which the inclosed is a copy. If this calumniatory article, founded on the declarations made by Lord J. Russell to the House of Commons in the sitting of the 8th of February, only concerned us, we should not

have taken the trouble to refute it; but it is a question here of the Christian populations, who are sought to be represented as unworthy of the sympathy their misfortunes have aroused on the part of the Government of His Majesty the Sultan and the Great European Powers, who came so generously to their relief. It is, then, our duty to re-establish the facts; and what encourages us to accomplish this is, that we know we shall not appeal in vain to the recollection of his Excellency Fuad Pasha, to the loyalty of Lord Dufferin, whose opinions could only have been wrongly interpreted, and to the sentiments of justice in the Representatives of the European Powers.

When his Excellency Fuad Pasha was occupied with the suppression of the Druses, he summoned six Christian Bishops, and begged them to make known to him some influential Christians, conscientious men, and well acquainted with the recent events, who might be able to give him information respecting the guilty. The Bishops observed that their calling forbade them to mix themselves up in a question which was exclusively the province of justice. Fuad Pasha recognized the justice of this remark, and hastened to add that he did not ask them to interfere judicially, but merely to point out certain persons capable of giving him good information. The Bishops then named sixteen Christian laymen, chosen from among the most honourable, who were charged by his Excellency to procure for him the requisite information, and engaged themselves upon oath to speak nothing but the truth. These persons laid before his Excellency some days after a list, containing the names of 4,600 Druses, Mussulmans, and Metualis, inhabiting the Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, and the Hauran, and taken from among 30,000 fighting men, and not only from 8,000 Druses, as the "Indépendance Belge" asserts, when showing the nature of the crimes with which each person on the list was accused. His Excellency again summoned the Bishops to tell them that he knew perfectly well that all the Druses were guilty, but that the number destined for trial was too large, and that only the most guilty must be named. The Bishops answered that they knew nothing of the list nor of the individuals named, and that, taking their calling into account, they could not be expected to mix themselves up in this matter. But the sixteen Christian notables on being again summoned by Fuad Pasha, answered that the list they had sent in by his order was only evidence to forward the ends of justice, and that certainly neither they nor the Christian population thought of demanding that punishment should fall on so large a number of victims. However, at the request of his Excellency they reduced the list to 1,200 of the most compromised, leaving to justice to establish their guilt, and to the Government to fix the length and amount of the punishments.

The Bishops had not to mix themselves up in the suppression (of the Druses), and the notables had only to furnish, under the head of evidence, the information which his Excellency had himself demanded. As to the document spoken of in the House of Commons, the undersigned Bishops declare that they have never signed any paper of that nature, and that it would be impossible to produce any such document.

Such are the facts: the undersigned Bishops, in bringing them to the recollection of the Commission, venture to ask, in the name of the Christians, from whom it is sought by this strange calumny to remove the sympathy of the civilized world, that this declaration should be communicated to their respective Governments, and be made public in order that the interest for the Christians in Syria should not be lessened by the belief that they have shown themselves unworthy of it.

Beyrout, May 15, 1861.

(Signed) TOBIA AOUN, *Bishop of Beyrout.*
BOTROS BOSTANI, *Bishop of St. Jean d'Acre.*
BASILIOS CHAHIAT, *Bishop of Zahlé and Beca.*
MATATHIOS, *Bishop of Baalbec and its Dependencies.*

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PART II.

CORRESPONDENCE

RELATING TO THE

AFFAIRS OF SYRIA.

(In continuation of Correspondence presented to Parliament in April 1861.)

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1861.

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Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Syria.

Part II.

No. 1.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.—(*Received at the Foreign Office, March* 28.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, March* 14, 1861.

AT the conclusion of last Thursday's Conference, his Excellency Fuad Pasha announced to us his intention of paying a visit to Damascus, and suggested the propriety of the Commissioners occupying the interval of his absence in drawing up a project for the re-organization of the Lebanon which he might discuss with us after his return.

Accordingly, on Saturday the 9th instant, we met unofficially at my house for the purpose of determining in what manner we should proceed. M. Béclard proposed that we should continue the plan we had already commenced, founded on the principle of the unity of the Administration of the Mountain; but this idea was strenuously opposed by my Russian, Austrian, and Prussian colleagues, as well as by myself. Hitherto, said we, we have been acting on the supposition that the Porte would agree to place the Government of Syria in the hands of a single individual. Under these circumstances it would have been possible to have assimilated the Mountain to any other Pashalic of the province; but now that this principle has been declared inadmissible at Constantinople, it necessarily follows that the arrangements for the Lebanon must be formed on quite a different basis. With a Viceroy at Damascus or Beyrout, the Christian Pasha of the Mountain would be a subordinate officer, and duly subservient to superior authority. But how could any one wielding such extensive jurisdiction be made dependent on a Vali of Saida? It is evident that we must return to the old subdivisions, and to the system of Kaimakams, unless, indeed, we are prepared to place the whole of the Lebanon under direct Turkish rule.

These arguments were met by a suggestion of the French Commissioner that we should each compose a separate Report, as every one seemed to hold different opinions; but I ventured to remark in reply that, whatever differences might exist regarding details, there were, in reality, but two opinions in presence on the main question—the one advocated by himself, and the one which had been unanimously adopted by the other members of the Commission. Under these circumstances, it seemed a pity to abandon the identic action which we had hitherto so happily maintained. This appeal resulted in M. Béclard proposing that we should meet again on the following Monday for the purpose of re-discussing the subject.

As soon as we were re-assembled, I took upon myself to open the proceedings by stating that it seemed to me impossible to deal with the Lebanon in more than one of five ways:—

1. To place it under a single Turkish Pasha.

2. To place it under a single Christian Pasha.

3. To separate Druses from Christians, and divide the Mountain into three Kaimakamships, Maronite, Greek, and Druse.

4. To allow the Druse and Christian population to remain mixed, but to place the Mixed districts under direct Turkish rule, with separate Greek and Maronite Kaimakamships: or,

5. To divide the Lebanon into as many circumscriptions as there were ethnological centres, and to place the administration of each in the hands of a representative of the majority, or, in other words, to form half-a-dozen Kaimakamships.

Of these five combinations there was only the second that I should decline to discuss. All the others were deserving of examination, and I should be

happy to consult the wishes of the majority of my colleagues in making a choice.

Upon this, the Russian Commissioner observed that No. 3 was by far the best plan, though, in his opinion, either of the two last was admissible. Should, however, plan No. 4 ever come to be debated he would propose that the Mixed districts should be put under a Christian (not a native of the country) instead of under a Mahometan. To this I replied that if such a principle were adopted, I should prefer applying it to the whole Lebanon, an observation which M. Béclard heartily applauded.

The Representatives of Prussia and Austria having also declared themselves in favour of plan No. 3, an opinion in which I coincided, the French Commissioner informed us that, although he should feel it necessary to signify, in a special reserve, his preference for the principle of unity in the government of the Lebanon, he was prepared, nevertheless, not only to discuss plan No. 3, but to sign the Report which recommended it.

Accordingly our last meetings have been devoted to the preparation of a number of initialled Articles, drawn up in accordance with the above resolutions, and I have now the honour to transmit, for your Excellency's information, copies of the first thirty-four Articles that have been as yet agreed to. Another sitting will probably enable us to complete the number. We shall then invite Fuad Pasha to discuss them with us, and it is to be hoped that our Report will be speedily transmitted.

Having already on so many previous occasions troubled your Excellency with observations on the re-organisation of the Lebanon, I do not think it necessary I should now enlarge on the respective characteristics of the five combinations I have alluded to.

Plan No. 1 I may dismiss at once without comment.

Plan No. 2 has been declared inadmissable by four out of the five members of the European Commission, and would be considered equally objectionable by the Turkish Government.

We now come to the plan (No. 3) adopted by the Commissioners. Though I am induced to consider this plan as affording on the whole the best solution of the difficult question with which we are dealing, its execution is surrounded with many difficulties. In the first place it implies the transplantation of considerable masses of the population, the exchange of a large amount of property, and various operations of a very delicate and complicated character, unavoidably extending over many months and precluding a too nice attention being paid to individual interests.

The claims of the conventual establishments it would be necessary to transport will also give considerable trouble.

On the other hand, if ever such a separation is to be effected, and it has always been considered a desideratum, now is the time to insist upon its taking place. After the shock of recent events the tenacity with which the inhabitants cling to the soil where they were bred has been much relaxed. A great portion of the Christian population had already at one moment quitted their villages. The Druses, I have reason to believe, would consent to move, and there is no doubt, if all the Powers of Europe cordially combined to stimulate the operation, it could now be done with mutual advantage, as far as the future peace of the Mountain is concerned. The Orthodox Greeks might even be left where they are; a very good understanding has always existed between them and the Druses, and they would, perhaps, prefer a Druse to a Maronite Kaimakam. Under these circumstances the affair would be limited to the removal of 3,000 or 4,000 Maronite and Greek Catholic families out of the Druse territory, and the transmigration of a corresponding number of Druses now resident in the Metn and other Christian districts.

A very few words will dispose of Plan No. 4, which places the Mixed districts under direct Turkish rule. Its adoption would certainly tend to maintain a state of greater tranquillity in the country than has hitherto prevailed, and had a responsible Government been established at Damascus I should not have been averse to it. Nevertheless, I confess that the unscrupulous proceedings of the Turkish Tribunals where the Druse Chiefs have been concerned, the avidity with which Fuad Pacha seized their property, before even their trial had commenced, as well as his apparent desire to take this opportunity of impoverishing or destroying the Druse aristocracy, have led me to doubt the expediency of

handing over so promising and independent a race of men to rulers who are probably only one degree less jealous of them than they are of their Christian neighbours.

Considerations of this kind would have been of less importance had an intelligent Governor-General been established at Damascus, but from the usual run of Turkish Pashas it would be useless to expect either the enlightenment or the magnanimity necessary to render such an arrangement desirable for the Druses.

It only remains to examine the fifth and last combination, namely, the division of the Lebanon into five or six circumscriptions, according to the ethnological preponderance of this or that race in a given area, and the institution of a corresponding number of Kaimakams chosen out of the respective majorities. This plan may be considered as a modification of plan No. 3, and, if adopted, would not necessarily exclude the principle of disintegration, which might still be applied to a certain extent, though on a less extensive scale than is proposed in the scheme on which the Commission is at present engaged. In either case, as your Excellency will perceive by Article No. 15, a representative Medjlis will sit at Beyrout under the auspices of the Pasha of Saida, and I trust that a clause will also be introduced authorising the establishment of one or more Turkish military stations along the Damascus road.

These two stipulations will give a certain amount of vigour and unity to the executive, and enhance within reasonable limits the authority of the Turkish Pasha in the Mountain.

I also intend to propose a clause, giving to the Vali of Saida the right to appoint an officer of his own to each Kaimakamîyeh, in the capacity of Crown Prosecutor. It will be this person's duty to see that all assassins and great criminals are promptly brought to justice. By this contrivance I hope a stop will be put to the custom of blood-feuds and private vengeance.

Inclosure in No. 1.

Articles agreed upon by the Syrian Commission as Basis for the Réorganization of the Mountain.

Article 1. IL sera procédé à la séparation géographique des Chrétiens et des Druses.

Art. 2. Dans cette mesure de désagrégation les intérêts de chaque population seront pris en égale considération.

Art. 3. L'exécution en sera confiée, sous la surveillance de l'autorité locale et des Agents des cinq Puissances, à une Commission Mixte dans laquelle les diverses populations seront représentées.

Art. 4. La Commission émet le vœu que les habitants Chrétiens de Hasbeya, Rascheiya, et Merj Ayoub seront compris dans le travail de déplacement sus-mentionné, et appelés à jouir de ses bénéfices.

Art. 5. Il y aura en conséquence dans le Liban trois Caimacamies, Maronite, Grecque Orthodoxe, et Druse, qui seront administrées par des Chefs indigènes choisis dans le sein de chaque population respective.

Art. 6. Dans chaque Caimacamie il y aura un ou plusieurs Medjlis Judiciaire, et un seul Medjlis Administratif.

Art. 7. Le Medjlis Judiciaire se composera de trois membres au moins et cinq au plus, selon le nombre des éléments constitutifs de la population, de façon à ce que chacun de ces éléments soient représentées par un membre. Dans le cas où il n'y aurait que deux éléments le Medjlis Judiciaire sera composé de trois membres dont deux fournis par l'elément prépondérant.

Art. 8. Le Medjlis Administratif se composera de cinq membres au moins, dix au plus; et s'occupera spécialement de l'assiette et de la perception des impôts.

Art. 9. La présidence du Medjlis Administratif sera dévolue au Caimacam. Celle du Medjlis Judiciaire sera exercé trimestriellement à tour de rôle par chacun des membres.

Art. 10. Il y aura dans chaque Mudirlik un Juge de Paix pour chaque rite.

Art. 11. Les Juges de Paix jugeront sans appel jusqu'à concurrence de 150 piastres, et avec appel au Medjlis Judiciaire de Première Instance jusqu'à concurrence de 500 piastres.

Art. 12. Les affaires au-dessus de 500 piastres seront de la compétence du Medjlis de Première Instance.

Art. 13. Les affaires mixtes, c'est-à-dire, entre particuliers n'appartenant pas au même rite, quelle que soit la valeur engagée dans le procès, seront portées devant le Medjlis de Première Instance, à moins que dans les procès au-dessus de 500 piastres les parties ne soient d'accord pour reconnaître la compétence du Juge de Paix du défendeur.

Art. 14. En principe, toute affaire sera jugée par la totalité des membres du Medjlis. Néanmoins quand toutes les parties engagées dans le procès appartiendront au même rite, elles auront le droit de recuser les juges appartenant à un rite différent. Mais dans ce cas même les juges récusés devront assister au jugement.

Art. 15. Il y aura un Medjlis Supérieur siégeant à Beyrout et composé de douze membres savoir :—Deux Maronites, deux Grecs Orthodoxes, deux Grecs Catholiques, deux Druses, deux Métoualis, et deux Musulmans. Auxquels on adjoindra éventuellement un représentant des cultes Protestants et Israëlite quand un membre de ces communautés sera partie dans le procès ou aura des intérêts engagés dans le procès.

Art. 16. En matière criminelle il y aura trois degrés de juridiction :— Les contraventions seront jugées par les Juges de Paix, les délits par les Medjlis de Première Instance, les crimes par le Medjlis Supérieur de Beyrout.

Art. 17. Les membres des Medjlis Administratifs et Judiciaires seront choisis et délégués après une entente avec les notables par les Chefs des Communautés respectives et institués par le Caimacam.

Art. 18. Tous les juges seront retribués.

Art. 19. Si, après une enquête judiciaire il est prouvé qu'un membre des Medjlis a prévariqué ou s'est rendu indigne de ses fonctions par un fait quelconque, ce membre devra être révoqué, et il sera en outre passible d'une peine proportionnée à la faute qu'il aura commise.

Art. 20. La Caimacamie Druse, autant que les nécessités de la mesure de désagrégation le comporteront, se composera des Aklims suivants :

El Gharb, sauf la portion qu'il serait indispensable d'en détacher pour ménager la continuité territoriale des deux parties nord et sud de la Caimacamie Maronite ; Djurd, Arkoub, Schouf, Menassif (en partie), Schéhar (voir la Carte de Kiepert 1860).

Art. 21. La Caimacamie Grecque Orthodoxe se composera de Koura, y compris la partie inférieure, et les fractions de territoires avoisinantes dans lesquelles la population Grecque Orthodoxe serait la majorité.

Art. 22. Tous les territoires de la Montagne qui ne font point partie des deux Caimacamies Druse et Grec Orthodoxe seront compris dans la Caimacamie Maronite, sauf Zahlé, qui avec la banlieue et Maalaka, sera placée sous une Administration Mixte dépendante du Vali de Saida aux mêmes titres que les Caimacamies Maronite, Grec Orthodoxe, et Druse, sauf les réserves formelles qui seront ultérieurement exprimées.

Art. 23. Il y aura dans la Montagne six Medjlis Judiciaires, savoir : un dans la Caimacamie Grecque Orthodoxe, trois Maronite (dont un dans le Meten, un à Zahlé), et un dans la Caimacamie Druse.

Art. 24. Auprès du siège de chaque Caimacam il y aura un Vékil, ou délégué, de chacune des autres Caimacamies et chargé de représenter les intérêts de ses coreligionnaires.

Art. 25. Chaque Caimacam aura sous ses ordres un corps de police au moyen duquel il pourvoira au maintien de l'ordre public sur toute l'étendue de son territoire, à l'exécution des sentences des Medjlis, et au recouvrement des impôts.

Art. 26. L'exécution forcée des jugements et arrêts administratifs telle qu'elle s'est pratiquée jusqu'à présent sera abolie aussitôt que faire se pourra, et remplacée par d'autres modes de contrainte, telle que la saisie ou l'emprisonnement.

Art. 27. Tous les agents de la police recevront un traitement suffisant, et il leur sera interdit, sous les peines les plus sévères, d'exiger des habitants aucune rétribution soit en argent soit en nature.

Art. 28. La Commission estime que dans chaque Caimacamie le corps de police pourrait être établi à raison de cinq hommes pour mille habitants.

Art. 29. La Commission émet le vœu que le désarmement une fois opéré

dans le reste de la Syrie, il soit procédé dans la Montagne à une mesure analogue.

Art. 30. Le corps de police se recrutera par la voie des engagements volontaires, et il y aura dans chaque Caimacamie un Chef de Police pour chaque élément constitutif de la population.

Art. 31. Il est indispensable que les agents de la police soient vêtus d'un uniforme ou qu'ils portent au moins un signe extérieur de leurs fonctions.

Art. 32. Les agents de police chargés de l'exécution d'un ordre quelconque de l'autorité devront être pris parmi les coreligionnaires des individus que cette mesure concernera.

Art. 33. Les Vékils seront rétribués par le Caimacam dont ils sont les délégués.

Art. 34. La Commission émet le vœu que l'impôt de la capitation soit aboli et remplacé par l'impôt foncier.

W.
L. B.
D. AND C.
R.
N.

No. 2.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 28, 1861.

IT appears from Lord Dufferin's reports that the question respecting the execution of the sentences passed on the Turkish and Druse prisoners in Syria has been referred to Constantinople; and the further questions respecting Syria and the Mountain will also be eventually referred there.

I had a conversation with the French Ambassador on these matters yesterday, and we agreed on the following points :—

1. That the ends of justice would be satisfied by the execution of four or five Druses.

2. That as we did not object to the Tribunal constituted in Syria we cannot pretend to aggravate the sentences which that Tribunal has pronounced, or to set aside its decisions.

3. That the Commissioners ought, as soon as possible, to send their Report to Constantinople, where the Ambassadors should deal directly with the Sultan and the Turkish Government.

But the Ambassadors would be authorized, in case it should be clearly necessary, to summon the Commissioners to Constantinople; otherwise the Commissioners will remain in Syria till the middle of May.

Your Excellency will regulate your conduct by the understanding which I have thus come to with the French Ambassador.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 3.

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received April 1.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, March* 28, 1861.

I HAVE taken an opportunity of reading to Count Rechberg your Lordship's despatch to Lord Dufferin of the 18th instant,* containing observations on the opinions of the Commissioners as to the sentences upon the Turkish and Druse prisoners.

His Excellency was glad to find that Her Majesty's Government seemed to agree with the language that had been held by the Austrian Commissioner, of whose proceedings he himself entirely approved.

He said that he must consider that where the Porte was striving to administer justice in a fair spirit, those Powers were rendering a bad service to Turkey who called on her to inflict a greater measure of punishment on the prisoners than had been awarded by those charged with their trial.

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* See Part I, No. 366.

No. 4.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, April* 3, 1861.

I HAVE to instruct your Excellency not to give any encouragement to the idea which has been broached of taking one of the Shehab family to govern the Mountain.

No. 5.

Acting Consul Wrench to Lord J. Russell.—(Received April 4.)

My Lord, *Damascus, March* 20, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship copy of my despatch of this day's date, addressed to Her Majesty's Ambasssador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

Inclosure in No. 5.

Acting Consul Wrench to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Damascus, March* 20, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that although we have heard of no serious disturbances in the Hauran and Ledjah, and although no extraordinary cause of excitement has arisen in the city for the last three weeks, the Christians have been continually leaving; I should imagine that within that period nearly 1,000 souls have quitted Damascus. One reason for this exodus is, that they receive by every post invitations to join their friends at Beyrout. Another cause seems to be a vague apprehension which no argument will allay, and which they themselves cannot explain otherwise than by saying, that they never can feel secure here until they see some proof of a better feeling towards them on the part of the Government, the soldiery, and the Moslems. Their utter want of confidence in the Government is the main cause of these inquietudes, and I regret to say that this feeling has of late undergone no improvement. The Government allowance of fifty paras a-day has been paid up to the 12th ultimo.

The Government credit is at the present moment at so low an ebb that it is with the greatest difficulty, and at a loss of about 12 per cent., that they can dispose of their bills drawn on the Treasury of Beyrout at ten days' sight.

In former years, at the time of collecting the taxes, orders on the villages for the amount of their imposts were given by the Government to holders of Treasury bonds, who themselves collected these taxes at harvest time, charging the peasants the interest for the intervening period. Thus the Government generally paid off a large portion of its debts at this season. This year, however, money being urgently wanted, horsemen have already been sent to the villages with orders to the peasants to pay, immediately, their taxes directly to the Government; this has given great cause for complaint to the numerous creditors of the Treasury, who see the liquidation of their bonds, so long overdue, indefinitely postponed. At this time of year the peasants are in general ill-furnished with money, but more especially now, as extortion and peculation have been of late carried to an unprecedented extent; many villages, I am assured, having paid, in one way or another, six, and even eight times their legal taxes, but some of these even are marked in the registers as being in arrears. Money being very scarce in Damascus, and the peasants not having yet paid their last year's debts, no one will now lend them money, and serious apprehensions are entertained by all, in which the authorities also participate, that there will be a large deficit in this branch of revenue.

Khaled Pasha left the city for the Hauran ten days ago, and a week afterwards he was followed by a battalion of Infantry.

Before the Ramazan commenced, the affairs of all the Consulates, without distinction, were but ill attended to by the Government; weeks and even

months elapsing before they could, by constant applications, obtain even an answer to their communications to the Pasha; but now business has come to a complete standstill. The Pasha allows his subordinates to do exactly as they please; they turn this liberty to good account, and it is with the greatest difficulty that the simplest affair can be settled.

All commerce is now at a standstill, and the majority of the merchants, both Moslems and Jews, do not and cannot pay their debts. Those having goods in the neighbouring towns experience great difficulty in transporting them to Damascus, as their camels, the moment they leave their hiding-places, are seized by the Government to carry provisions to the troops in the neighbourhood of the town; those camels and mules seized and not required are released by means of a bribe to the Government employés; while for those taken the hire is fixed at a low rate, and the owners have to wait a long time for payment. As the number seized is generally more than double that wanted, your Excellency can imagine that no small gain is thus made.

No. 6.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received April* 4.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, March* 24, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 6.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, March* 23, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Excellency copy of the initialled project for the reorganization of the Lebanon, communicated to Fuad Pasha at the last sitting of the Commission.

As I am anxious to catch a direct steamer, which sails unexpectedly this afternoon, I will not enter into any explanations. It will be sufficient to remark that the two principles on which the scheme is founded consist in the physical separation of the Christian and Druse populations, and in the granting to each community of which the population of the Mountain is composed as much municipal independence as circumstances will permit. The Druses retain their administrative autonomy. The Christians of Jezzin and of Kharub are withdrawn from their domination, while the Greek Catholics of Zahleh and the Orthodox Greeks of Koura are relieved from the interference of a Maronite Kaimakam.

Inclosure 2 in No. 6.

Annexes 1 *and* 2 *to the Protocol of the Twenty-sixth Meeting of the Syrian Commission.*

[See Inclosure 5 in No. 11.]

Inclosure 3 in No. 6.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, March* 23, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that on the 16th instant 245 Druses were embarked on board a Turkish corvette for the purpose of being

transported to Tripoli in Barbary. Of the whole number 155 are designated as simple exiles, merely removed from the country until quieter times should arrive; 55 are sentenced to a year's imprisonment; 10 to 2 years, 6 to 13 years, 9 to 9 years, and 10 to 2 years' imprisonment: 16 other persons condemned to transportation have been left behind on account of sickness.

As I have had the honour to inform your Excellency in a previous despatch, Fuad Pasha has taken such precautions as humanity suggests to mitigate the severity of these rigorous measures, as far as regards the families of the prisoners; and he has undertaken that those who have been sent away as exiles shall not be cruelly dealt with in their new abode. I have also ventured to write to Her Majesty's Consul at Tripoli on the subject.

Before concluding I may mention that, having been informed that Sheikh Yusef Abd-el-Melek, the only Druse Chief who had been acquitted by the Extraordinary Tribunal of Beyrout, had also been sent on board, I waited on Fuad Pasha for the purpose of ascertaining how it came to pass that a person whom he himself had assured us was innocent, should be dealt with as if he was a criminal. His Excellency replied that since his acquittal a letter had been discovered, written by certain members of the family of Talhuk, and the family of Abd-el-Melek, and to which the prisoner's seal was also attached, addressed to Khotar Bek-el-Amad, one of the Druse Chiefs now in the Hauran; and that, therefore, his complicity in the late disturbances might be considered proved. To this, however, I ventured to object, that I had seen the letter; that it was a most vague communication, containing nothing which implied that the prisoner countenanced the massacres; no official cognizance had been taken of the document by the Court who tried him; and that, at all events, even were his guilt proved ten times over, it was a contravention of the agreement come to between his Excellency and the Commission, to the effect that no sentence passed by the Extraordinary Tribunal at Beyrout, on a prisoner who had been tried in the presence of the European Delegates, should be carried into execution until it had been first communicated to the Commissioners.

A long discussion then ensued, which terminated by Fuad Pasha countermanding the decree of exile, and ordering the Druse Chief to be brought on shore again.

Inclosure 4 in No. 6.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, March* 24, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a petition from the Druses of the Lebanon, praying that the Government of the Mountain may not be confided to a member of the family of Shehab.

The persons who have sent in this document may be considered to represent the true sentiments of the Druse nation; and among the signatures will be found the names of the chief members of most of the great houses of the Lebanon.

I have reason to believe that a Shehab rule would be equally odious to the Orthodox Greeks, to Greek Catholics, and to a considerable portion of the Maronite nation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 6.

Petition.

(Translation.)

WE beg to state to your Lordship that we have latterly heard that the Christians of Mount Lebanon have presented petitions in which they solicit the Government of the Shehab family, and their return to rule over the whole of Mount Lebanon; but as the said family were for a long time in the exercise of

power in the Lebanon, we are not in ignorance of what their rule and mode of proceedings was: we also well know that during their past government their chief object was to create dissension amongst the people, cause intrigues, possess themselves of their properties and ruin them; and it was that family who fostered hatred between Druses and Christians, and laid the foundation of animosity. Moreover, these Emirs formerly considered these two sects in Mount Lebanon as one. They were also the authors of all the disturbances which have taken place, and the first cases of intercepting the roads and of assassination, took place in their districts.

Knowing, therefore, as we do, that their restoration to authority in the Lebanon, as called for by the Christians, will be its complete ruin, we cannot dwell within their jurisdiction; therefore, confident in the justice of the Imperial Government, and the existence of liberty, we have felt emboldened to lay before his Excellency Fuad Pasha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, a petition stating that we cannot consent to the rule of the said Emirs, otherwise we should never enjoy tranquillity; and we further implore that we be not compelled to accept them.

The object of our petition to your Lordship is to excite your solicitude and zeal in our behalf, to prevent our being forced to accept the rule of the said Emirs of the Shehab family, which would cause us to abandon our homes, and entail our consequent ruin. And as the equity of your Government and their high sense of justice are directed in favour of the tranquillity of mankind, and the prosperity of all countries, we repeat our prayers to your Lordship, earnestly soliciting your assistance in our favour.

[Follow forty-nine signatures, consisting of the principal members of the Neked, Talhook, Abd-el-Melek, and other Druse families.]

Inclosure 6 in No. 6.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, March* 24, 1861.

I REGRET to state that, as your Excellency will see by Mr. Acting Consul Wrench's despatch of the 20th instant, a great number of Christians have again begun to leave Damascus for Beyrout, and some even emigrating from Syria altogether, and have taken ship for Athens and other parts of Europe.

The renewal of the exodus from Damascus is not to be attributed, as far as I can learn, to any particular panic, although a Christian has been caught in the act of chalking up crosses on the doors of some of the houses of his neighbours. It is rather to be referred to the stagnation of all trade, and the absence of any prospect of improvement in their condition.

The only remedy it would be possible for the Government to apply to this state of things, would consist in a large expenditure of money in the rebuilding of the Christian quarter of Damascus; in the payment of a fair indemnity to the Lebanon, and in such other acts of liberality as are perfectly incompatible with the present complete exhaustion of its Treasury.

Under these circumstances your Excellency can understand how unsatisfactory the state of the country must be, and how difficult it has become to restore confidence or to inspire the inhabitants with encouragement for the future. The springs of industry and the energy of the people are equally paralyzed, the action of the Executive is hampered at every moment by its lack of money and credit, and in most of the principal towns all the usual social and commercial relations remain dislocated. As may be easily imagined, designing persons take eager advantage of the opportunities such a situation affords. A propaganda is conducted against the Government, its prestige is being gradually destroyed, its blunders are exaggerated, its best intentions are calumniated, and Europe is deluged by misrepresentations which, under other circumstances, could be easily silenced and corrected.

No. 7.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 6, 1861.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency the Queen's ratifications, under the Great Seal, of the Convention prolonging the term for the occupation of Syria, which, as the Plenipotentiary of Her Majesty, you signed on the 19th ultimo with the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the Sultan; and I am to desire that your Excellency will exchange the same against similar instruments ratified by those Sovereigns respectively.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 8.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, April* 8, 1861.

THE events which have taken place in Syria, the deliberations of the Commission, the reference to the Porte, the Sultan's peremptory rejection of the plan proposed by Lord Dufferin, have all tended to throw light—though not a very favourable light—upon the policy to be pursued in Syria.

The Maronites appear, whether in pursuance of old hatreds or inspired by new fears, to have meditated an attack on the Druses, and the conflicts which ended in massacre began in civil war.

The Turks, it would seem, thought that whether the Maronites killed the Druses, or the Druses killed the Maronites, each way was their gain. They appear to have calculated that the *quasi* independence of Maronites and Druses as established in 1842-45 would thereby be weakened, and the necessity of maintaining order would afford the Sultan an excuse for putting an end to a state of things which subsisted in defiance, as it were, of his sovereign authority.

The view taken by Lord Dufferin was, at least, plausible and consistent. He proposed that a Governor-General, named for a fixed term of years, should have a permanent authority, and that a Christian Pasha should govern the Mountain, controlled by the Civil power, and assisted in case of need by the military force of the Governor-General.

The only question of difference which arose in the Commission was whether this Christian Pasha should be a native or not a native of the Mountain; and upon this question four out of five of the Commissioners were of opinion that the Christian Pasha should not be a native.

But at this point the Sultan's advisers took the alarm, and declared that they never would consent to the appointment of a Governor of Syria with an authority resembling that of the Pasha of Egypt.

Upon this subject I quite agree with the principle that Syria ought not to be placed as a province in relation to the Sultan different from that of the other provinces of the Turkish Empire, and that if Syria is to be detached administratively from the general government of the Turkish Empire, its separation will be deemed a precedent for dealing in the same way with any and every other province in which disturbances may arise, and thus a foundation would be laid for the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire.

But this principle must not be carried too far, to the detriment of that very unity of the Empire in favour of which it is invoked.

In the more flourishing days of the Turkish Empire there were, if I mistake not, great officers called Begler Beys, who governed Roumelia and Anatolia with extended and summary powers. But they were at all times, in Turkish phrase, "statues of glass," and could be shivered to pieces by a blow of the Sultan's sceptre.

In these days of comparative weakness the Sultan's advisers appear to dread the vigour and energy of his own officers quite as much as the interference of foreign Powers. Thus, for instance, Omer Pasha had, in a former case of disturbances in Bosnia, made a name for himself by his severity and his success

in putting them down; and there can be little doubt that if he had been sent there last autumn that province would not have been in a state of revolt in the spring. But the success of Omer Pasha militated against him, and a Governor was kept in Bosnia who could not inspire anybody with fear, while he inspired everybody with contempt.

No. 9.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 9, 1861.

I HAVE received from Lord Dufferin a copy of his despatch to your Excellency of the 23rd ultimo on the subject of the future government of the Lebanon; and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government regret that the first project of a single Christian Pasha, not a native of the Mountain, under a single Governor of Syria, could not be carried into effect.

I have, however, to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the project for the re-organization of the Lebanon, of which a copy was inclosed in Lord Dufferin's above-mentioned despatch, as nothing better could be obtained. The Pasha of Saida ought to be selected for his honesty and energy.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 10.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 10, 1861.

I HAVE received from Lord Dufferin the plan for the re-organization of the Lebanon which, with certain reserves on the part of the French Commissioner, has been generally agreed to by the Commissioners of the allied Powers at Beyrout.

Her Majesty's Government would have much preferred a plan based, as was originally contemplated, on a single Christian Pasha not a native of the country, by whom the Government of the whole Mountain would have been administered. But as the Porte would not consent to appoint a Governor-General for Syria, and as the Governor of Saida would not be strong enough to control a Pasha of the Lebanon, the second plan now recommended almost unanimously by the Commissioners ought, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, to be accepted.

But if obstacles not to be overcome should oppose the adoption of the second plan, the only alternative that would remain would be to fall back on the first plan, and to endeavour so to modify it as to meet the objections of the Porte. With this view it appears to Her Majesty's Government that a Governor-General of Syria, removeable every three or six years, might be appointed, and a Commander of the Forces, removeable at any time by the Sultan; the government of the Lebanon being entrusted to a Christian Pasha not a native of the Mountain.

As regards the plan now proposed by the Commissioners, the only observation that I have at present to make is that, in Article 38, it would be safer to substitute for the word "exiger" the word "recevoir." The former expression would still leave it open to the police to levy contributions indirectly in the shape of bribes or gifts on the poorer classes who might desire to conciliate their favour, while the latter would close the door against their receiving from the peasantry any contributions in any shape whatever as an addition to their recognized emoluments.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 11.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received April* 12.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, March* 29, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador to the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 11.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, March* 29, 1861.

I HAVE the satisfaction to inform your Excellency that both in private to myself, and at a meeting of the Commission, his Excellency Fuad Pasha has intimated his intention not to confiscate the property of the Druse Sheikhs.

This resolution I must attribute to your Excellency's kind interference, and I need not say how much I am indebted to your Excellency for having been good enough to take my representations on the subject into your consideration.

I am as yet ignorant of what decisions may have been come to at Constantinople, relative to Said Bek Joublat; but should the judgment of the Beyrout Tribunal be reversed, as I trust it will be, I think it would be desirable that Fuad Pasha should receive the most positive instructions to restore the personal property of this Chief to his possession.

With an inattention to the exigencies of justice that the critical state of the country can only partially excuse, Fuad Pasha immediately followed the arrest of the Druses by confiscating to the use of his Government as much of their moveable property as he could convert into money. Before even the trial was begun, some of Said Bek's horses had been sold, and a considerable portion of his harvests put up to auction.

On remonstrating with his Excellency against the premature character of these proceedings, the Turkish Commissioner observed that in the presence of the imminent danger of starvation which threatened the Christians, he could not afford to be too nice in the means he adopted for meeting the impending crisis, and that there would be time enough hereafter, should the provisional sequestration of their property be not justified by the event of their trial, for the Government to make the necessary reparation.

As this reasoning was not altogether devoid of sense, I did not think it advisable at the time to insist further in the matter; but should a decision favourable to Said Bek be arrived at at Constantinople, I trust that not only his estates, but also his personal property will be restored him.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 11.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, March* 29, 1861.

I HAVE the pleasure to inform your Excellency that Yusef Bey Keram, the Christian Kaimakam, has at last succeeded in establishing his authority in those districts which, under the leadership of the blacksmith Tannus Shahin, have so long refused to recognise any law but that which was dictated to them by their self-constituted Sheikh.

A few days ago Keram took advantage of a hostile demonstration on the part of Shahin, to march into his country, disperse his followers, and garrison all the revolted villages with his own police. Shahin himself is now in flight.

As your Excellency is probably aware, this man about two years ago headed a rising of the peasants against their landlords of the Khazin family, whom they

drove from their homes, with circumstances of great cruelty. Deprived of their property and rents, these unfortunate persons have been living ever since at Beyrout in almost complete destitution, vainly appealing to the Government for redress. The movement by which they had suffered being countenanced by Bishop Tobia and the clergy, it became impossible for the constituted authorities to reinstate them in their rights.

Flushed with success, and taking advantage of the popular excitement which various causes had combined to produce, Tannus Shahin and his supporters seem to have been active in promoting the hostilities which were designed against the Druses, and it was this individual who led the first armed band that passed the Christian frontier into the Mixed districts. The Austrian Consul met him the day before the outbreak at the Dog river, where he had fallen sick on his way to Baabda and Hadeth.

During my conversations with Yusef Keram, I had frequently recommended him to seize the first opportunity of capturing this Tannus Shahin, and restoring the Khazin Sheikhs to their property, inasmuch as such an act of vigour would probably win him the support of the blacksmith's own adherents, and give him claims upon the gratitude of a powerful family among the native aristocracy. By constituting himself the representative of a moderate party, by protecting the people against the exactions of an obsolete feudalism, and the holders of property against the excesses of a social revolution, it seemed to me he might create for himself a very useful position.

On receiving intelligence of his late successes, I forwarded him a letter of congratulation, copy of which I have the honour to transmit herewith, in which I have also called his attention to the case of the Khazin Sheikhs. Unfortunately these latter persons are a little too tenacious of their aristocratic privileges, and they have been much offended by an invitation which has been already addressed to them by Yusef Keram, to submit their claims to the consideration of his Court, because it was not couched in the precise terms of honour they consider due to their station. Keram, on the other hand, being their inferior in birth and jealous of his official authority, is naturally a little oo imperative in exposing the conditions on which he proposes to reinstate them.

Nevertheless, I am in hopes all these matters may be soon happily settled.

Keram's reply to my communication will enable me to judge whether he is sincere in his wish to restore the exiled Sheikhs, and whether, if this should be the case, he is strong enough to guarantee their safety.

Fuad Pasha has acquainted the Kaimakam with his approval of his late conduct, and he has enjoined him to pursue and capture the fugitive blacksmith.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 11.

Lord Dufferin to Yusef Keram.

Sir, *Beyrout, March* 28, 1861.

I AM much gratified to hear that you have so successfully asserted your authority in the various districts placed under your jurisdiction, and so justly merited the approval of the Sultan's Government.

It is also a pleasure to me to learn, that in pursuance of that impartial and just policy you have adopted, an invitation has been addressed to the Sheikhs of the house of Khazin, to submit their claims to the consideration of the Tribunal of your Kaimakamîyeh, accompanied by an assurance that they shall obtain justice. It would appear that these persons have been subjected to very unfair and cruel treatment. A revolutionary movement has driven them from their homes; they have been defrauded of the rents of their estates, and some of the family have been murdered.

It would seem that your energy is likely to lead to a speedy punishment of those who were engaged in these outrages, and that the restitution of their rights will not be much longer withheld from the exiled family.

In their distress they have submitted their case to my consideration, the

ill-usage they have endured naturally rendering them cautious before exposing themselves to fresh risks.

I have told them that I entertain perfect confidence in your power and willingness to protect them, and I have advised them to apply to you, as the properly constituted authority, for the restitution of their property.

Before, however, they take so important a step, I should be glad to receive an assurance from yourself, that notwithstanding the disturbed state of parts of the Kesrouan, you are in a position to ensure the safety of their persons, and the execution of the decree of the Court who will have to decide upon their case.

I remain, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 11.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, March* 29, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the twenty-sixth Protocol of the Syrian Commission, held on the 21st instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 11.

Protocol of the Twenty-sixth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, March 21, 1861.

LE Jeudi, vingt-un Mars, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à une heure.

Le procès-verbal de la dernière séance ayant été soumis successivement à l'approbation des membres de la Commission et adopté séparément par chacun d'eux, son Excellence Fuad Pacha invite ses collègues à vouloir bien lui faire connaître le plan de réorganisation du Liban qu'ils viennent d'élaborer, et pour la prompte communication duquel ils l'ont engagé à retarder de quelques jours son voyage à Damas.

Avant qu'il n'en soit donné lecture, M. le Commissaire de France croit devoir demander à Fuad Pacha quelle marche il compte suivre dans l'examen et la discussion de ce document, et s'il est en mesure de faire dès aujourd'hui connaître à la Commission la pensée de son Gouvernement sur la question de réorganisation.

Son Excellence le Commissaire Ottoman expose qu'il n'a encore reçu à ce sujet aucune instruction, et qu'un avis ne pourrait être émis par lui qu'ad référendum. Ne connaissant pas encore le projet et la nature des propositions qu'il contient, il lui est d'ailleurs impossible de répondre à la question qui vient de lui être posée. Ce qui lui paraît convenable et même nécessaire, c'est de donner lecture du projet et de lui en laisser copie. Il l'étudiera ensuite à loisir, et fera connaître à la Commission les diverses observations que cet examen lui aura suggérées. Il enverra sans retard à la Porte et le projet et les observations : après quoi la Porte, de deux choses l'une, ou provoquera la réunion d'une conférence pour prendre une résolution définitive, ou, d'accord avec les cinq Puissances, demandera à la Commission un nouveau travail.

M. de Weckbecker fait observer que le projet dont il vient d'être fait mention a été arrêté par les cinq Commissaires d'un commun accord. Il leur reste à recevoir du Commissaire Ottoman l'assurance que la mesure hypothétique sur laquelle repose tout le projet peut être réalisée, et à apprendre, par conséquent, s'il y a lieu pour eux de maintenir leurs propositions et de les envoyer à leurs Cours respectives, après en avoir développé le sens et la portée dans un rapport collectif.

M. le Commissaire de France s'empresse de rappeler que, s'il a pris part à la discussion des Articles de ce projet, et s'il a cru devoir le parapher dans son ensemble, ce n'est qu'après avoir fait toutefois des réserves formelles sur ce

principe qui lui sert de base. Ce projet n'a donc point, tant s'en faut, le caractère d'unanimité absolue que les paroles de M. le Commissaire d'Autriche sembleraient de nature à lui attribuer.

M. le Commissaire Britannique remarque à son tour que M. Béclard paraît vouloir enlever au projet le caractère de collectivité qui résulte des cinq paraphes qui y ont été apposés. Si des réserves ont précédé l'adhésion d'un des Commissaires, ces réserves en pareil matière, telle est du moins l'opinion de Lord Dufferin, ne peuvent concerner que des dispositions accessoires ou des conséquences secondaires.

Si c'est contre le principe fondamental du projet que M. le Commissaire de France proteste, alors son adhésion au projet n'est qu'apparente ; en réalité il n'y adhère point, et M. le Commissaire Britannique s'étonne que M. Béclard ait consenti à prendre part à la discussion d'un projet dont la base même lui semblait mauvaise. Lord Dufferin reconnaît que cette base est hypothétique. Mais les explications de son Excellence le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman lui enlèveront ce caractère, s'il déclare que la mesure sur laquelle repose toute l'économie du projet est réalisable. Dans ce cas, les réserves de M. Béclard devraient, ce semble, tomber d'elles-mêmes et laisser prendre au projet en question le caractère d'une parfaite collectivité. C'est en vue de cette éventualité que Lord Dufferin lui-même a consenti à parapher un travail préparatoire qui sur beaucoup de points n'est pas entièrement conforme à sa propre pensée. Il n'hésite pas à dire que, s'il avait eu à faire un projet individuel, celui auquel il se serait librement arrêté eût été très-différent. Mais il a cru pouvoir faire des concessions en vue de celles que l'apposition des cinq paraphes semblait indiquer de la part de ses collègues.

M. le Commissaire de France ne pense pas qu'il puisse y avoir lieu entre ses collègues et lui à aucune espèce de malentendu, touchant le caractère et les conséquences de sa participation à la discussion du projet qui va être lu. Les expressions de M. de Weckbecker étaient peut-être de nature à en faire naître un dans la pensée de son Excellence le Plénipotentaire Ottoman. M. Béclard s'est donc cru dans l'obligation de relever ce que ces paroles avaient de trop absolu, en rappelant qu'il n'avait paraphé le projet qu'après avoir fait des réserves formelles. Ces réserves, il ne les a pas faites au dernier moment. Lorsque le projet a été mis en discussion, il a tout d'abord annoncé qu'il les ferait, et que, s'il consentait à prendre part à l'élaboration d'un projet dont la base lui semblait défectueuse, c'était pour ne point empêcher la Commission d'aboutir à l'émission collective d'un plan quelconque de réorganisation. Il croit devoir rappeler à ce sujet dans quelle situation ses collègues et lui se trouvaient placés avant la rédaction du projet. Diverses idées avaient été présentées en sens contraire, et si divergentes les unes des autres que chacun des Commissaires allait peut-être se trouver dans la nécessité de faire un projet séparé. Un tel résultat eût été fâcheux, puisque leurs instructions leur prescrivaient de faire un projet et un rapport collectifs. M. Béclard a donc cru devoir déclarer que, pour entrer largement dans l'esprit de ses instructions, il consentirait à s'associer sans réserve à la discussion de tout projet dont le principe réunirait au moins quelques adhésions, non pas pour adhérer même au principe, si le principe lui semblait défectueux, mais pour concourir dans sa mesure à l'œuvre de la Commission. C'est ce qu'il s'est loyalement efforcé de faire, et il est en droit de croire que ses réserves, annoncées à l'avance et développées dans une note dont il a donné lecture à la dernière réunion particulière avant que le projet ne fût paraphé, ne laissent planer aucune incertitude sur le caractère du projet en question. On peut dire de ce projet qu'il a été élaboré à cinq, mais on ne peut pas se borner à dire, en termes généraux, qu'il ait été arrêté d'un commun accord.

M. de Weckbecker déclare qu'il n'y avait point en effet de malentendu entre son collègue de France et lui sur ce point ; M. Béclard, abstraction faite du principe sur lequel il a élevé des réserves, ayant adhéré à l'ensemble des dispositions du projet.

Le Commissaire de la Sublime Porte observe qu'il lui est très difficile de suivre une discussion dans laquelle il est souvent fait allusion à un principe encore inconnu de lui, et il émet l'opinion que le meilleur moyen de porter la lumière sur cet incident et d'avancer le travail de la Commission serait de lire séance tenante le projet paraphé et les réserves qu'il comporte.

M. le Commissaire Russe appuie cette observation et tous ses collègues se rangeant à cet avis, il est donné lecture du projet de réorganisation (Annexe 1) et des réserves de M. le Commissaire de France (Annexe 2).

Son Excellence le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman déclare que toutes les appréciations auxquelles il pourrait se livrer sur ce projet ne peuvent être que personnelles et n'engagent en rien la responsabilité de son Gouvernement, auquel il doit en référer pour tout ce qui concerne la reorganisation de la Montagne. Il lui semble, quant à lui, que le principe de la désagrégation des races, point de départ du projet qui vient de lui être communiqué, mériterait d'être pris en sérieuse considération. Déjà, lors des événements de 1842, on avait songé à recourir à cet expédient pour pacifier la Montagne. Mais les grands difficultés qu'une telle mesure doit naturellement rencontrer dans l'application empêchèrent d'y donner suite. On doit reconnaître toutefois que la profonde commotion des événements de l'année dernière, et les déplacements de population qui en ont déjà été la suite, rendent aujourd'hui la mesure peut-être plus praticable qu'elle ne l'était, il y a vingt ans. Il serait sans doute encore très difficile de procéder à l'indemnisation, sinon des petits, au moins des grands propriétaires des deux races respectives ; car, si on peut aisément trouver l'équivalent d'un fonds de terre, il n'en sera pas de même pour les propriétés bâties. Quoiqu'il en soit, son Excellence le Commissaire Ottoman, tout en réservant l'opinion de son Gouvernement sur l'étendue et sur le principe même de la désagrégation, invite la Commission à rechercher, tandis qu'elle est encore sur les lieux, les conditions de sa mise à exécution, et il lui pose la question de savoir si cette mesure est dans sa pensée inséparable du projet, ou si elle peut en être détachée.

MM. les Commissaires des Cinq Puissances sont unanimement d'avis qu'il ne leur appartient pas de s'immiscer en rien dans les détails d'une mesure d'exécution dont ils doivent se borner à formuler le principe. Ils croient avoir rempli toute leur tâche, en stipulant qu'une Commission Mixte, composée des Représentants des populations intéressées devrait, sous la surveillance de l'autorité locale et des Agents des Cinq Puissances, être chargée de sa mise à exécution.

Quant à la question de savoir si la mesure de désagrégation est le préliminaire indispensable de l'application du projet dans son ensemble, MM. les Commissaires sont d'accord pour reconnaître que, si la désagrégation n'était pas réalisable, il y aurait lieu de leur part à rédiger un projet dans lequel les dispositions qui découlent du principe de désagrégation seraient modifiées.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha pense que, quel que soit le projet définitif auquel on doive s'arrêter, il devra être rangé sous l'un ou l'autre de ces trois chefs :—

1. Administration directe de la Montagne par la Porte.
2. Gouvernement d'un seul Chef Chrétien et indigène.
3. Conservation des privilèges municipaux.

Son Excellence le Commissaire Ottoman n'hésite pas à dire que, dans sa pensée, le premier de ces systèmes est le meilleur, parce qu'il est le seul qui donne à la Porte une autorité proportionnée à l'étendue des responsabilités qu'on lui attribue. Mais il reconnaît que cette combinaison nouvelle, à laquelle on a grand tort de croire que la Porte ait jamais songé, rencontrerait aujourd'hui dans l'ordre moral des difficultés probablement insurmontables. Aussi ne croit-il pas devoir insister, même sur le simple exposé de ses opinions personnelles à cet égard.

Le second système, à ses yeux, est rendu, par d'autres causes, également impossible. Depuis 1840, les conditions du Gouvernement ont changé dans tout l'Empire. L'Emir Bechir administrait, comme administraient tous les Pachas, c'est-à-dire, avec une extrême rigueur. Cette rigueur lui était nécessaire pour maintenir son autorité sur des populations de races et de rites contraires, toutes rivales les unes des autres. Or, cette ancienne rigueur n'étant plus admissible aujourd'hui dans la Montagne, pas plus que dans aucune autre partie de l'Empire, un Gouverneur Maronite verrait son pouvoir méconnu par les Grecs-Orthodoxes, ou un Grec-Orthodoxe par les Maronites, et ainsi de suite pour toutes les races et tous les rites représentés dans la Montagne.

Reste donc, en dernière analyse, le troisième principe, celui du maintien des privilèges et des immunités de la Montagne par le développement des institutions Municipales. Dans ce système, au lieu de concentrer les pouvoirs, on est naturellement conduit à les diviser et à éviter les conflits, soit en séparant géographiquement, si cela est possible, les différents éléments constitutifs aujourd'hui mélangés de la Montagne, soit en leur donnant des garanties égales et particulières là où ces éléments seraient encore juxtaposés, en laissant d'ailleurs au pouvoir responsable toute la liberté d'action qui lui est nécessaire. C'est à ce troisième système que paraît se rattacher le projet qui vient d'être lu. Son

Excellence promet d'en examiner attentivement les détails et de présenter par écrit à MM. les Commissaires ses observations, en même temps qu'elle les transmettra à son Gouvernement.

La mesure de désagrégation restant indécise par suite de l'impossibilité où se trouve son Excellence le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman de se prononcer, sans en référer à Constantinople, M. de Weckbecker propose à ses collègues d'élaborer sur la deuxième base, indiquée plus haut par Fuad Pacha, un nouveau projet qui, si le premier était abandonné, serait tout prêt à recevoir la sanction des Puissances, ou servirait au moins d'élément à leur discussion dans le sein de la Conférence.

M. de Rehfues fait observer que ses collègues, ni lui, ne peuvent pas se livrer ainsi à l'émission d'un ou de plusieurs projets, sans exposer à leurs Gouvernements la nature des divers motifs qui les ont guidés. Ce rapport, avec ou sans réserves particulières, leur est d'ailleurs prescrit par leurs instructions.

Lord Dufferin pense que, jusqu'à ce qu'il soit démontré que le projet, fondé sur le principe de désagrégation, est irréalisable, la Commission doit s'en tenir au plan qu'elle a d'abord proposé.

M. Béclard rappelle que ses réserves s'appliquent à deux points essentiels du plan adopté : à la désagrégation, base vacillante, hypothétique, lors même que le Gouvernement y accéderait, puisque tout déplacement ne peut qu'être facultatif; à la division du pouvoir en trois Caimacamies, division qui diminuerait encore la force du pouvoir, et rendrait par conséquent impossible la pacification du pays. Abstraction faite de ces deux points essentiels et des dispositions qui s'y rattachent, il y a dans le projet d'assez nombreuses dispositions accessoires qu'il trouve excellentes, et qui l'ont déterminé à s'associer par un paraphe à la demande de prise en considération du susdit projet. Il se déclare prêt toutefois à entrer dans la discussion d'un nouveau travail.

M. Novikoff est d'avis que la Commission ne doit négliger aucun moyen d'arriver à la rédaction d'un projet et d'un rapport collectifs. Il faut aller, dit-il, jusqu'à la dernière limite possible des rapprochements, et si par exemple les réserves de M. Béclard à l'égard du projet actuel, portant sur deux points essentiels, savoir, la désagrégation et la division en trois Caimacamies, il était possible de s'entendre sur un projet sans désagrégation, au lieu de deux réserves de la part de M. Béclard, il n'y en aurait plus qu'une, et ce serait un pas considérable de fait vers l'accord final de toutes les opinions.

Lord Dufferin déclare que, dans sa pensée, la Commission devrait s'en tenir à ce qu'elle a proposé. Cependant, si la majorité de ces collègues est d'avis de rédiger un autre projet éventuel, il ne refusera pas de s'associer à ce nouveau travail.

Fuad Pacha constate que le projet qui vient de lui être communiqué, est un projet adopté, mais non pas, à ce qu'il parait, préféré.

Les Commissaires qui y ont apposé leur paraphe sans réserve, repondent que ce projet a leur préférence, puisqu'ils l'ont adopté. Si la désagrégation des races est possible dans la Montagne, ils n'hésitent pas à croire que cette mesure est de toutes la plus propre à y rétablir l'ordre et la paix sur des bases solides.

Son Excellence le Commissaire Ottoman déclare de nouveau qu'il n'a personnellement aucune objection à faire en principe à la mesure de désagrégation, sauf l'avis ultérieur de son Gouvernement, et les difficultés que lui révélerait l'étude des moyens d'exécution à laquelle il va se livrer.

M. de Rehfues est d'avis que la confiscation des propriétés appartenant aux Druses condamnés par le tribunal de Beyrout et par celui de Mokhtara est de nature à faciliter beaucoup la désagrégation, en ce qu'elle rend disponibles un grand nombre de terrains qui pourront être livrés immédiatement à de nouveaux possesseurs.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha répond que la confiscation des propriétés appartenant aux Druses n'est pas encore décidée. La peine de la confiscation n'existant pas dans la loi, il n'a pas pu la prononcer lui-même sans en référer à son Gouvernement. La réponse n'est pas encore venue de Constantinople. Mais il y a lieu dès aujourd'hui de prévoir que la confiscation des biens appartenant aux notables Druses ne mettra pas dans la main du pouvoir les ressources que l'on suppose. Il faudra d'abord déduire de ces biens ceux qui étaient possédés par les condamnés du chef de leurs femmes, et ensuite la valeur des

dettes que les condamnés avaient contractées, et dont le Trésor se trouvera débiteur par le fait même de la confiscation. Enfin, comme il n'y a dans la Montagne, en matière de propriété, ni enregistrement, ni titres, ni actes d'aucune espèce, une grande quantité de ces propriétés se trouve réclamée par des parents des condamnés, sans qu'il y ait moyen de prouver qu'ils ne sont pas en effet les légitimes propriétaires. Toutes ces restitutions opérées en faveur des femmes, des parents, et des créanciers des condamnés, il ne serait pas impossible que la mesure de confiscation ne se transformât pour le Gouvernement en un déboursé de quelques millions de piastres. On avait beaucoup exagéré la fortune des plus riches d'entre les Druses, et pour n'en citer qu'un exemple, le revenu en huile des terres confisquées qui avait été estimé à 300,000 ocques ne s'élève pas cette année à plus de 60,000.

M. le Commissaire de France croit devoir à ce sujet demander à Fuad Pacha comment il envisage la solution qu'il importe de donner le plus tôt possible à la question des indemnités. Ce que son Excellence vient de dire relativement à la confiscation lui inspire de pénibles appréhensions. Il avait toujours cru que la confiscation des biens appartenant aux Druses condamnés offrirait au Gouvernement du Sultan le moyen le plus efficace, et en même temps le plus légitime, d'indemniser les victimes de la Montagne. Du moment que cette ressource disparaît, l'indemnité devient plus incertaine que jamais, et l'on ne sait quelle issue entrevoir à la situation.

Quant aux victimes de Damas, son Excellence avait promis dans la dernière séance de leur distribuer un à-compte d'au moins 12,500,000 piastres qu'il s'agissait de lever immédiatement sur la population Musulmane de la ville et des environs. M. Béclard serait heureux d'apprendre que le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan a donné les ordres nécessaires pour assurer l'exécution de cette première mesure de réparation.

En ce qui concerne ce dernier point, Fuad Pacha répond que, son départ de Beyrout ayant été ajourné, il n'a pas cru pouvoir ordonner la levée de cet impôt sans être lui-même à Damas. Aussitôt qu'il y sera rendu, ce qui aura lieu très prochainement, il avisera, et la Commission peut être certaine qu'il fera tout ce qui dépendra de lui pour réaliser les assurances qu'il a données à ce sujet.

La question relative aux indemnités de la Montagne a déjà reçu un commencement d'exécution. Six millions de piastres en argent ont été distribuées sur le total de 20,000,000 à 22,000,000, chiffre auquel s'élève approximativement la somme des indemnités concernant les biens immobiliers. Des réquisitions de bois ont été faites partout où il y en avait. On en a affecté le produit à la reconstruction des maisons. On a fait distribuer 1,200 lits aux plus nécessiteux, et 200,000 drahmes de graines de vers à soie sont déjà envoyés dans les différentes parties de la Montagne. C'est donc environ 8,000,000 à 9,000,000 de piastres qui ont été déjà payées, c'est-à-dire, plus du tiers du total des indemités immobilières.

Il sera facile de déduire de ces indemnités ce qui a été déjà payé contre reçu ; mais il sera très difficile d'évaluer l'étendue des pertes mobilières. Il est probable que dans certaines localités les habitants ont pu s'enfuir en emportant tout ou partie de leurs effets. Les moyens d'informations manquent à peu près complètement, et les populations abusent de cette circonstance pour faire des réclamations tellement exagérées qu'elles touchent à l'absurde. C'est ainsi que, pour ne parler que des réclamations faites par des sujets étrangers, la masse de cocons qu'ils prétendent avoir perdue équivaudrait, d'après leurs propres appréciations réunies, au maximum de ce que la Montagne peut produire en deux années.

M. Béclard exprime les regrets sincères et profonds que lui inspirent les diverses explications dans lesquelles vient d'entrer son Excellence le Commissaire Ottoman au sujet de la question des indemnités, tant à Damas que dans la Montagne. L'exagération des réclamations ne prouve qu'une chose à ses yeux, c'est que les retards apportés par le Gouvernement à l'examen et à la solution de cette question jettent l'alarme dans les esprits, et que les victimes se croient obligées de réclamer beaucoup plus qu'il ne leur est dû dans la crainte assez naturelle où elles se trouvent de ne rien recevoir du tout. Il serait d'autant plus nécessaire de régler l'affaire des indemnités, que la contribution en nature sur les Druses, décidée, on s'en souvient, d'un commun accord, a été néanmoins abandonnée. M. le Commissaire de France s'étonne que Fuad Pacha ait cru devoir ajourner l'exécution

de la promesse qu'il avait faite à la Commission de lever une contribution pour payer un premier à-compte aux victimes de Damas, en faveur desquelles rien absolument n'a encore été fait. Cette mesure était urgente, et il exprime l'avis qu'elle pouvait probablement s'effectuer sans que son Excellence se fût transportée de sa personne à Damas.

M. le Commissaire de Russie exprime à son tour la même opinion, et réclame un prompt réglement de toutes les indemnités. Selon lui, c'est une question urgente que la Commission doit mettre à l'ordre du jour de ses discussions, car la seule perte de temps occasionne aux victimes un préjudice considérable. Elles ne peuvent se remettre au travail, et en perdent même l'habitude. La solution de cette question est d'ailleurs, comme celle de la répression, intimement liée au rétablissement de l'ordre matériel et moral dans ce pays.

M. de Weckbecker pense qu'il faudrait d'abord pour la Montagne, comme pour Damas, adopter un mode d'enquête sommaire, et fixer au préalable la somme totale des indemnités à repartir entre tous les ayant-droit.

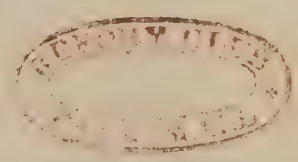
L'expérience des six derniers mois ayant démontré la lenteur des modes sommaires et expéditifs d'administration, M. de Rehfues avoue qu'il se sentirait assez disposé à recommander pour le paiement des indemnités de la Montagne l'emploi d'un procédé méthodique et régulier.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha, éprouvant de la difficulté à régler lui-même le mode d'enquête que l'on devrait suivre pour la fixation des indemnités de la Montagne, exprime l'idée qui lui est venue d'instituer une Commission qui sera chargée de régler le mode d'enquête qui serait prescrit à d'autres Commissions Mixtes, destinées à être envoyées dans le pays pour y recueillir les éléments indispensables au réglement définitif de la question. Cette Commission Centrale rédigera des instructions dont son Excellence promet de donner connaissance à la Commission.

Son Excellence le Commissaire du Sultan remet à la Commission un Tableau, contenant la liste nominative des Druses qui viennent par son ordre transportés à Tripoli de Barbarie, où ils subiront dans une forteresse la peine de la détention à laquelle ils ont été condamnés. Ce Tableau (Annexe 3) contient en outre l'indication des charges qui pesaient sur les condamnés, et de la durée de l'emprisonnement que chacun d'eux a encouru.

La séance est levée à cinq heures et demie.

(Suivent les signatures.)



Annexe No. 1.

Projet de Réorganisation de la Montagne.

1. IL sera procédé à la séparation ethnographique des Chrétiens et des Druses.

2. En opérant cette mesure de désagrégation, on tiendra également compte des intérêts de chaque population.

3. L'exécution en sera confiée, sous la surveillance de l'autorité locale et des Agents des Cinq Puissances, à une Commission Mixte, dans laquelle les diverses populations seront représentées.

Les Chrétiens ou les Druses qui refuseraient de se prêter à l'exécution de la mesure de désagrégation n'y seront pas contraints par la force. Mais il est bien entendu que, dans ce cas, ils devront se soumettre au régime des nouvelles institutions ci-après indiquées.

4. La Commission émet le vœu que les habitants Chrétiens de Hasbeya, Racheya, et Merdjaïoun soient compris dans le travail de déplacement susmentionné, et appelés à jouir de ses bénéfices.

5. En conséquence, la Montagne sera divisée en trois Caimacamies, une Maronite, une Grecque Orthodoxe, et une Druse, qui seront administrées par des Chefs indigènes, choisis dans le sein des populations respectives.

6. La Caimacamie Druse, autant du moins que les nécessités de la mesure de désagrégation le permettront, se composera des territoires suivants :—

El-Garb, sauf la portion qu'il serait indispensable d'en détacher pour réunir les deux parties septentrionale et méridionale de la Caimacamie Maronite ;

Le Djurd ;

L'Arkoub ;

Le Chouf ;

Le Menassif, en partie, et le Chehar (voir la carte de Kiepert, 1860).

7. La Caimacamie Grecque Orthodoxe sera composée du Koura, y compris la partie inférieure et les fractions du territoire avoisinantes dans lesquelles la population Grecque Orthodoxe serait en majorité.

8. Tous les territoires de la Montagne qui ne font point partie des deux Caimacamies Druse et Grecque Orthodoxe seront compris dans la Caimacamie Maronite, sauf Zahlé, qui, avec sa banlieue et son faubourg de Mohallacah, sera placée sous une administration mixte, dépendante du Vali de Saida, au même titre que les trois Caimacams Maronite, Grec Orthodoxe, et Druse.

9. Les Caimacams seront nommés par la Sublime Porte sur la proposition du Vali de Saida, dont ils relèvent.

Ils seront chargés de toutes les attributions du pouvoir Exécutif, et nommément de présider les Medjlis administratifs ; de choisir les Vékils (délégués) auprès du siège de chaque Caimacamie ; de composer le personnel du corps de police conformément aux règles qui seront posées ci-après ; de servir d'intermédiaires entre les habitants de leur Caimacamie et le Vali de Saida ; d'exécuter les décisions de ce fonctionnaire, en tant du moins qu'elles seraient d'accord avec les institutions de la Montagne ; et d'exercer en cas de besoin contre lui un recours auprès de la Sublime Porte.

10. Chaque Caimacamie sera divisée en Mudiriés, et la circonscription de ces nouveaux arrondissements administratifs sera réglée autant que possible d'après celle des anciens Aklims.

11. Il y aura dans chaque Mudirié un Mudir, nommé par le Caimacam et appartenant au rite dominant de la population, lequel sera chargé de la direction des services publics et notamment de la police et de la perception des impôts.

12. Chaque Mudirié sera divisé en un certain nombre de Communes, et chaque Commune se composera d'au moins 500 habitants.

13. A la tête de chaque commune il y aura un Cheik nommé par les habitants, et qui servira d'intermédiaire entr'eux et les agents supérieurs de l'administration.

Le Cheik veillera au maintien du bon ordre dans sa commune, fournira tous les renseignements statistiques nécessaires à la répartition de l'impôt, et assistera les Mudirs dans la perception des contributions. Il sera en outre chargé de tenir un registre des naissances et des décès.

14. Dans les communes mixtes chaque élément constitutif de la population aura un Cheik particulier dont l'autorité ne s'exercera que sur ces coreligionnaires.

15. Auprès du siège de chaque Caimacam il y aura un Vékil ou Délégué de chacune des autres Caimacamies, et chargé de représenter les intérêts de ses coreligionnaires.

16. Il y aura un Medjlis Administratif dans chaque Caimacamie, composé de cinq membres au moins, dix au plus, et chargé spécialement de l'assiette et de la répartition des impôts.

17. Il y aura dans chaque Mudirié un Medjlis Local, composé de trois membres au moins, cinq au plus, et chargé d'assister le Mudir dans l'exercice de ses fonctions.

18. Dans les Mudiriés dont la population ne serait point homogène, il y aura pour chaque élément constitutif de la population un Vékil qui sera membre de droit du Medjlis Local. Ce Vékil sera nommé par les notables d'entre ses coreligionnaires.

19. Abolition de tous les privilèges féodaux, et notamment de ceux qui appartenaient aux Mokatadjis.

20. Egalité de tous devant la loi.

21. Il y aura dans chaque Mudirié un Juge de Paix pour chaque rite.

22. Il y aura dans la Montagne six Medjlis Judiciaires de Première Instance, savoir, un dans la Caimacamie Grecque-Orthodoxe ; trois dans la Caimacamie Maronite, dont un dans le Meten ; un à Zahlé ; et un dans la Caimacamie Druse.

23. Chaque Medjlis Judiciaire se composera de trois membres au moins, et

cinq au plus, selon le nombre des éléments constitutifs de la population, de telle façon que chacun de ces éléments soit représenté par un membre. La présidence sera exercée mensuellement et à tour de rôle par chacun des membres du Medjlis.

Dans le cas où il n'y aurait que deux éléments, le Medjlis Judiciaire sera composé de trois membres, dont deux fournis par l'élément prépondérant.

24. Il y aura un Medjlis Supérieur siégeant à Beyrout et composé de douze membres, savoir, deux Maronites, deux Grecs Orthodoxes, deux Grecs Catholiques, deux Druses, deux Musulmans, et deux Metualis ; auxquels on adjoindra éventuellement un représentant des cultes Protestant et Israélite, quand un membre de ces communautés sera partie dans le procès, ou y aura des intérêts engagés. La présidence de ce Medjlis sera exercée trimestriellement et à tour de rôle par chacun de ses membres.

25. Les Juges de Paix jugeront, sans appel, jusqu'à concurrence de 150 piastres, avec appel au Medjlis Judiciaire de Première Instance, jusqu'à concurrence de 500 piastres.

26. Les affaires au-dessus de 500 piastres seront de la compétence du Medjlis de Première Instance.

27. Les affaires mixtes, c'est-à-dire, entre particuliers n'appartenant pas au même rite, quelle que soit la valeur engagée dans le procès, seront portées devant le Medjlis de Première Instance, à moins que dans les procès au-dessous de 500 piastres, les parties ne soient d'accord pour reconnaître la compétence du Juge de Paix du défendeur.

28. En principe toute affaire sera jugée par la totalité des membres du Medjlis. Néanmoins, quand toutes les parties engagées dans le procès appartiennent au même rite, elles auront le droit de recuser le Juge appartenant à un rite différent. Mais dans ce cas même les Juges récusés devront assister au jugement.

29. En matière criminelle il y aura trois degrés de juridiction : les contraventions seront jugées par les Juges de Paix ; les délits par le Medjlis de Première Instance ; et les crimes par le Medjlis Supérieur de Beyrout.

30. Le Vali de Sayda nommera dans chaque Caimacamie un Procureur Impérial qui devra être choisi parmi les habitants du rite dominant. Ce Procureur sera chargé de constater les crimes et délits, et de provoquer leur répression. Dans la Caimacamie Maronite le Procureur pourra avoir un ou plusieurs substituts.

31. Tous les membres des Medjlis Administratifs et Judiciaires seront, ainsi que les Juges de Paix, choisis et désignés, après une entente avec les notables, par les Chefs des Communautés respectives, et institués par le Caimacam.

Le personnel des trois Medjlis Administratifs sera renouvelé par moitié tous les ans. Les membres sortants pourront être nommés de nouveau.

32. Tous les membres des Medjlis, ainsi que les Juges de Paix, seront rétribués.

Les audiences des Medjlis Judiciaires seront publiques, et il en sera tenu procès-verbal par un Greffier institué *ad hoc*.

Ce Greffier sera en outre chargé de tenir un registre de tous les contrats portant aliénation de biens immobiliers, lesquels contrats ne seront valables qu'après avoir été soumis à cette formalité de l'enregistrement.

33. Si, après enquête, il est prouvé qu'un fonctionnaire de l'ordre judiciaire a prévariqué, ou s'est rendu indigne de son emploi par un fait quelconque, ce fonctionnaire devra être révoqué, et il sera en outre passible d'une peine proportionnée à la faute qu'il aura commise.

34. Tout procès en matière commerciale sera porté devant le Tribunal de Commerce de Beyrout.

35. Tout procès entre un étranger ou protégé et un habitant de la Montagne, même en matière civile, sera porté devant le Tribunal de Commerce de Beyrout.

36. Chaque Caimacam aura sous ses ordres un corps de police, avec lequel il devra maintenir l'ordre public dans toute l'étendue de son territoire, faire exécuter les sentences rendues par les Medjlis, et assurer la perception régulière des impôts.

37. L'exécution forcée par garnisaires (havalé) des jugements et des arrêtés administratifs, telle qu'elle s'est pratiquée jusqu'à présent, sera abolie aussitôt que faire se pourra, et remplacée par d'autres modes de contrainte, tels que la saisie ou l'emprisonnement.

38. Tous les agents de la police recevront un traitement suffisant, et il leur sera interdit, sous les peines les plus sévères, d'exiger des habitants aucune retribution, soit en argent, soit en nature.

39. Le corps de police se recrutera par la voie des engagements volontaires, et il y aura dans chaque Caimacamie un Chef de Police pour chaque élément constitutif de la population.

40. Les agents de police, chargés de l'exécution d'un ordre quelconque de l'autorité, devront être, autant que possible, pris parmi les coreligionnaires des individus que cette mesure concernera.

41. Il est indispensable que les agents de la police portent un uniforme ou quelque signe extérieur de leurs fonctions.

42. La Commission estime que, dans chaque Caimacamie, le corps de police pourrait être établi à raison de 5 hommes par 1,000 habitants.

43. La Commission émet le vœu que le désarmément des populations, une fois opéré dans le reste de la Syrie, il soit procédé dans la Montagne à une mesure analogue

44. La Commission émet le vœu que la totalité des revenus publics de la Montagne soit exclusivement affectée aux frais de son administration et à ses dépenses d'utilité publique.

L'impôt de 3,500 bourses devant être insuffisant pour subvenir aux dépenses de la nouvelle organisation, la Commission est d'avis que ce chiffre pourrait être doublé sans inconvénient.

En dehors de cet impôt, aucune taxe directe ou indirecte ne pourra être levée, dans aucune des trois Caimacamies, sans le consentement de la majorité des membres du Medjlis Administratif.

45. La Commission émet le vœu qu'il soit procédé le plus tôt possible à un recensement exact de la population de la Montagne par commune et par rite.

46. Au point de vue militaire, la Commission est d'avis que la sécurité de la Montagne serait suffisamment garantie par l'occupation de la route de Beyrout à Damas.

Il serait désirable, selon elle, que les troupes employées à cette occupation fussent, au moins en partie, composées de Chrétiens sujets du Sultan.

En cas de force majeure et sur la demande expresse d'un Caimacam, approuvée par un vote conforme de son Medjlis Administratif, ces troupes pourront être envoyées partout où besoin sera.

Le Caimacam ou les membres du Medjlis qui n'auraient pas fait usage du droit de réquisition qui leur est ouvert par le présent Article, seront responsables des conséquences que leur abstention ou leur négligence pourraient avoir sur le maintien de l'ordre dans la Montagne.

47. Le réglement de Chékib Efendi restera en vigueur pour toutes celles de ses dispositions qui ne seraient point contraires aux principes stipulés dans les Articles précédents.

Beyrout, le 20 *Mars*, 1861.

(Signé) DE WECKBECKER.

Sauf les réserves indiquées dans la pièce ci-jointe,

L. BECLARD.
DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.
DE REHFUES.
NOVIKOW.

Annexe No. 2.

LE Commissaire Français, au moment où le projet d'organisation relatif au Liban va être communiqué à son Excellence Fuad Pacha, prend la liberté de rappeler à ses collègues qu'il n'avait consenti à entrer dans la discussion de ce projet qu'à la condition de pouvoir, avant d'y apposer sa signature, exprimer les réserves qui lui paraissent devoir entrainer ultérieurement de profondes modifications dans les principes fondamentaux de l'organisation projetée.

Il remarque d'abord que ce projet repose sur les plusieurs hypothèses dont la réalisation, venant à manquer, déterminerait nécessairement la chûte du système tout entier.

Ainsi, l'une de ces hypothèses consiste dans la désagrégation des races, sans

laquelle aucun des Commissaires, assurément, n'eût songé à admettre l'institution d'une Caimacamie Druse.

Une seconde hypothèse est celle qui tend à adjoindre au Liban la portion de territoire connue sous le nom de Koura Inférieur. Sans cette adjonction, la Caimacamie Grecque Orthodoxe n'aurait pas de raison d'être, car elle ne serait constituée qu'au profit de 4,000 ou 5,000 individus. Il ne faut pas oublier, en effet, que la grande majorité des Grecs Orthodoxes du Liban se trouvent en dehors du Koura, choisi comme siège de la nouvelle Caimacamie. Avec l'adjonction même du Koura Inférieur, la Caimacamie Grecque Orthodoxe ne renfermerait qu'une population forte restreinte, 10,000 habitants au plus, parmi lesquels figurerait encore une assez forte minorité Musulmane et Maronite.

Le Commissaire Français remarque en outre que le principe de la désagrégation, si intimement lié qu'il soit au système des trois Camaicamies, ne serait rendu applicable qu'à la race Druse, relativement à la race Chrétienne, ce qui ne comporte pas la création de deux Caimacamies pour cette dernière race. La discussion lui a également révélé un fait sur lequel il croit devoir appeler l'attention particulière de ses collègues, à savoir que la désagrégation, même restreinte, ne pouvait pas être rigoureusement appliquée. Ainsi, on a prévu comme probable le cas où un certain nombre de Chrétiens resteraient fixés sur le territoire de la Caimacamie Druse. La désagrégation, d'obligatoire qu'elle semblait être, deviendrait facultative. C'est une raison de plus pour le Commissaire Français de repousser de toutes ses forces un partage d'autorité dont l'effet serait de placer des Chrétiens sous la domination Druse.

Le système des trois Caimacamies, inutilement compliqué de l'établissement d'une administration mixte à Zahlé, lui paraît tout aussi contraire aux régles de la justice qu'à celles de la logique.

D'une part, si l'on se place au point de vue de la distinction des races, il n'est pas juste d'accorder aux Grecs Orthodoxes une faveur qu'on refuse aux autres minorités, telles que l'élément Grec Catholique, par exemple, lequel, presque aussi nombreux que l'élément Grec Orthodoxe, est représenté dans la Montagne par 20,000 habitants environ.

Le système est illogique en ce sens que, si l'on recherche l'origine et les causes des événements de 1860, il est impossible de ne pas les attribuer en grande partie à ce même fractionnement de l'autorité qui se trouve reproduit dans le projet. Le système des trois Caimacamies se rapproche beaucoup, en effet, de celui qui a prévalu en 1842. Or, le régime de 1842 est condamné par l'expérience, tandis que le régime antérieur se recommande par de bons souvenirs. L'état de la Montagne, à cette époque, était certainement plus satisfaisant qu'il ne l'est aujourd'hui. L'antagonisme entre les deux races, Chrétienne et Druse, était contenu par l'autorité d'un seul chef. C'est de l'institution des deux Caimacamies que datent les malheurs du Liban.

Le Commissaire Français ne voit donc pas pourquoi cette institution serait conservée, ni pourquoi on viendrait encore l'empirer par le fait de la substitution de deux Caimacamies Chrétiennes à une seule. Une telle innovation n'aurait pour résultat que d'introduire entre les divers éléments Chrétiens un antagonisme inconnu jusqu'à ce jour, ou qui du moins ne se traduisait pas par des actes de violence. Ce serait fournir un nouvel aliment à la discorde, au lieu de la faire cesser.

Pour toutes ces causes, M. Béclard ne peut approuver le présent projet, ou du moins le principe qui en est la base. Il persiste à croire qu'il n'y a point de sécurité pour la Montagne, ni de satisfaction réelle pour tous les intérêts, en dehors de la combinaison du pouvoir unique et Chrétien. Le rétablissement de ce pouvoir qu'appellent les vœux de l'immense majorité des habitans, aurait l'avantage de se concilier avec le maintien des frontières actuelles du Liban, et d'écarter l'hypothèse irréalisable de la désagrégation des races. Cette solution, la plus simple de toutes, serait loin d'exclure, d'ailleurs, les garanties qu'on croirait nécessaire de stipuler en faveur des minorités.

Beyrout, le 20 *Mars*, 1861.

(Signé) L. BECLARD.

No. 12.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received April 12.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, March 29, 1861.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, with reference to the assurance of a fair trial supposed to have been given by Mr. Moore to Said Bek Joublat, previous to his surrender, that although frequently solicited to do so, both Mr. Moore and myself positively refused to give him any assurance whatever on the subject.

In support of this statement, I would venture to refer your Lordship to my despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer of September 21, 1860.*

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 13.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received April 12.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, March 29, 1861.*

IN further reference to the denial on the part of the Maronite and Greek Catholic Bishops, of all cognizance of the lists denouncing upwards of 4,000 Druses, I have now the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, an extract from a statement which has been communicated to me. The gentleman who writes was an eye-witness of what occurred.

From this document it would appear that the Bishops headed the deputation of Christian delegates that presented the lists in question, and that the persons whose names were inscribed upon them were accused on a capital charge.

Inclosure in No. 13.

(Translation.) *Memorandum.*

(Extract.)

THUS they all (*i.e.*, the bishops and the lay delegates) retired and went home, and after upwards of twenty days, when they had been repeatedly summoned, the Bishops Gerasimus, Butrus Bistani, and Miletios, appeared with several of the delegates above-mentioned, bringing with them four lists of criminals, consisting of Druses of the Kaimakamate of Mount Lebanon, the Metn, Hasbeya, Rasheya, Zahleh, Baalbek, and Bekaa, numbering in all 4,900 Druses, and a few Mahometans and Metualis accused of murder during the events at Hasbeya, Rasheya, and Zahleh. But as his Excellency was on that day very busy with the European Commissioners he did not receive them, but appointed his Arabic Secretary to receive the lists that he might look them over next day: so he received the lists, and it was found on their examination that all the names were put down in one category under accusation of murder, with the exception of about 190 Druse Chiefs, who, being heads of families, were indicated as being ringleaders and instigators of the outbreak. So his Excellency again summoned the Spiritual Heads and the Delegates. They appeared, and in the presence of Reshid Effendi, the Mufti, his Excellency thus addressed them:—

"The whole Druse community is justly accused of being implicated in the recent revolting acts; but it is not just that they should all be equally accused as to the amount of their guilt, as, doubtless, some are more guilty than others. But could the Imperial Government feel persuaded that the death of 10,000 Druses now under accusation would cause the resuscitation of those Christians who have been killed, it would not delay in executing them, although it should be called inhuman; but as the desire of the Government is justly to punish the guilty of the first class, that a proper effect may be produced by due punishment for the past as a warning for the future, and as these lists, although containing thousands of names, do not contain these different classifications, it is necessary that these names should be divided into categories

* See Part I. Inclosure 1 in No. 147.

according to the information you have received of the individual guilt of each person."

After considerable conversation and discussion on this point, and expressions proving the desire for the most rigorous punishment, the impossibility of classifying the people accused, on account of their uniformity of action and the equality of their guilt during the warfare, they at last asked his Excellency for instructions as to how he wished the said classification to be made. The necessary instruction was given to them, indicating three classes: the first to contain the originators and instigators of the disturbance; the second to contain the ringleaders and those who incited the people forward to war and to murder and to other wicked acts; the third, those most incriminated and who perpetrated the most violent acts.

When they had taken these instructions, they took away the lists which they had first prepared, and changed them, leaving in their new lists the same number of names, but arranged in classes, which lists are now preserved amongst the archives of the Special Commissioner.

Beyrout, March 27, 1861.

No. 14.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received April 17.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, April* 5, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of two despatches which I have received from Mr. Consul Finn, detailing the steps taken to sift a statement made to me to the effect that certain Christian women were detained at Kerak.

Your Lordship will perceive from the inclosed despatches that the report in question is devoid of all foundation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 14.

Consul Finn to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Jerusalem, March* 6, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's communication respecting Christian girls said to be found at Kerak; and in commencement of my reply, to invite your Lordship's attention to the inclosed copy of my despatch to Lord John Russell on that subject.

Since the date of that despatch, I have found no reason to change my opinion that the whole narrative is an imposture for the purpose of obtaining money.

The tale was first invented at Jaffa after the man was in difficulty with the local Governor, on account of some fine horses which he and another had brought for sale, and which it was reasonably considered could not be their own property. He escaped from confinement, and told Dr. Kayat and the French Vice-Consul that he had something important to communicate on condition of being protected from the Turks. He then gave the story of the young women being at Kerak. Dr. Kayat then wrote to me, and inclosed a letter to Surreya Pasha on the subject. The French Vice-Consul also sent notice of it to his Consul in Jerusalem. The latter sent down his dragoman to Jaffa to interrogate the man, and he brought back the details as above.

Then after a conference of M. de Barrière and myself, the man was sent off with some small presents for himself to go to Kerak, and bring the girls hither. Meanwhile M. de Barrière and I had agreed not to trust to him alone; but I sent off my messenger, who afterwards returned with information and a letter as described in my despatch to London.

We also consulted at that time with the Greek Convent here, among whose authorities was found, as usual, the Bishop of Kerak; and they declared themselves certain that no such persons could be in Kerak without their knowledge,

and they had not heard of them. Again they assured me yesterday that, notwithstanding their frequent letters received from thence, they have received no such information.

Lastly, by a very unusual occurrence, several of the leading people of Kerak, including the Christian Sheikh, are at this moment at Jerusalem, imprisoned for offences against the Government and against myself. One of these has positively affirmed that there are no such persons at Kerak, neither have been.

Your Lordship will now distinctly understand why Ibrahim Hanna was unwilling to accept your liberal offer to assist him in proceeding to Jaffa and to my Consulate for the object of bringing away the young women from Kerak.

In my judgment, therefore, I do not consider it expedient to spend any more money on this business.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAMES FINN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 14.

Consul Finn to Lord J. Russell.

(Extract.) *Jerusalem, February* 15, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to state that on the 6th instant I received the despatch (copy here inclosed) from Dr. Kayat, reporting the arrival of some Christian young women in the Arab town of Kerak, beyond Jordan, through the Desert from Damascus; and that I immediately had the letter which it inclosed sent to Sureya Pasha, although fully aware of the inutility of doing so, as lately confessed to me by his Excellency, while complaining of the people of Kerak.

At the same time, M. de Barrière, the French Consul, received notification to the same effect from his Vice-Consulate at Jaffa, and he sent down his dragoman to Jaffa to confer with the man who had brought the intelligence.

On his return he expressed himself not quite satisfied with the man's story, although the latter gave the names of the persons one by one.

The French Consul still felt desirous to investigate the matter, so as to place the result beyond all dispute; so we agreed to send off the informant to Kerak, with some small presents; and I sent, unknown to him, a trustworthy man of the Taamra Arabs round the Dead Sea, with a letter to the Moslem Sheikh of Kerak, and under orders to make strict researches in every direction.

After nearly a fortnight's absence he returned, bringing the answer to the letter, and his oral report of his own inquiries; from all which it appears that no Christian girls had been brought to Kerak; and that our informant who had told the tale in Jaffa had never been seen there, and the name that he had given us, as of himself, was totally unknown in that country.

Inclosure 3 in No. 14.

Consul Kayat to Consul Finn.

Sir, *Jaffa, December* 31, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a letter under flying seal, from me to his Excellency Sureya Pasha, from which you will see the report I give to his Excellency relative to four Christian girls from Damascus, one of them English, said to be at Kerak, brought there by Bedouins of Beni Sachar, and you will know all the details from the said letter.

I request you to have the goodness to cause the letter to be delivered to his Excellency, and to use your just influence with the Pasha to take active and prompt steps for bringing these girls from Kerak, which is under the jurisdiction of his Excellency.

Whether the report be true or not, I believe it is our duty to have inquiries made at Kerak.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. KAYAT.

Inclosure 4 in No. 14.

Consul Finn to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Jerusalem, March* 11, 1861.

IN continuation of my recent despatch on the subject of the young persons said to have been conveyed across the Desert from Damascus to Kerak, I have the honour to inclose translation of a letter in Greek, addressed to me by the Orthodox Bishop of Petra (including Kerak), commonly called the Metropolitan of Jerusalem, who is also the Deputy of the absent Patriarch.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAMES FINN.

Inclosure 5 in No. 14.

The Metropolitan of Jerusalem to Consul Finn.

(Translation.)

Sir,

WE have seen your question about four Christian girls in captivity at Kerak, as was the report some time ago, that they had been conveyed by Bedaween after the massacre at Damascus.

In reply, it is certain, Mr. Consul, that such girls are not to be found at Kerak. We have been assured of this positively, and a similar declaration have we given to the Local Government when asked some time ago about the same matter. The report has been proved to us to be false.

We have also inquired from certain Arabs of Kerak, of the Orthodox Church, lately present in the Holy City, and we are assured as above, according to our investigation for this answer to you.

We have therefore placed our signature to this letter

(Signed)

No. 15.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received April 17.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, April* 5, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch from Colonel Fraser, dated Damascus, April 4, describing the state of the country, and reporting his arrival at that city.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 15.

Colonel Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Damascus, April* 4, 1861.

SINCE I quitted Beyrout, eight days ago, for the purpose of joining his Excellency Fuad Pasha at Damascus, I have, as then proposed, made a journey, through the less frequented Druse districts of Lebanon, to the detached Christian district of Jezzin, Hasbeya, and the Hûleh; reaching Damascus last evening, by the borders of the Hauran. By naming the principal villages through which I passed, all or nearly all of which are known to your Lordship, my route will be easily traceable.

From Beyrout, then, I passed through B'hamdun, Ain Zahalté, Baruk, Maaser, Baaderan, Niha, Jezzin, Kefr Huneh, Jebal Rihan, Burghuz, Kokaba to Hasbeya. Thence by Hibbaryeh, Kefr Shubba on Mount Hermon to Baneas; whence by Ain Fît to the plateau of the Jaulan, where parties of El Fudl Arabs were encamped; keeping to the southward of Lake Phiala, I proceeded to Saasa, and from Saasa by Kesweh to Damascus.

Your Lordship will be glad to learn that for the present matters are com-

paratively quiet throughout this extensive region. The Druses are obedient and submissive to the Government authorities, and giving no cause for complaint; and the Christian population, though not so fully reassured as might be desired, are yet free from panic or exaggerated alarm. Yet all seem to feel that the country has not returned to its normal condition, and yearn to experience the benignant influence of a protecting Government. I comforted them as far as I conscientiously could, and assured them of the earnest desire of the British Government to secure their future peace and well-being; and I believe that my visit, without raising hopes which may fail to be realized, at least helped to increase the patience and fortitude which their circumstances so much require.

Little or nothing has been done to rebuild the Christian villages through which I passed, on account of the delay in the supply of the necessary funds by the Government.

To Jezzin about 1,800 persons had returned, who were awaiting the long-promised Government aid: and feared to lose their silk crops from the absence of houses for the shelter of their silk-worms.

At Hasbeya literally nothing had been done, and there were not above half-a-dozen men, and 100 women and children, in the village. I distributed pecuniary aid to the most needy among them, as well as to those in other villages whose necessities appeared urgent, without distinction of creed.

Great scarcity of food prevails everywhere, and it is to be feared must continue, as both Druses and Christians have sown very little corn indeed, the one from scarcity of seed, the other from their want of ploughs, oxen, and absence during the sowing season.

As I approached the plain of Damascus, the villagers complained bitterly of the exactions made by Bashi-Bozuks and Government officials, and I propose to bring these, with other observations made during my tour, under the notice of his Excellency Fuad Pasha, who arrived here four days ago.

At Kesweh I found the head-quarters of Khalid Pasha, commanding some 3,000 troops, who are disposed in the villages along the River Awaj (Pharpar) at a distance of eight to ten miles from Damascus, for the purpose of protecting the villages of the plain of Damascus from the inroads of the Bedouins and other denizens of the Hauran; though where the troops themselves seize by force, instead of purchasing their supplies, the villagers seem unable to appreciate the advantage derived from the presence of their protectors.

I do not touch upon current events of the city, as these will more appropriately be dealt with by Mr. Acting Consul Wrench.

No. 16.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received April* 17.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, April* 6, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of two further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 16.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, April* 4, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Excellency copy of a petition purporting to be addressed by the European residents at Beyrout to the Plenipotentiaries of the five Powers assembled in Conference at Paris, praying for an indefinite prolongation of the military occupation of this province.

It has been signed, I understand, by the principal French and Greek merchants of the place; but, with one or two exceptions, by no Austrian, American, or English subjects; all of whom, with one exception, have declined affixing their signatures to a document which, in their opinion, misrepresents the necessities of the occasion.

I do not think your Excellency need regard this demonstration as one of a very serious character. It is quite natural that gentlemen in the situation of those who have signed this Memorial should consider the presence of an army in their neighbourhood an advantageous circumstance, and that they should pay attention to their own peculiar interests rather than to those which concern the general good of the country.

At the same time I must admit it is a great misfortune that the Government should be able to do so little to restore confidence, or to set the machinery of society in this country again in motion.

The Christian population is still streaming from Damascus; and, although the Anglo-American Relief Committee persist in the rule which they have adopted from the beginning, of refusing every description of relief to the refugees from that city, they still continue to arrive.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 16.

Petition.

Messieurs,

LES Soussignés, négociants et industriels Européens établis à Beyrout, et sur le Liban, affligés, vu la gravité du mal, de l'hésitation du Congrès réuni à Paris à l'effet de délibérer sur le temps plus ou moins long à donner à l'occupation Européenne en Syrie, croient devoir adresser la présente supplique aux Représentants du dit Congrès pour les supplier, au nom de l'humanité, de vouloir bien prendre en considération qu'une prolongation permanente, jusqu'à l'organisation de la Syrie, est indispensable à la solution de la question qui les occupe.

Cette nécessité, toute excessive qu'elle puisse paraître, de prime abord, à ceux qui n'ont pas approfondi la situation sur les lieux, est cependant la seule rationnelle pour sauvegarder les intérêts de tous, en ce que les parties qui peuvent y voir une occupation trop prolongée s'en assurent, au contraire, le plus prompte fin, en ce qu'elles seront naturellement amenée à prêter leur plus efficace concours au plus prompt rétablissement de l'ordre, de la sécurité, et enfin à la réalisation complète du but pour lequel elle a été entreprise, de l'aveu des grandes Puissances, pour que l'occupation cesse au plus tôt.

Les Soussignés, étrangers à tout esprit de nationalité, ne demandent pas que l'occupation soit exclusivement Française, comme pour le moment, mais Européenne s'il le faut, suivant l'esprit du Traité de Paris, et dans le cas où une décision contraire à la présente requête serait prise pour un temps fixe qui ne puisse tranquilliser l'opinion publique, les Soussignés supplient le Congrès de vouloir bien faire connaître sa décision afin que chacun puisse aviser au moyen de salut qu'il croira le plus convenable, soit pour sa vie, soit pour ses intérêts particuliers et commerciaux; n'espérant plus de sécurité pour l'avenir en attendant cette suprême décision toutes affaires restent suspendues et nul ne peut ignorer les pertes qui en découlent.

Les Soussignés confiants dans la haute sagesse du Congrès pour sauver un peuple entier d'un abîme sans fond, se disent, avec tout le respect dû aux membres d'une aussi haute assemblée de vos Excellences les très humbles et très soumis serviteurs.

Fait à Beyrout, le 30 Mars, 1861.

(Translation.)

Gentlemen,

THE Undersigned, European merchants and traders living at Beyrout and in the Lebanon, disheartened, considering the extent of the evil, at the hesitation of the Congress assembled at Paris in order to deliberate on the duration of the European occupation in Syria, deem it their duty to address this petition to the Representatives of the said Congress, to pray that, in the name of humanity, they will take into consideration that a permanent prolongation, until the organization of Syria, is indispensable to the solution of the question of which they are treating.

The necessity for this, superfluous as it may appear at first to those who

have not investigated matters on the spot, is nevertheless the only rational means of preserving the interests of all, seeing that the persons who might see in it too long an occupation, are assured, on the contrary, of a speedy termination, in so far as they will naturally be induced to lend their best assistance towards the most prompt re-establishment of order and security, and, in fine, to the complete realization of the purpose for which it has been undertaken, as acknowledged by the Great Powers, in order that the occupation may cease as soon as possible.

The Undersigned, strangers to any spirit of nationality, do not ask that the occupation should be entirely French, as at present, but that it should be European, according to the tenour of the Treaty of Paris ; and in case a decision contrary to the present request should be taken for a fixed time which cannot calm down public opinion, the Undersigned pray the Congress to be good enough to make known its decision, in order that every person may provide the means of safety that he considers most advantageous, whether in respect to his life or his private and commercial interests ; hoping no longer for security in future, whilst awaiting this supreme decision all business is suspended, and no one can be ignorant of the losses incurred by it.

The Undersigned, trusting in the wisdom of the Congress to save a whole people from so deep an abyss, remain, with all the respect due to the members of so august an Assembly, your Excellency's most humble and obedient servants.

Beyrout, March 30, 1861.

Inclosure 3 in No. 16.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, April* 4, 1861.

IT having hitherto been my disagreeable duty to convey to your Excellency anything but cheerful accounts of the progress of events in this country, it is a real satisfaction to me to be able to announce that there is every prospect of our being blessed with an unusually fruitful harvest.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 17.

Acting Consul Wrench to Lord J. Russell.—(Received April 17.)

My Lord, *Damascus, April* 4, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of my despatch of to-day's date to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Sublime Porte, reporting the arrival of his Excellency Fuad Pasha, and also that of Colonel Fraser.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

Inclosure in No. 17.

Acting Consul Wrench to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Damascus, April* 4, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that Fuad Pasha arrived at Damascus on the evening of the 28th ultimo, since which time his Excellency has held several secret councils with the civil and military authorities of the town.

I have heard of little news from the country for the last few days.

Khaled Pasha is now at Kesweh, about six hours south of Damascus, with the troops, to the number of about 2,000 men.

Daas Agha is reported to be in the neighbourhood of his own village, Jerud, with about fifty followers, the number of whom he could greatly increase on emergency. He lately took about thirty camels laden with Government wheat

on their way to this city, and is said to have declared that he will spare neither Government property nor soldiers that may fall into his hands.

Meer Suleiman has joined his cousin, Meer Mohamed Harfoush, near Baalbeck, and has up to the present time remained inactive.

Colonel Fraser arrived here yesterday, for the purpose of remaining with Fuad Pasha during his Excellency's stay at Damascus, after having made a tour through the Druse districts of Lebanon and the borders of the Hauran.

No. 18.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received April* 20.)

My Lord, *Paris, April* 19, 1861.

THE Marquis de Lavallette has written to M. Thouvenel to say that it is very desirable that the members of the Syrian Commission should come to Constantinople, in order to be ready to give information on questions which may arise out of their report. M. Thouvenel is of the same opinion. He thinks that their advice will be necessary on many points, and that much valuable time will be lost if communications are to be carried on in writing between Constantinople and Beyrout. His Excellency hopes therefore that your Lordship will not object to the Commissioners coming to Constantinople, should the Representatives of the Great Powers in that capital think it necessary to request their presence. He observes that they might afterwards return to Syria to superintend the installation of the Government decided upon at Constantinople, and that the Consuls in the meantime would suffice for any urgent case that might present itself.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 19.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 20, 1861.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 19th instant, and in reply I have to instruct you to state to M. Thouvenel that Her Majesty's Government will not object to the Syrian Commissioners proceeding to Constantinople for the purposes referred to by his Excellency, in the event of the Representatives of the Great Powers considering such a step necessary.

My despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer of the 28th of March last gives his Excellency authority, as far as Her Majesty's Government are concerned, to summon the Commissioners, if their presence at Constantinople should be clearly necessary.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 20.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received April* 24.)

My Lord, *Paris, April* 23, 1861.

THE term within which the ratifications of the Convention of the 19th of March, prolonging the European occupation of Syria, were to be exchanged, expiring to-day, M. Thouvenel convened a meeting of the Representatives of the five Powers, when it was found that the Turkish ratifications were not ready. A short Protocol recording this fact was, therefore, signed, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy; and the exchange of the ratifications was deferred for the present.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure in No. 20.

Protocol of a Conference held at Paris, April 23, 1861.

LES Soussignés, Représentants des Puissances signataires de la Convention du 19 Mars, 1861, qui a pour objet la prolongation de l'occupation Européenne en Syrie, s'étant réunis pour procéder à l'échange des ratifications respectives, échange qui devait avoir lieu dans le délai de cinq semaines, l'Ambassadeur de Turquie a déclaré que bien que son Souverain eût ratifié la dite Convention, l'instrument qui le constate ne lui était pas encore parvenu. En conséquence, il a été convenu que le délai de cet échange serait prorogé jusqu'au jour où son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur de la Sublime Porte aura reçu les ratifications qu'il sera appelé à échanger.

Paris, le 23 *Avril,* 1861.

(Translation.)

THE Undersigned, Representatives of the Powers who signed the Convention of March 19, 1861, which had for its object the prolongation of the European occupation in Syria, having assembled in order to proceed to the exchange of the respective ratifications, an exchange which should take place at the end of five weeks, the Turkish Ambassador declared that although his Sovereign had ratified the said Convention, the ratification had not yet reached him. In consequence of which, it has been decided that the period of this exchange should be prolonged until the day when his Excellency the Ambassador of the Sublime Porte shall have received the ratifications which he will be called upon to exchange.

Paris, April 23, 1861.

No. 21.

Lord J. Russell to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

My Lords, *Foreign Office, April* 24, 1861.

HER Majesty having been pleased to direct that from the 1st of May a squadron should be sent to the coast of Syria, I have now to state to you the objects which Admiral Mundy, or the Admiral who may be in command of that squadron, is to keep in view.

According to a Convention signed at Paris on the 19th of March Syria will have been evacuated by the French troops by the 5th of June, and preparations for the evacuation may be in progress some time earlier. It is apprehended that troubles, disorders, and acts of vengeance may take place when the European troops are withdrawn. The Admiral must, therefore, be directed to extend his protection to the Christian inhabitants, and generally to any subjects of the Porte on the coast who shall be victims of outrage and barbarous assault.

The Admiral will concert his measures for this purpose with the highest Turkish authorities in Syria. He will also put himself in communication with the Commander of the French squadron, and also with any Commanders or Consuls of Christian Powers who may be on the coast.

In case of absolute necessity the Admiral is to be empowered to land marines for the protection from massacre of British subjects, or Christians on the coast, but he will in no case direct or allow any officer under his command to march into the interior.

I shall be glad to have a list of the ships destined for this service.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 22.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 24, 1861.

I TRANSMIT, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a letter which I have addressed to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty,* signifying Her Majesty's pleasure as to the instructions to be given to the Admiral commanding

* No. 21.

a squadron of Her Majesty's ships ordered to be stationed on the coast of Syria from the 1st of next month.

You will read the inclosed paper to Aali Pasha, but you will not give a copy of it to his Excellency.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 23.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.—(*Received April* 25.)

Sir, *Admiralty, April* 25, 1861.

WITH reference to Lord John Russell's letter of the 24th instant, and your letter of this day's date, on the subject of the instructions to be given to the Admiral commanding Her Majesty's ships on the coast of Syria, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Lord John Russell, a copy of a letter this day addressed to Vice-Admiral Martin, in which are pointed out the measures to be adopted in case of necessity with reference to protecting Christian inhabitants, and more especially British subjects in Syria.

According to the latest reports from Vice-Admiral Martin the British force actually employed, and now about to proceed to the coast of Syria, will consist of the ships stated below.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. G. ROMAINE.

"Hannibal," 91 guns, Flag-ship of Rear-Admiral Mundy; "Renown," 91 guns; "Queen," 90 guns; "Melpomene," 51 guns; "Racoon," 22 guns; "Amphion," 36 guns; "Greyhound," 17 guns; "Alacrity," 4 guns.

Inclosure in No. 23.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Vice-Admiral Martin.

(Extract.) *Admiralty, April* 25, 1861.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith for your information and guidance, a copy of a letter from Lord John Russell dated the 24th instant, relative to the instructions to be given to the Rear-Admiral commanding Her Majesty's ships on the coast of Syria, to extend his protection to the Christian inhabitants, and generally to any subjects of the Porte who may be victims of outrage and barbarous assault, in the event of troubles and disorders arising after Syria has been evacuated by the French troops.

My Lords desire that you will instruct Rear-Admiral Mundy that upon all occasions when protection to Christian inhabitants, and more especially to British subjects, may be necessary, he should endeavour to concert measures with the Turkish authorities, but he is not on that account to delay giving the most prompt and efficient protection to British subjects, when the necessities of the case may be urgent and the Turkish authorities themselves may be either unable or unwilling to protect them.

No. 24.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, April* 25, 1861.

HER Majesty's Government lean to the opinion that a single Governor of Syria, and a single Christian Pasha of the Lebanon, not being a native of the Mountain, would best provide for peace and good order, both in the Lebanon and in the rest of Syria.

If the Sultan should insist upon dividing and weakening his own authority in Syria, it will then be all the more necessary that the Chief or Chiefs of the Mountain should not be natives.

You will endeavour to obtain the decision of the Porte, and of the Representatives of the Allied Powers, in conformity with these views, which agree entirely with those of the first Report of the Commission.

No. 25.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, May* 1, 1861.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegrams of the 26th and 27th of April, respecting the occasion which had arisen for the presence at Constantinople of the Commissioners of Syria; and I have lost no time in authorizing you to summon Lord Dufferin, and to make arrangements for his conveyance from Beyrout to Constantinople. You will be careful, however, to have the "Banshee" in attendance at the Dardanelles to receive his Lordship on board, and to convey him to Constantinople, as a large ship, on board of which he may be expected to arrive from the coast of Syria, cannot under Treaty pass up through the Dardanelles.

With reference to the questions to be discussed and settled at Constantinople after the arrival of the Commissioners, I have to state to your Excellency that you must on no account agree to the government of the Mountain being entrusted to a single Maronite Governor. Such an arrangement would lead to the extermination of the Druses and Mahometans, and the Christians of the Greek and other creeds would very probably share the same fate.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 26.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received May 3.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, April* 20, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for your Lordship's perusal, extract of a despatch which has been addressed to me by Colonel Fraser from Damascus, dated the 19th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 26.

Colonel Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Damascus, April* 19, 1861.

I REGRET that, in consequence of temporary indisposition, I am unable to-day to address your Lordship so much at length as I could have desired on the results of the Ottoman High Commissioner's visit to Damascus. The principal points I may, however, shortly refer to, and I trust your Lordship will pardon the brevity I must necessarily observe.

Fuad Pasha arrived at Damascus during the Moslem fast of "Ramadan," which he immediately proceeded to observe, if not with great rigidness, at least with ostentation, setting aside all business, and proceeding daily to the great mosque in a kind of official state, kissing the hands of the religious Sheikhs, and spending the greater part of the afternoon within its walls. In various other ways he appeared desirous of conciliating the Moslem element of the city, offended or rather terrified by his acts on a former visit.

With regard to the forced impost to have been levied during the present visit, nothing has yet been realized. I have twice remonstrated with his Excellency on the delay in this, as well as on the tardiness which prevents a commencement being made in the re-building of the Christian quarter destroyed during the late massacre.

In the first case the Pasha excused himself by the impossibility of doing anything during "Ramadan and Beiram."

He now blames the slowness of the Council he has appointed to apportion the impost among the different quarters of the city, but assures me their report will be completed in a day or two, when the fine will be raised at once. As the first sum is not a large one, it is not likely there will be especial difficulty in raising it, unless, indeed, the city, as well as the villages, be severely mulcted for

the expenses of the Hadj, before which, for the present, every other interest is forced to give way. His Excellency further states that he has called on the Christian communities to form one general Council to superintend the building operations. There has been difficulty in the formation of this Council, but, as it has been nearly overcome, a block of houses from among those of the poorer classes will, in a few days, be selected, upon which a commencement may be be made. It is proposed to appoint Christians, both as paid superintendents and labourers, the Government furnishing all the required material (and 130,000 trees have been cut to supply timber), and charging the cost to the general indemnity-fund, instead of now paying it over to the particular owner of a house.

The country, which was in an unsettled condition before his Excellency's arrival, has now quieted down, and confidence has been inspired in the city by his presence. Some thirty principal Christians have returned from Beyrout, but these have been attracted in the hope of receiving payment of their claims against the local treasury, as the taxes of the province are collected at this season. Troops have been sent to the villages to collect as much specie as possible for the Hadj, the army, and other instant demands upon the Government, but from what I can learn there is no thought of paying any claims against the treasury. Indeed, so utterly inadequate are the funds occasionally falling into Fuad Pasha's hands to meet the numerous demands upon him, that on each occasion when I visit him on business he assures me that all other questions are now verged in the vital one of money. Whence is money to be obtained? As without an extraneous supply it will be quite impossible to go on.

His Excellency has completed his consideration of the project for the re-organization of Lebanon submitted to him by the European Commission. This document, with such remarks as the Pasha thought it necessary to make, was transmitted to Constantinople last evening, a copy of the latter having been forwarded at the same time to the Commissioners.

The duration of his Excellency's stay at Damascus is uncertain, but he anticipates receiving letters from Constantinople within a week, in reply to the reference concerning the Druse Chiefs and Turkish officials imprisoned at Beyrout, which will, probably, decide his movements.

No. 27.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received May 3.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, April* 20, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, a list of murders recently committed in the Mountain.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 27.

List of Murders recently committed in Mount Lebanon.

1. A Christian murdered in Wady Sit, near Deir-el-Kamar, and his house plundered on the 11th April. He was a tenant of the Meshakas. A Druse of Kefr Nabrakh is accused of the murder. It is said he has been arrested.

2. Antonios Farhat, found murdered at Mudik. Gaduh Abu Milhib, a Christian of Muhrci, is suspected of the crime.

3. A Mahometan of Burjein, named Ali Tame, killed near that village by the sons of Nasif-el-Hadad, Christians of the same village. Four bullets were found in his body, and two sword-cuts in his face.

4. A Druse found murdered in the Gharb; he was coming to the plain to see the sheep he had there: his body was discovered at Ain Derfêl; the murderer unknown.

5. A murdered man was found near Khan Abu Dakkan, between Ain Sofar and Khan Roveitat; has not been identified.

6. On Friday a Druse of Maaser was killed in Butrue, and cast into a deep well called Hawet Sadaka. The murder was discovered by the skull-cap (fez or furbush) being found containing seven cuts and covered with blood; the traces of blood were followed to the well, where the body was found.

No. 28.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received May* 3.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, April* 20, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch which I have received from Major Herman, Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Tripoli of Barbary, reporting the arrival at that place of the Druse exiles.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 28.

Consul-General Herman to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Tripoli, April* 5, 1861.

BY the Ottoman corvette "Ismir" I had the honour to receive, two days ago, your Lordship's despatch (with two inclosures) of the 24th ultimo.

The people she brought, 260 in number, were immediately disembarked, and are at present quartered in a large barrack. The Governor-General, who was formerly Governor of Sidon, told me yesterday that several of them were formerly in his service.

Such ulterior measures as his Excellency may adopt for their treatment and safe keeping shall in due course be reported to your Lordship.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. F. HERMAN.

No. 29.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received May* 3.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, April* 21, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 29.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, April* 19, 1861.

HAVING been apprised by Colonel Fraser, who is now in Damascus, that it was out of the question to expect that Fuad Pasha would make his promised communication to the Commissioners respecting their project for the reorganisation of the Mountain until after the Beiram, and there being no other business to occupy our attention, I determined to take advantage of the interval, to pay a visit to Tyre and Sidon, and one or two other localities I was anxious to inspect, requesting Mr. Consul Moore to keep your Excellency informed of any events which might occur during my absence.

The result of my trip is embodied in the accompanying memorandum drawn up by Mr. Rogers, who accompanied me, and to whose knowledge of the country and of the language I have been much indebted.

As your Excellency will perceive, the chief subject which occupied our attention was the condition of the refugees from Hasbeya and Rasheya, now congregated to the amount of about 4,000 persons at Tyre and Sidon.

Of this destitute multitude a large proportion consists of women and children, whose male relations have been butchered. Their condition, as may be imagined, is very lamentable, and it is equally to the disadvantage of the Government and of themselves that they should remain in their present state. As far as I was able to judge from the conversation of some of the most respectable of the number, I am inclined to think the majority would wish to return home, but they are unwilling to do so at present from sheer fright. It is also probable that their Bishops and their other advisers may have discouraged such an idea from political motives; they are almost all members of the Orthodox Greek Church, and the Russian Commissioner has always evinced a strong desire to locate them within the precincts of the Mountain. Such a transfer would of course be more difficult if they were resettled in their ancient homes, but by keeping them where they now are, it will be easier to make good their claims to the consideration of Europe. Nevertheless, I am inclined to think that if the Government were to pay them an indemnity, or to rebuild their houses, it would not be impossible to persuade them to go back.

Unfortunately Fuad Pasha is not in a position to afford them either of these inducements, and the natural abhorrence they feel to live among a population at whose hands they have endured such cruel treatment, predominates for the moment over every other feeling.

They consequently remain helpless dependents on the public purse.

It is my intention on the earliest opportunity to go over to Rasheya and Hasbeya, and ascertain, by an inspection of the localities, what arrangements it will be most suitable to make for them.

I am happy to be able to add that during the course of my journey I heard on all sides the most hopeful accounts of the harvest; not only is the crop likely to prove most bountiful, but in the plains of Shaaron and of Esdraelon, as well as in the Hauran, a greater breadth of land is under cultivation than has been the case for years.

The lately appointed Pashas and Mudirs, at the places I stopped at, seemed to me, as far as I could ascertain, to be giving general satisfaction.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

P.S.—Abro Efendi has just informed me that he received last night Fuad Pasha's long-expected remarks on our plan for the re-organization of the Mountain. A meeting is to be held on Monday, at which they are to be officially communicated to us.

Inclosure 2 in No. 29.

Memorandum by Consul Rogers on the State of the Refugees at Tyre and Sidon.

ON arriving at Tyre the Mudir came to visit us, and stated that he had been appointed only about a fortnight ago; that on his arrival he immediately visited the refugees, about 2,000 in number, and attended to their wants, borrowing money to pay them the Government allowance, there being no cash in the Treasury.

On repairing to the magazines where the refugees are lodging, they were seen to be in very uncomfortable apartments, insufficiently ventilated; many of them were sleeping on the bare floor, and all in too crowded a state: still their general health appeared to be good. Many had died of fright and fatigue on their first arrival, but for the last few months they had been free from epidemic or any other malady. They were in the receipt of 30 paras per day for each individual, about twenty-five days' allowance being still due to them. On the arrival of the new Mudir twenty days' allowance was due to them; he had paid them for ten days. They spoke in terms of gratitude for the relief afforded them by the Anglo-American Committee, and for the credit given them in their distress by certain merchants of Tyre, such as M. Bulos Hallaj and others, who had advanced wheat and other commodities to them when no cash was forthcoming from the Government Treasury. On being questioned, they replied that

it would be impossible for them to return to their villages until the Druses were punished for the massacres, for these would persecute them afresh unless a good and severe example were made.

On arriving at Sidon on the 17th instant, about 2,000 refugees from Hasbeya and Rasheya were found living in tents on the sea-shore; they are chiefly of the Orthodox Greek community. We visited the encampment and entered many of the tents, which although small are made to contain, on an average, about nine individuals each. Amongst these refugees is a sadly large proportion of widows and orphans; they have not received the Government allowance for twenty-seven days. The women were loud in their demand for blood, screaming and beating their breasts in their eagerness, and begging that the blood of their relations might be avenged.

In order to arrive at a more correct statement of facts, and to be able to form a general idea of the state of feeling prevailing amongst the refugees, Lord Dufferin sent for twelve of the more respectable men, whom he invited one by one into his tent, when they were questioned individually. The majority of the inhabitants of Hasbeya and Rasheya are landowners, and many of them were also artisans and petty tradesmen, some of them employing tenants for the working of their lands.

The prevailing feeling seemed to be that they could not return to their district unless a severe example were shown to the Druses for the massacres perpetrated by them; that they would be willing, nay, even desirous, of returning, as soon as they were assured that security for life and property is re-established; that they would follow the advice given to them by the European Commission as to their return to their villages upon their being assured of protection; that they would naturally be more quiet under a Christian Governor than under a Druse or Moslem; but that the appointment of a Shehab as Governor-General or Kaimakam would produce a state of things which would end in the utter ruin of Mount Lebanon—that family having brought about all the existing evil. And although they said they would be willing to change their place of residence on equivalent property being accorded to them elsewhere, it was evident that they felt a lingering desire to return to Hasbeya, and that they would not be easily satisfied anywhere away from the neighbourhood in which they were born and nurtured.

On visiting the district called Aklim Karoob, which is bounded on the north by the Menassif, on the south by Aklim Jezzin and Aklim Tuffah, and on the east by the Shoof, containing a population of 4,250 Moslems and Metualis, 2,000 Greek Catholics and 1,000 Maronites, it was found that a large portion of the land belonged to the Druses of Mount Lebanon, though there are no Druses actually residing in the said district; their lands are cultivated by Moslem and Christian tenants, who supply the grain for seed and other necessaries, and give one-third of the harvest to the landlord. Of the trees, such as olives and mulberries, one-half of their produce is given to the landlord, and half is appropriated by the tenant for his care of them. These Christians when questioned replied, that they were content with the Druse landlords, but would naturally prefer to be under Christian landlords. They complained, however, that the Druses never paid taxes for their share of the harvest which they were bound and even promised to do, but that they leave their share of the taxation as a debt against the village due to the Government. A similar report was made by the Moslem tenants, who added, that they lived in perfect amity with the Christians; that they knew nothing of Turkish rule, having been always subject to Druse domination, so were not competent to give an opinion as to whether the Moslems would be more equitable governors than the Druses.

(Signed) E. T. ROGERS.

Beyrout, April 21, 1861.

Inclosure 3 in No. 29.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, April* 20, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a petition addressed by the European merchants of Beyrout to the Commissioners of the Five Powers, on the alleged unsatisfactory condition of the country.

A previous petition praying for a prolongation of the military occupation of the province by foreign troops had been drawn up and signed by a portion of the French merchants, but as none of the Austrian or English merchants of the colony would subscribe to it, it was withdrawn, and the present document substituted.

When it is remembered that most of those who have now appended their names are merchants whose personal interests are deeply engaged in the revival of trade, and that many of them have large claims on those to whom the indemnities they refer to are owing, the present demonstration will be readily understood.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 29.

Petition.

Adresse signée à l'unanimité par les négociants et industriels Anglais, Autrichiens, Français, Hellènes, Italiens, Prussiens, Russes, Suisses, &c., aux Commissaires des Cinq Puissances pour les Affaires de Syrie.

Beyrout, le 14 *Avril*, 1861.

LES Soussignés, négociants et industriels Européens, de toute nationalité, résidant à Beyrout et dans le Liban, éprouvent le besoin d'exprimer aux cinq Puissances leurs vifs sentiments de reconnaissance, et de rendre hommage à la pensée de sagesse et de haute prudence qui a déterminé l'envoi en Syrie des forces navales et d'un corps d'armée, à la présence desquels le pays a été redevable de la sécurité dont il a joui jusqu'à présent.

Obéissant à leur sympathie pour les malheureuses populations Chrétiennes, si cruellement éprouvées, ils croient également remplir un devoir en exprimant humblement que, si l'intervention de l'Europe a procuré une sécurité momentanée, en arrêtant les massacres, aucune mesure satisfaisante n'a encore été prise, pour en effacer les traces et en conjurer le retour.

Dix mois se sont écoulés depuis ces déplorables évènements, et les malheureuses victimes n'ont reçu jusqu'à présent que des promesses illusoires d'indemnités. La plus grande partie des coupables attend encore le châtiment que la justice exige et que l'opinion réclame. La question de réorganisation, condition absolue d'un avenir meilleur, ne parait pas avoir été résolue, même en principe.

On ne saurait donc se dissimuler que la situation de la Syrie est plus critique aujourd'hui qu'elle ne l'était au lendemain des évènements, époque à laquelle on était, au moins, moralement soutenu par le prestige de l'intervention de l'Europe et la perspective des résultats qu'elle devait produire.

L'intérêt du commerce étant intimement lié au rétablissement de l'ordre, les Soussignés ne croient pas avoir besoin de faire ressortir que le défaut de sécurité réelle, l'inquiétude répandue dans tous les esprits, la misère, la détresse des populations, le retard apporté au réglement des indemnités dues aux Chrétiens et à des sujets étrangers, ont depuis longtemps arrêté le cours des affaires et causent à l'industrie et au commerce Européen, éléments essentiels à la prospérité général du pays, un préjudice tel que leur avenir en est gravement compromis.

L'état actuel des choses en Syrie semble donc appeler, plus sérieusement que jamais, toute la sollicitude des Puissances, et réclamer une continuation d'action de leur part et un ensemble de résolutions promptes et énergiques, seules capables de prévenir la ruine complète du pays.

Les Soussignés prient MM. les Commissaires de vouloir bien porter cette Adresse à la connaissance de leurs Gouvernements respectifs, et d'agréer, &c.

(Follow 223 signatures.)

(Translation.)

An Address signed unanimously by English, Austrian, French, Greek, Italian, Prussian, Russian, Swiss, and other merchants and traders, to the Commissioners of the Five Powers for the Affairs of Syria.

Beyrout, April 14, 1861.

THE Undersigned European merchants and traders of every nation, residing at Beyrout and in the Lebanon, feel it their duty to express to the Five Powers

their lively feelings of gratitude, and to render homage to the wisdom and prudence which have caused them to send to Syria a naval and military force, to whose presence the country has been indebted for the security which it at present enjoys.

In accordance with their sympathy for the unfortunate Christian populations so ill-treated, they likewise consider it their duty with all humility to express their opinion that, although the intervention of Europe has obtained a temporary security by preventing the massacres, no satisfactory measure has as yet been taken to efface the vestiges of them and to prevent their recurrence.

Ten months have passed since these deplorable events, and the unfortunate victims as yet have received nothing but illusory promises of indemnity. The greater number of the guilty are still awaiting the punishment which justice requires and public opinion calls for. The question of reorganization, the absolute condition of a better future, does not appear to have been determined on, even in principle.

One cannot then doubt that the state of Syria is more critical now than it was immediately after the events occurred, as at that time people were at least sustained by the idea of the intervention of Europe, and the prospect of the results which would accrue from it.

The interests of commerce being closely allied to the re-establishment of order, the Undersigned consider that there is no necessity for them to point out that the want of real security, the uneasiness in every one's mind, the misery, the distress of the populations, and the delay in the settlement of the indemnity due to Christians and foreign subjects, have for some time stopped the course of affairs, and cause such prejudice to European trade and commerce, essential elements (as they are) of the general prosperity of the country, that their future prospects are greatly endangered.

The actual state of things in Syria then appears more seriously than ever to call for the greatest care on the part of the Powers, and to demand a continued action on their part and an agreement as to prompt and energetic measures, the only means of preventing the complete ruin of the country.

The Undersigned beg the Commissioners to be good enough to bring this Address to the knowledge of their respective Governments; and have, &c.

(Here follow 223 signatures.)

Inclosure 5 in No. 29.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, April* 20, 1861.

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that a medical certificate has been presented to Ahmed Pasha by Dr. Pestalozza, a gentleman in the Turkish service, and attached to the quarantine office at Beyrout, stating that Said Bey Joublat's health is so impaired as to render it necessary he should be indulged with better accommodation than has been hitherto afforded him.

The disease by which he has been attacked is described in the document referred to (a copy of which I have the honour to inclose) as "phthisie tubéculaire" of the second degree.

I am informed that the Druse Chief has always been rather delicate, and although his treatment does not seem to have been unnecessarily rigorous it is not surprising that the suspense and misery of a seven months' imprisonment, spent in daily expectation of a death-warrant, should have shattered his constitution.

I have requested Dr. W. Pincoffs to call on Dr. Pestalozza, for the purpose of ascertaining exactly the state of the prisoner's health, who has in the mean time been removed to the best room in the barracks.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 6 in No. 29.

Medical Certificate.

J'AI visité Said Bey Joublat, gisant dans les prisons de la caserne, et je l'ai trouvé atteint de phthisie tubéculaire au second degré. Le local qu'il habite actuellement avec d'autres prisonniers étant peu opportun pour un traitement, il est nécessaire qu'il soit transféré ailleurs dans un local plus convenable.

En foi de quoi.

(Signé) Dr. F. PESTALOZZA.

Des Prisons de la Caserne,
Beyrout, ce 20 Avril, 1861.

(Translation.)

I HAVE visited Said Bey Joublat, lying in the barrack prison, and I found him afflicted with tubercular consumption in the second stage. The place he actually inhabits with other prisoners being very inconvenient for treatment, it is necessary that he should be removed to a more convenient place.

In faith of which,

(Signed) Dr. F. PESTALOZZA.

Barrack Prisons, Beyrout, April 20, 1861.

No. 30.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received May 3.)

My Lord, *Paris, May* 2, 1861.

M. THOUVENEL has received accounts from Syria, the latest dates of which are the 22nd ultimo, which he considers very unsatisfactory. They represent the state of the country to be very insecure, murders frequent, and alarm everywhere.

The Christians are sending in petitions from all sides to the French Agents, praying for their continued protection, and evincing, in some cases, a desire to leave the country, should the troops of occupation be withdrawn.

Nothing had been done towards the payment of the indemnities sanctioned by the Commission; while the forced loan, which it had been intended to raise at Damascus as a punishment, could not be realized.

The Turkish troops were many of them thirty-four months in arrear of pay, and they had not even received the month's pay which it is usual to manage to secure for them at the Ramazan.

A meeting had been lately held in the Hauran between the principal Druse and Arab Chiefs, purporting hostility to the sovereignty of the Sultan.

M. Thouvenel, after giving me these details, placed in my hands the copy of an Address to the Commissioners, signed by above 100 Christian merchants and traders at Beyrout, requesting them to call the attention of their respective Governments to the dangerous and deplorable state of the country. In case your Lordship should not have received this document, I inclose the copy given to me.

M. Thouvenel said that he could not but look with great apprehension to the future. He feared a catastrophe whenever the troops should be withdrawn. Was there no means of doing something to avert a calamity that was evidently expected by many, and so to reassure the Christian inhabitants? Might not a portion of the troops be left simply for police purposes? Could not a small force be disembarked from Her Majesty's ships? Europe would be indelibly disgraced were another massacre to follow the cessation of her intervention in Syria.

I said to M. Thouvenel, in reply, that I saw no end to the occupation if the reasons which he had adduced for its prolongation, on however a reduced scale, were to prevail. Turn and twist the question as you might, place whatever Government you chose in the Lebanon, the issue to be tried was simply this: could and would the Porte maintain its authority? It would be absurd to suppose that the new Administration which it was proposed to give to the Lebanon would put an end to the feuds which had grown with the growth of the Maronites and the Druses. It required a superior authority to keep them in order, and that authority of right belonged to the Porte. That authority must

be put to the test sooner or later, unless, indeed, M. Thouvenel intended that the interference of Europe should be permanent.

Not only, replied M. Thouvenel, have I no idea of the kind, but, after what has occurred, nothing would induce the Emperor to leave the main body of his troops in Syria.

Then, I rejoined, I see nothing practical, nothing conclusive in the hints which you have thrown out. The fact of the continued presence of foreign troops in Syria will not tranquillize the country. On the contrary, every time that you talk of withdrawing them the same apprehensions will manifest themselves, the same remonstrances will be addressed to you.

M. Thouvenel did not deny this, and he admitted that, if he was asked to devise any practical solution of the difficulties of the Syrian question, he could not do it. The best chance of maintaining tranquillity in that country would be, that it should be clearly seen that Great Britain and France were equally determined to protect the Christian element. He had no other motive in hinting at the dangers which might be averted by a sort of police to be established by England and France than were dictated by the purest humanity. He had not, however, any intention of making a proposal upon the subject.

I said that I gave M. Thouvenel full credit for the assurance which he had made, but that I differed with him in the conclusions at which he had arrived; that is, I considered that to carry those conclusions into effect was simply to put off the evil day (if, indeed, evil was to be the result of the termination of the European occupation), but would be attended with no better result.

M. Thouvenel's tone throughout this conversation was very friendly towards Her Majesty's Government, and expressive of great anxiety that the two Governments should act together. In the course of it, however, he said that, if the troops were to be entirely withdrawn, he should address a note to the Turkish Government throwing upon them the whole responsibility of the consequences which might ensue, in terms which he would render as civil as he could, but which should certainly be as intelligible.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure in No. 30.

Address of Christian Merchants.

[See Inclosure 4 in No. 29.]

No. 31.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received May* 11.)

(Extract.) *Constantinople, May* 1, 1861.

I HAVE little to add on the affairs of Syria except that M. de Lavalette has shown extreme anxiety to bring the Commissioners here, and as it also seemed to me desirable to settle, if possible, the arrangement of the Mountain before the French troops departed, and that it appeared to me more likely, though not perhaps certain, that we should agree here, than that an agreement would be come to at Beyrout, I felt no difficulty in agreeing with the other Representatives to summon the several Commissioners to Constantinople.

No. 32.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received May* 11.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, April* 26, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a letter addressed to me by the chief British merchants of Beyrout, giving their reasons for signing an Address to the International Conference sitting at Paris.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 32.

Messrs. Black & Co. and others to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Beyrout, April* 25, 1861.

IT is perhaps due to your Lordship that we, the undersigned British merchants and residents at Beyrout, should briefly explain the circumstances which induced us to join in the Address which has been lately presented to the International Commission by the mercantile community of this place.

Some little time ago a petition was drawn up and extensively circulated among the foreign residents of the town, in which the present unhappy condition of the country was forcibly described, and a continuation of the armed intervention of Europe earnestly insisted upon.

Although we ourselves are fully alive to the critical nature of the present situation, and although our material interests are as extensively compromised as those of any other foreign nationality, by the present stagnation of trade and unsettled condition of the country, we did not consider that the remedy for the evils of which the petitioners complained, was to be found in the prolongation of the occupation of the country by French troops. Abstractedly considered, such a measure is a calamity to any country when it is enforced, as its unavoidable effect must be to undermine all legitimate authority. Indeed, it would be difficult to understand a desire for its continuation, unless with a view to the eventual subversion of the existing Government. Under these circumstances we declined appending our names to the document in question, or to any Address whatever which would lead the public to imagine we were in favour of any such expedient.

In consequence, perhaps, of our refusal, as well as of the objection made to it by other leading houses of Beyrout, the first petition was cancelled, and a second Address was drafted under our inspection, and in such terms as brought out in due relief the disastrous state of the province without committing those that signed it to the opinion that we at all desired the continuance of the foreign occupation.

If such an inference were to be attributed to the expressions contained in the document in question it would entirely misrepresent our sentiments; and in order to prevent any misconception of the meaning we wished to convey, we have the honour to forward to your Lordship the above explicit statement of the circumstances under which we were induced to sign it.

We have the honour to inclose a copy of the petition which was cancelled, together with the draft of another petition which we had proposed forwarding, had the original one been persevered in.

(Signed) WILLIAM AND ROBERT BLACK & Co.
RIDDELL & Co.
HY. HEALD.
RICHARD HAMPTON & Co.
WHITEHEAD, PEARL & Co.
C. W. BUCHANNON, *Manager of Ottoman Bank.*
F. H. SMITH.
C. CHURCHILL, *Colonel.*

No. 33.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received May 11.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, April* 26, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 33.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, April* 24, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Excellency's information, copy of a letter adressed to me by Dr. Pincoffs, inclosing the certificate of four medical gentlemen, Italian, French, Russian, and Dutch, on the health of Said Bek Joublat.

Immediately on receipt of the above document, I dispatched a special messenger to Fuad Pasha, now at Damascus, praying him to give the orders necessary to enable its recommendations to be complied with ; Ahmet Pasha, of Beyrout, not feeling authorized to take upon himself the responsibility of doing so. I am expecting his Excellency's answer this evening.

It appears, from information I have since obtained, that the lungs of the unfortunate Druse Chief have been affected for some years ; but up to the last day of his trial, I was informed by persons acquainted with him, that his appearance presented no traces of ill-health. An intimation was subsequently conveyed to me, that confinement and anxiety had at last begun to tell upon him, and I requested Fuad Pasha to mitigate, as far as possible, the rigour of his imprisonment ; sending him at the same time an assurance, as soon as I could do so without the fear of circumstances turning out differently from what I expected, that his life was safe.

It is a lamentable thing that, after so long a period of suspense, the career of this unfortunate man should be destined to so tragic a termination, as all the incidental information I have obtained since addressing your Lordship upon the subject has confirmed my conviction of his innocence.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 33.

Dr. Pincoffs to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Beyrout, April* 23, 1861.

I HAVE this morning visited Said Bey Joublat, in prison in the Turkish barracks, in consultation with Drs. Pestalozza, Turkish Quarantine Medical Officer, Suquet, French Sanitary Medical Officer, Dobrowolski, Civil Physician, Colmant, principal Medical Officer of the French Expedition, Cauvin, Surgeon of the ship "l'Eclaireur."

The patient is emaciated, and has every appearance of a man in a very advanced stage of pulmonary disease. He is feverish, and suffers from dyspepsia, night-sweats, a troublesome cough, and profuse expectoration of muco-purulent matter, particularly at night ; he complains much of the want of sleep ; he is said of late to have had several slight attacks of hemoptoe.

The examination of the chest shows all the physical signs of tubercular disease of the lungs at the end of the second stage ; there are caverns at the summit of both the lungs ; the left lung, however, seems more particularly affected.

Disease of the lungs, I am told, is not uncommon in the prisoner's family ; in himself, Dr. Pestalozza, as long as twenty years ago, recognized incipient tuberculosis, and was enabled subsequently at different periods to mark the progress of the disease, for which the patient was also attended four years ago by Dr. Suquet.

It is likely that the disease has been latterly more rapidly developed by the confinement, and especially by the mental anxiety endured by the patient during the last six months ; his digestive organs have lately been much impaired by his insisting upon keeping the fast of Ramadan. He has been constantly seen by an Arab empiric, who attends his family ; but a few days ago, at his request, Dr. Pestalozza was called in. I am inclined to believe that had proper medical aid been sooner resorted to, the disease, though fatal in the end, might have run a somewhat less rapid course.

In the present case the prognosis is most unfavourable, the afore-mentioned medical men being of unanimous opinion that art can do nothing to cure the patient, but that proper care and attendance may alleviate his sufferings and prolong his life, have recommended him to be removed to a proper residence out of the barracks, in order that he may be nursed by his family ; they have in

consequence signed a certificate drawn up by Dr. Pestalozza, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) P. PINCOFFS, M.D.,
Member of the Royal College of Physicians, London.

Inclosure 3 in No. 33.

Medical Certificate.

LES Soussignés ayant visité Said Bey Joublat dans les prisons de la caserne à Beyrout, déclarent que Said Bey est atteint d'une phthisie tuberculeuse à un degré assez avancé pour exclure toute probabilité de guérison.

Le traitement médical ne pouvant dans ce cas avoir d'autre effet que de soulager et prolonger peut-être les jours du malade, les Soussignés recommandent, pour atteindre ce but, de lui permettre d'être soigné par les personnes de sa famille dans un local mieux approprié à cette destination.

En foi de quoi.
(Signé) PESTALOZZA.
PINCOFFS.
SUQUET.
DOBROWOLSKI.

Drs. Colmant and Canone declined signing this certificate, it being contrary to the rules of their service to affix their names to any document without superior order.

(Signed) P. PINCOFFS.

(Translation.)

THE Undersigned, having visited Said Bey Joublat in the prisons of the barracks at Beyrout, declare that Said Bey is afflicted with tubercular consumption to such a degee as to preclude all hope of recovery.

Medical treatment being only able in this case to ease and prolong the days of the sufferer, the Undersigned recommend, in order to attain this end, that he should be permitted to be attended by persons of his family in a place better suited for this purpose.

In faith of which,
(Signed) PESTALOZZA.
PINCOFFS.
SUQUET.
DOBROWOLSKI.

Inclosure 4 in No. 33.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir *Beyrout, April* 26, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copies of the 1st and 2nd Annexes to the 27th Protocol of the Syrian Commission.

I have not yet been furnished with the Protocol in question, but I shall not fail to transmit it to your Excellency as soon as it reaches my hands.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 33.

Annex No. 1 *to the Protocol of the Twenty-seventh Meeting of the Syrian Commission.*

Observations de son Excellence Fuad Pacha.	*Projet de Réorganisation de la Montagne.*
	1. IL sera procédé à la séparation ethnographique des Chrétiens et des Druses.
	2. En opérant cette mesure de désagrégation, on tiendra également compte des intérêts de chaque population.

Observations de son Excellence Fuad Pacha.

Projet de Réorganisation de la Montagne.

3. L'exécution en sera confiée, sous la surveillance de l'autorité locale et des Agents des Cinq Puissances, à une Commission Mixte, dans laquelle les diverses populations seront représentées.

Les Chrétiens ou les Druses qui refuseraient de se prêter à l'exécution de la mesure de désagrégation, n'y seront pas contraints par la force. Mais il est bien entendu que, dans ce cas, ils devront se soumettre au régime des nouvelles institutions ci-après indiquées.

4. La Commission émet le vœu que les habitants Chrétiens de Hasbeya, Racheya, et Merdjaïoun soient compris dans le travail de déplacement susmentionné, et appelés à jouir de ses bénéfices.

5. Le Mont Liban sera divisé en cinq districts, sous les dénominations de—

(1.) Koura, extrême partie septentrionale de la Montagne.

(2.) Kesrowan avec Metn, et sans la ville de Zahlé.

(3.) El-Garb, composé des territoires d'El Garb, Djurd, Arkoub, Chouf, Menassif, et Chahroun, sauf la portion qu'il sera nécessaire de donner au district d'Iklime-Kharoub pour y réunir la ville de Deir-el-Kamar.

(4.) Iklime-Kharoub, avec la ville de Deir-el-Kamar.

(5.) Djezzin, extrême partie méridionale de la Montagne.

6. Chaque district aura un Caimacam qui sera choisi dans le sein de chaque population qui forme la majorité.

En conséquence, les districts du Kesrowan et de Djezzin auront chacun un Caimacam Maronite.

Le district d'El-Garb aura un Caimacam Druse, et le district d'Iklime-Kharoub un Caimacam Musulman.

La ville de Zahlé formera à elle seule une administration séparée, avec un Caimacam, nommé pour trois ans, et choisi alternativement dans le sein des populations Grecque, Maronite, et Grecque-Catholique.

5. En conséquence, la Montagne sera divisée en trois Caimacamies, une Maronite, une Grecque-Orthodoxe, et une Druse, qui seront administrées par des chefs indigènes, choisis dans le sein des populations respectives.

6. La Caimacamie Druse, autant du moins que les nécessités de la mesure de désagrégation le permettront, se composera des territoires suivants :—

El-Garb, sauf la portion qu'il serait indispensable d'en détacher pour réunir les deux parties septentrionale et méridionale de la Caimacamie Maronite ;

Le Djurd ;

L'Arkoub ;

Le Chouf ;

Le Menassif, en partie, et le Chehar (voir la carte de Kiepert, 1860).

7. La Caimacamie Grecque-Orthodoxe sera composée du Koura, y compris la partie inférieure et les fractions de territoire avoisinantes dans lesquelles la population Grecque-Orthodoxe serait en majorité.

8. Tous les territoires de la Montagne qui ne font point partie des deux

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Caimacamies Druse et Grecque Orthodoxe, seront compris dans la Caimacamie Maronite, sauf Zahlé qui, avec sa banlieue et son faubourg de Mohallacah, sera placée sous une Administration Mixte, dépendante du Vali de Sayda, au même titre que les trois Caimacams Maronite, Grecque-Orthodoxe, et Druse.

9. Les Caimacams seront nommés par la Sublime Porte sur la proposition du Vali de Sayda, dont ils relèvent.

Ils seront chargés de toutes les attributions du pouvoir exécutif, et nommément de présider les Medjlis Administratifs ; de choisir les Vekils délégués auprès du siège de chaque Caimacamie ; de composer le personnel du corps de police conformément aux règles qui seront posées ci-après ; de servir d'intermédiaires entre les habitants de leur Caimacamie et le Vali de Sayda ; d'exécuter les décisions de ce fonctionnaire, en tant du moins qu'elles seraient d'accord avec les institutions de la Montagne, *et d'exercer en cas de besoin contre lui un recours auprès de la Sublime Porte.*

ils pourront s'adresser directement, en cas de besoin, à la Sublime Porte.

10. Chaque Caimacamie sera divisée en Mudiriés, et la circonscription de ces nouveaux arrondissements administratifs sera réglée autant que possible d'après celle des anciens Aklims.

par le Vali de Sayda, sur la proposition du Caimacam dont il relève,

11. Il y aura dans chaque Mudirié un Mudir, nommé *par le Caimacam* et appartenant au rite dominant de la population, lequel sera chargé de la direction des services publics et notamment de la police et de la perception des impôts.

12. Chaque Mudirié sera divisé en un certain nombre de communes, et chaque commune se composera d'au moins 500 habitants.

par le Caimacam sur la proposition des

13. A la tête de chaque commune il y aura un Cheik nommé *par les* habitants, et qui servira d'intermédiaire entr'eux et les agents supérieurs de l'administration.

Le Cheik veillera au maintien de bon ordre dans sa commune, fournira tous les renseignements statistiques nécessaires à la répartition de l'impôt, et assistera les Mudirs dans la perception des contributions. Il sera en outre chargé de tenir un registre des naissances et des décès.

14. Dans les communes Mixtes chaque élément constitutif de la population aura un Cheik particulier dont l'autorité ne s'exercera que sur ces coreligionnaires.

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chaque Caimacamie un

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15. Auprès du siège de chaque Caimacam il y aura un Vékil ou Délégué de chacune des autres Caimacamies, et chargé de représenter les intérêts de ses coreligionnaires.

16. Il y aura un Medjlis Administratif dans chaque Caimacamie, composé de cinq membres au moins, dix au plus, et chargé spécialement de l'assiette et de la répartition des impôts.

17. Il y aura dans chaque Mudirié un Medjlis local, composé de trois membres au moins, cinq au plus, et chargé d'assister le Mudir dans l'exercice de ses fonctions.

8. Dans les Mudiriés dont la population ne serait point homogène, il y aura pour chaque élément constitutif de la population un Vékil qui sera membre de droit du Medjlis local. Ce Vékil sera nommé par les notables d'entre ses coreligionnaires.

19. Abolition de tous les priviléges féodaux, et notamment de ceux qui appartenaient aux Mokatadjis.

20. Egalité de tous devant la loi.

21. Il y aura dans chaque Mudirié un juge de paix pour chaque rite.

22. Il y aura dans *la Montagne six* Medjlis Judiciaires de première instance, *savoir :—*

Un dans la Caimacamie Grecque-Orthodoxe ;

Trois dans la Caimacamie Maronite, dont un dans le Meten ;

Un á Zahlé ;

Et un dans la Caimacamie Druse.

23. Chaque Medjlis Judiciaire se composera de trois membres au moins et cinq au plus, selon le nombre des éléments constitutifs de la population, de telle façon que chacun de ses éléments soit représenté par un membre. La présidence sera exercée mensuellement et à tour de rôle par chacun des membres du Medjlis.

Dans le cas où il n'y aurait que deux éléments, le Medjlis Judiciaire sera composé de trois membres, dont deux fournis par l'élément prépondérant.

24. Il y aura un Medjlis supérieur, siégeant à Beyrout, et composé de douze membres, savoir :—

Deux Maronites,
Deux Grecs-Orthodoxes,
Deux Grecs-Catholiques,
Deux Druses,
Deux Musulmans,
Deux Metualis ;

auxquels on adjoindra éventuellement

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* par le Président du Grand Conseil Provincial de Sayda, et, en son absence, chacun de ses membres remplira.... † les fonctions de Vice-Président.

Ce Medjlis sera en même temps un Conseil pour le Vali de Sayda pour les affaires générales de la Montagne. Il pourra y adjoindre deux délégués de chaque Caimacamie, toutes les fois qu'il s'agira de discuter une affaire importante, concernant l'administration générale de la Montagne.

en dehors de ses

Le Procureur, sans s'ingérer dans les attributions du pouvoir exécutif, exercera de la part du Vali de Sayda un contrôle sur la conduite de la police locale.

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un représentant des cultes Protestant et Israélite, quand un membre de ces communautés sera partie dans le procès, ou y aura des intérêts engagés. La présidence de ce Medjlis sera exercée* ....† trimestriellement et à tour de rôle *par chacun de ses membres.*

25. Les juges de paix jugeront sans appel jusqu'à concurrence de 150 piastres, et avec appel au Medjlis Judiciaire de première instance jusqu'à concurrence de 500 piastres.

26. Les affaires au-dessus de 500 piastres seront de la compétence du Medjlis de première instance.

27. Les affaires mixtes, c'est-à-dire, entre particuliers n'appartenant pas au même rite, quelle que soit la valeur engagée dans le procès, seront portées devant le Medjlis de première instance, à moins que dans les procès au-dessous de 500 piastres, les parties ne soient d'accord pour reconnaître la compétence du juge de paix du défendeur.

28. En principe toute affaire sera jugée par la totalité des membres du Medjlis. Néanmoins, quand toutes les parties engagées dans le procès appartiennent au même rite, elles auront le droit de récuser le juge appartenant à un rite différent. Mais dans ce cas même les juges récusés devront assister au jugement.

29. En matière criminelle il y aura trois degrés de juridiction :—

Les contraventions seront jugées par Juges de Paix; les délits par le Medjlis de première instance; et les crimes par le Medjlis supérieur de Beyrout.

30. Le Vali de Sayda nommera dans chaque Caimacamie un Procureur Impérial qui devra être choisi *parmi les* habitants *du rite dominant.* Ce Procureur sera chargé de constater les crimes et délits et de provoquer leur répression. *Dans la Caimacamie Maronite le Procureur pourra avoir un ou plusieurs substituts.*

31. Tous les membres des Medjlis

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Ce greffier sera en outre chargé de l'enregistrement des transferts des biens immobiliers qui seront assujettis aux titres réguliers de possession dont chaque propriétaire doit être muni, sans que cela porte aucun changement à la condition de propriété établie dans la Montagne.

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Administratifs et Judiciaires seront, ainsi que les Juges de Paix, choisis et désignés, après une entente avec les notables, par les Chefs des Communautés respectives, et institués par le Caimacam.

Le personnel des trois Medjlis Administratifs sera renouvelé par moitié tous les ans. Les membres sortants pourront être nommés de nouveau.

32. Tous les membres des Medjlis, ainsi que les juges de paix, seront rétribués.

Les audiences des Medjlis Judiciaires seront publiques, en il en sera tenu procès-verbal par un greffier institué *ad hoc.*

Ce greffier sera en outre chargé de tenir un registre de tous les contrats portant aliénation de biens immobiliers, lesquels contrats ne seront valables qu'après avoir été soumis à cette formalité de l'enrégistrement.

33. Si, après enquête, il est prouvé qu'un fonctionnaire de l'ordre judiciaire a prévariqué, ou s'est rendu indigne de son emploi par un fait quelconque, ce fonctionnaire devra être révoqué, et il sera en outre passible d'une peine proportionnée à la faute qu'il aura commise.

34. Tout procès en matière commerciale sera porté devant le Tribunal de Commerce de Beyrout.

35. Tout procès entre un étranger ou protégé et un habitant de la Montagne, même en matière civile, sera porté devant le Tribunal de Commerce de Beyrout.

36. Chaque Caimacam aura sous ses ordres un corps de police, avec lequel il devra maintenir l'ordre public dans toute l'étendue de son territoire, faire exécuter les sentences rendues par les Medjlis, et assurer la perception régulière des impôts.

37. L'exécution forcée par garnisaires (havalé) des jugements et des arrêtés administratifs, telle qu'elle s'est pratiquée jusqu'à présent, sera abolie aussitôt que faire se pourra, et remplacée par d'autres modes de contrainte, tels que la saisie ou l'emprisonnement.

38. Tous les agents de la police recevront un traitement suffisant, et il leur sera interdit, sous les peines les plus sévères, d'exiger des habitants aucune rétribution, soit en argent, soit en nature.

39. Le corps de police se recrutera par la voie des engagements volontaires

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et il y aura dans chaque Caimacamie un chef de police pour chaque élément constitutif de la population.

40. Les agents de police, chargés de l'exécution d'un ordre quelconque de l'autorité, devront être, autant que possible, pris parmi les coreligionnaires des individus que cette mesure concernera.

Les agents de la police dans la Montagne porteront le même uniforme et les mêmes armes que ceux qui seront donnés aux agents de police de la province de Sayda, avec une marque distinctive pour chaque district.

41. *Il est indispensable que les agents de la police portent un uniforme ou quelque signe extérieur de leurs fonctions.*

42. La Commission estime qne, dans chaque Caimacamie, le corps de police pourrait être établi à raison de cinq hommes par mille habitants.

43. La Commission émet le vœu que le désarmement des populations une fois opéré dans le reste de la Syrie, il soit procédé dans la Montagne à une mesure analogue.

La contribution de la Montagne sera fixée par un impôt foncier conformément aux lois de répartition qui sont établies dans les villes et provinces cadastrées de l'Empire. Une partie de cet impôt sera allouée, comme revenu municipal, aux districts de la Montagne pour les travaux publics, et notamment pour les routes et les chemins vicinaux. L'autre partie sera versée dans le caisse de l'Etat, qui doit pourvoir à toutes les dépenses de l'administration locale.

44. *La Commission émet le vœu que la totalité des revenus publics de la Montagne soit exclusivement affectée aux frais de son administration et à ses dépenses d'utilité publique.*

L'impôt de 3,500 *bourses devant être insuffisant pour subvenir aux dépenses de la nouvelle organisation, la Commission est d'avis que ce chiffre pourrait être doublé sans inconvénient.*

En dehors de cet impôt, aucune taxe directe ou indirecte ne pourra être levée, dans aucune des trois Caimacamies, sans le consentement de la majorité des membres du Medjlis Administratif.

45. La Commission émet le vœu qu'il soit procédé le plus tôt possible à un recensement exact de la population de la Montagne par commune et par rite*.

* ainsi qu'à un cadastre général.

46. *Au point de vue militaire, la Commission est d'avis que la sécurité de la Montagne serait suffisamment garantie par l'occupation de la route de Beyrout à Damas.*

Les routes de Beyrout à Damas, à Sayda, et à Tripoli seront occupées par les troupes Impériales par l'établissement de postes militaires, et il y aura une garnison à Beit-Eddin.

Il serait désirable, selon elle, que les troupes employées à cette occupation fussent, au moins en partie, composées de Chrétiens sujets du Sultan.

En cas de force majeure † .....

† c'est-à-dire, lorsqu'il y aura un conflit entre deux populations ou soulèvement de l'une contre l'autre, le Vali de Sayda pourra, sous sa propre responsabilité, ou en prenant un mazbata, signé par la majorité des membres du Medjlis de la Montagne, siégeant à Beyrout, envoyer ces troupes partout où besoin sera.

En outre ces troupes peuvent être employées, lorsqu'il y aura une ‡.....

..... *et sur la* demande expresse d'un Caimacam

Le 19 *Avril,* 1861.

(Paraphé) F.

Observations de son Excellence Fuad Pacha.

Projet de Réorganisation de la Montagne.

approuvée par un vote conforme de son Medjlis Administratif, *ces troupes pourront être envoyées partout où besoin sera.*

Le Caimacam, ou les membres du Medjlis qui n'auraient pas fait usage du droit de réquisition qui leur est ouvert par le présent Article, seront responsables des conséquences que leur abstention ou leur négligence pourrait avoir sur le maintien de l'ordre dans la Montagne.

47. Le réglement de Chekib-Efendi restera en vigueur pour toutes celles de ses dispositions qui ne seraient point contraires aux principes stipulés dans les Articles précédents.

Beyrout, le 20 *Mars,* 1861.

(Paraphé) W.

Sauf les réserves indiquées dans la pièce ci-jointe : B.
D.C.
R.
N.

Inclosure 6 in No. 33.

Annex No. 2 *to the Protocol of the Twenty-seventh Meeting of the Syrian Commission.*

Exposé des Motifs.

LE Plénipotentiaire Impérial, ayant examiné attentivement le projet de réorganisation de la Montagne rédigé et paraphé par MM. les Commissaires, a cru devoir, tout l'en admettant, *ad referendum,* dans sa majeure partie, comme il l'a déclaré à la Commission, faire des modifications dans quelques-uns de ses Articles. Il juge donc nécessaire de donner ici un aperçu succinct de toutes les Articles du susdit projet et d'expliquer les observations faites à la marge du texte.

Le Plénipotentiaire Impérial admet le principe de désagrégation, et croit, sans méconnaître certaines difficultés de détails, que la dislocation des éléments divers, survenue à la suite des derniers évènements, a rendu praticable l'exécution de cette mesure. Aussi il n'apporte aucune modification aux Articles 1, 2, 3, et 4.

La division de la Montagne en trois Caimacamies ne peut satisfaire tous les besoins. La population Musulmane étant en majorité dans le district d'Iklime-Kharoub, il lui faut non seulement une Caimacamie qui doit comprendre la ville de Deir-el-Kamar, mais cette ville, étant habitée par des Chrétiens, ne peut pas être donnée à la Caimacamie Druse. En outre Djezzin, séparée par une grande distance du Kesrouan, ne peut, quand même une portion du territoire Druse serait donné aux Maronites pour lier les deux parties méridionale et septentrionale de cette Caimacamie, être administrée régulièrement et avec une active surveillance par un seul Caimacam Maronite. Il faut donc créer deux Caimacamies Maronites, dont l'une pour le Kesrouan et l'autre pour Djezzin. Ce qui porte à cinq le nombre des Caimacamies, dont chacune aura le nom du district. Le principe d'une administration mixte est maintenu pour Zahlé, mais le projet ne définit pas la forme de cette administration. Le Commissaire Impérial émet l'opinion qu'un Caimacam, nommé à terme et pris alternativement du sein des éléments dominants de cette ville, peut atteindre le but qu'on se propose. C'est dans ce sens que les Articles 5, 6, 7, et 8 sont modifiés.

L'Article 9 est admis avec une légère modification. Le recours que les

Caimacams exerceront contre le Gouverneur de Sayda auprès de la Sublime Porte pouvant dégénérer en une espèce de contrôle des actes du Vali, le Plénipotentiaire a eu soin de changer la rédaction du membre de phrase qui y est relatif. L'Article 10 ne donne lieu à aucune observation.

C'est pour donner plus de poids et d'éclat à la nomination des Mudirs que le Plénipotentiaire laisse cette prérogative au Vali de Sayda, sans cependant priver les Caimacams du droit de choisir leurs subordonnés. Les Mudirs dans les autres parties de l'Empire sont nommés, sur la proposition des Gouverneurs, par la Sublime Porte ; mais le Plénipotentiaire, pour éviter tout retard qu'une pareille formalité occasionnerait à chaque nomination de Mudir, s'est arrêté à ce parti.

L'Article 12 est maintenu, et le 13 également, sauf une légère modification. Les Cheiks, nommés par les Caimacams, peuvent avoir plus d'autorité sur leurs administrés.

Le Plénipotentiaire ne trouve rien à observer depuis l'Article 14 jusqu'au 23, sauf quelques légers changements introduits dans l'Article 22.

L'Article 24 indique le mode de présidence du Conseil Supérieur, siégeant à Beyrout. Les membres de ce Conseil, hommes peut-être sans expérience, seraient incapables de présider un Conseil d'une si grande importance. Le Plénipotentiaire croit donc plus régulier que la présidence soit exercée par le Président du Grand Conseil de la Province, non seulement parce que ce dernier exercerait un contrôle sur le susdit Conseil, mais encore parce que le Vali s'en servirait comme corps délibérant pour les affaires de la Montagne. Les Articles 25, 26, 27, 28, et 29 sont maintenus.

Quant aux modifications faites à l'Article 30, en voici la raison. Il est évident que les grands conflits prennent leur source dans les crimes isolés, restés impunis. Le Procureur, en ayant soin de signaler ces crimes et d'en provoquer la répression, rendra de grands services. Mais il est indispensable que ces actes soient dictés par la plus stricte impartialité. Si le Procureur est pris parmi les indigènes, il est douteux qu'il soit toujours porté à employer cette stricte impartialité qu'un autre, étranger au pays, serait plus disposé à montrer. En outre il n'est pas moins utile, vu sa mission, que le Procureur exerce une sorte de contrôle sur la conduite de la police de la Montagne.

L'Article 31 est complètement admis.

La possession des biens immobiliers se faisant dans les autres parties de l'Empire en vertu de titres réguliers, le Plénipotentiaire croit devoir modifier en ce sens cette partie de l'Article 32, sans changer pourtant la condition de propriété établie dans la Montagne.

Les Articles 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, et 40 ne donnent lieu à aucune observation.

De nouveaux réglements seront promulgués bientôt sur l'équipement et l'habillement des agents de police de tout l'Empire. Aussi le Commissaire Impérial croit-il que les agents de police de la Montagne doivent se conformer à ceux de Sayda, comme faisant partie de cette province, et c'est dans ce but que l'Article 41 est modifié.

Les Articles 42 et 43 sont maintenus.

Le Gouvernement Impérial ayant établi l'impôt foncier sur le cadastre général de l'Empire, la contribution de la Montagne doit être assujettie à cette mesure générale pour effectuer une répartition juste et équitable qui sauvegarde et les intérêts du Gouvernement et ceux des particuliers. Le Plénipotentiaire ne peut donc admettre l'Article 44 ; il y substitue ce qui est rationnel. L'impôt foncier sera perçu et versé au Trésor de l'Etat. Une partie de cet impôt sera affectée aux travaux publics, et l'Etat pourvoira, comme partout, aux dépenses de l'administration locale.

L'Article 45 est admis avec l'addition de quelques mots.

Venant à l'Article 46, le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan trouve que l'occupation militaire de la route de Beyrout à Damas ne suffit pas au maintien de l'ordre. Il pense que les routes de Beyrout à Sayda et à Trlpoli étant fréquentées, les communications entre ces villes doivent aussi être assurées par des postes militaires. En outre Beit-Eddin se trouvant situé au milieu de la population Druse, et au chef-lieu de la Caimacamie Musulmane qui sera créée, il est nécessaire d'y maintenir une garnison, afin que le bon ordre et la tranquillité ne soient pas troublés.

Le Vali de Sayda étant tenu responsable des désordres de la Montagne, il

est juste de lui donner l'initiative de l'emploi des forces militaires en cas de nécessité. Il ne peut-être responsable que lorsqu'il a la liberté d'action. Quand les habitants d'un district se soulèvent contre ceux des autres et que le Chef de l'administration est entraîné par ce mouvement général, ce chef n'aura certainement pas recours au Vali. Le Plénipotentiaire croit donc indispensable de laisser à ce Gouverneur la liberté de prendre telles mesures militaires qui seraient nécessaires, ou de sa propre initiative, ou bien en prenant un mazbata du Conseil de la Montagne qui siégera à Beyrout.

Enfin l'Article 47 et dernier est maintenu.

Quant aux questions d'employer des troupes dont une partie serait composée de Chrétiens sujets du Sultan, d'adjoindre le Koura Inférieur à la Caimacamie Grecque et le Mouhallaka à Zahlé, le Plénipotentiaire Impérial croit devoir s'en référer à la Sublime Porte.

Le 19 Avril, 1861.

(Paraphé) **F.**

Inclosure 7 in No. 33.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, April* 25, 1861.

I AM at length in a position to transmit to your Excellency, copy of the amendments which Fuad Pasha proposes to introduce into the Commissioners' scheme for the re-organisation of the Lebanon, together with a separate paper containing the arguments with which he enforces his suggestions.

I take advantage of the same opportunity to submit to your Excellency's consideration my own observations on the proposed project, together with a note of the reserves I have felt it my duty to make on several of its Articles.

As your Excellency will perceive, the views adopted by the Turkish Commissioner and by myself are in many respects identical; a coincidence of opinion the more satisfactory from the fact of my having committed my ideas to paper nearly a fortnight before his Excellency's communication was received.

I am also authorized to state that the Austrian Commissioner, M. de Weckbecker, whose acquaintance with the history of the Lebanon, and whose presence on the spot during the late disturbances, render his testimony extremely valuable, admits the perfect correctness of the facts I have appealed to, and is ready to associate himself with me in the line of argument which has been adopted.

As we have not yet met for the purpose of signing our final Report, I have had no opportunity of communicating the inclosed observations to my other colleagues; but with the exception of certain special points of difference, I believe I may safely say that the views of M. de Rehfues and M. Novikow coincide with my own. We are all firmly persuaded of the cruelty of subjecting the various communities which compose the population of the Mountain to the domination of a rival sect, and we agree in considering that the best remedy for the evils of the present situation is to be found in assuring to each nationality the independent administration of their several municipalities.

To this unanimity of sentiment M. Béclard, I regret to say, is an exception. He is determined to place the Government of the Mountain in the hands of a Maronite Emir.

On the other hand, I, for my part, can never consent to deliver up the other communities of the Mountain—Greek, Mussulman, Druse, and Metuali—to the tyranny of a half-barbarous Maronite who would necessarily be a mere puppet in the hands of a fanatical priesthood; and I sincerely hope that the Governments of Europe will not be tempted, in their zeal for the interests of Christianity, to pander to the intrigues of a clergy that disgrace the religion they profess. The sufferings of the Christian inhabitants of the Mountain have been undoubtedly very great, and no member of the Commission has more heartily sympathized with their misfortunes than myself. The Turkish officials have behaved abominably, and it would be idle to excuse or extenuate their misconduct. It is to be regretted that populations at least professing the same religion as ourselves should remain under Mussulman rule; but it would be childish to allow considerations of this kind to blind us to the fact that on this occasion the Maronites have been the principal authors of their own misfortunes; and that in a country

like Syria, with its unruly and motley population, the maintenance of order, if order is to be maintained, must be entrusted to the hands of Imperial authority.

Unfortunately the late misconduct of the Turkish officials and its terrible results have destroyed the confidence of some of the European Cabinets in the benevolent intentions of the Ottoman Government, and it is evident that the majority of my colleagues have received instructions which preclude them from investing a Mussulman Vali of Saida with any efficient control over the most important area within his jurisdiction.

Could the Porte be persuaded to abandon the jealous policy which induces her to exclude her Christian subjects from the higher offices of State, were the administration of Pashalics indiscriminately entrusted to all classes of the community, without reference to their religious faith, the task of dealing with the present difficulty would be much diminished. The Porte might then determine, in consideration of the preponderance of the Christian element along the seaboard of Syria, to place a Christian Pasha in Beyrout, and thus remove the objections entertained by the Catholic Powers to the indispensable exercise of his authority over the Lebanon.

By this means we should be able to preserve to the several communities of the Mountain the privileges conceded to them in 1842, while adequate facilities for maintaining order and controlling the mutual relations of so unruly a population might safely be entrusted to a personage who would be at the same time the co-religionist of the majority, and the *bonâ fide* representative of the Sultan's Government. Were this idea to be adopted the plan of the Commissioners as modified by Fuad Pasha, and with the few alterations I have myself suggested, might conciliate the conflicting pretensions of Catholic opinion and Imperial authority. The so-called privileges of the Mountain would be reduced to the legitimate limits of municipal self-government, the turbulent feudatories of former days would sink into the submissive administrators of petty circumscriptions. The distinction of Druse and Maronite Kaimakamships would be lost in the multiplicity of the new divisions, all the really valuable immunities of the Mountain would be preserved, while the exercise of the graver functions of government,—the pursuit of crime and the preservation of peace—would be entrusted to a personage who would possess the confidence of the Porte, and whose religion would not be obnoxious to Europe.

Some surprise may perhaps be created by our proposal to increase the subdivisions of the Mountain; and this surprise will not be diminished when it shall further appear that it is in favour of Christian sects that the new jurisdictions will have been erected; but the fact of four out of five of the Commissioners having been in favour of the measure will be a sufficient guarantee that peculiarities which cannot be appreciated by persons at a distance have suggested the arrangement. Such a subdivision is in fact the logical consequence of the only principle on which the privileges of the Mountain can be maintained; and when it is remembered that all over the Turkish Empire religious communities (Millets) are considered as individual nationalities; that the Bishops of the Christian sects are recognised as the temporal as well as the spiritual heads of their various congregations; that it is difference in religious belief, and not any distinction in language or caste, which separates the various factions in Syria; and that the mistrust and ill-feeling which exists between the Christian denominations is as intense as that by which in other countries nations are divided;—a sufficiently satisfactory explanation will appear for the solicitude with which we have released the prelates, dignitaries, and professors of one creed, from the obnoxious ascendancy of the rival ecclesiastics of another. Were any further justification of such a policy required it would be found in the remarkable fact that the Greek Catholic town of Zahleh, which, with its dependencies, is about to be endowed with an independent administration, has already, on more than one occasion, seceded from the Lebanon in the hopes of finding beneath the ægis of a Turkish Pasha of Damascus some relief from the distasteful tyranny of its Maronite Kaimakam.

Inclosure 8 in No. 33.

Annex No. 1 to the Protocol of the Twenty-seventh Meeting of the Syrian Commission.

[See Inclosure 5 in No. 33.]

Inclosure 9 in No. 33.

Observations de son Excellence Fuad Pacha sur le Projet de Réorganisation de la Montagne.	*Remarks on the accompanying Observations by the British Commissioner.*
Article 5. Le Mont Liban sera divisé en cinq districts sous la dénomination de—	Agreed.
1. Koura, extrême partie septentrionale de la Montagne ;	Agreed.
2. Kesrouan, avec Mettenine, et sans la ville de Zahlé ;	Agreed.
3. El Gharb, composé des territoires d'El Gharb, Djourd, Arkub, Chouf, Menasif et Chahroun, sauf la portion qu'il sera nécessaire de donner au district de l'Iklime Kharoub pour y réunir la ville de Deir-el Kamar ;	Deir-el-Kamar ought to be incorporated with the Druse district in the centre of which it stands.
4. Kharoub, avec la ville de Deir-el-Kamar.	Agreed.
5. Djezzin, extrême partie méridionale de la Montagne.	Agreed so far as is compatible with the special reserves made on the same point by the British Commissioner.
Art. 6. Chaque district aura un Caimacam qui sera choisi dans le sein de chacun des populations qui forme la majorité.	Agreed.
Art. 7. En conséquence les districts de Kesrouan et de Djezzin auront chacun un Caimacam Maronite ; le district d'El Gharb aura un Caimacam Druse ; et le district de Haroub un Caimacam Musulman.	As the land in these districts belongs exclusively to Druses, it is obvious that it would be unfair to place them under a Maronite Kaimakam, unless estates of corresponding value elsewhere were given to the Druse proprietors. On the other hand, as the population is entirely Christian, it is unadvisable to place them for the future under Druse jurisdiction. In the dilemma, supposing no exchange of property is to take place, it might be well to place the Acklin in question under a Christian appointed by the Porte, but not a native of the Mountain, giving the Druses an equal share of representation of the Medjlisses. Such an arrangement, though not perfect, is the most impartial the circumstances of the case permit. Lord Dufferin would prefer, however, to give the Druses property elsewhere, and make in Djezzin and Tuffah a class of Christian peasant proprietors.
Art. 8. La ville de Zahlé formera d'elle seule une Administration séparée avec un Caimacam nommé pour trois ans et choisi alternativement dans le sein des populations Grecque, Maronite, et Grecque Catholique.	Agreed.

Observations de son Excellence Fuad Pacha sur le Projet de Réorganisation de la Montagne.	*Remarks on the accompanying Observations by the British Commissioner.*
Art. 9. Ils pourront s'adresser directement en cas de besoin à la Sublime Porte.	Agreed.
Art. 11. Par le Vali de Sayda sur la proposition du Caimacam dont il relève.	Agreed.
Art. 13. Par le Caimacam sur la proposition des habitants.	Agreed.
Art. 22. Il y aura dans chaque Caimacamie un Medjlis.	Agreed.
Art. 24. La présidence de ce Medjlis sera exercée par le Président du Grand Conseil Provincial de Saida, et en son absence chacun de ses membres remplira les fonctions de Vice-Président. Ce Medjlis sera en même temps un Conseil pour le Vali du Saida pour les affaires générales de la Montagne. Il pourra y adjoindre deux délégués de chaque Caimacamie, toutes fois qu'il s'agira de discuter une affaire importante concernant l'administration générale de la Montagne.	His Excellency has mistaken the meaning of this Article. The Central Medjlis created by the Commission is at Beyrout, and is a judicial Medjlis, endowed with no administrative functions. The British Commissioner has stated in his own reserves his views on the subject of a Central Administrative Council.
Art. 30. Un Procureur Impérial que devra être choisi en dehors de ses habitants. Le Procureur sans s'ingérer dans les attributions du pouvoir exécutif exercera de la part du Vali de Saida un contrôle sur la conduite de la police locale.	Agreed.
Art. 32. Ce greffier sera en outre chargé de l'enregistrement des transferts des biens immobiliers qui seront assujetis aux titres réguliers de possession dont chaque propriétaire doit être muni, sans que cela porte aucun changement à la condition de proprieté établie dans la Montagne.	
Art. 41. Les agents de la police dans la Montagne porteront le même uniforme et les mêmes armes que ceux qui seront donnés aux agents de police de la province de Sayda, avec une marque distinctive pour chaque district.	Agreed.
Art. 44. La contribution de la Montagne sera fixée par un impôt foncier conformément aux lois de répartition qui sont établies dans les villes et provinces cadastrées de l'Empire. Une partie de cet impôt sera allouée comme revenue municipal aux districts de la Montagne pour les travaux publics et notamment pour les routes et les chemins vicinaux ; l'autre partie sera versée dans la caisse de l'Etat, qui doit pourvoir à toutes les dépenses de l'administration locale.	
Art. 45.	
. . . . .	
ainsi qu'à un cadastre général.	

Observations de son Excellence Fuad Pacha sur le Projet de Réorganisation de la Montagne.	*Remarks on the accompanying Observations by the British Commissioner.*
Art. 46. Les routes de Beyrout à Damas, à Sayda, et à Tripoli, seront occupées par les troupes Impériales par l'établissement de postes militaires, et il y aura une garnison à Beit-ed-Din.	Agreed.
En cas de force majeure, c'est-à-dire, lorsqu'il y aura un conflit entre deux populations, ou soulèvement de l'une contre l'autre, le Vali de Sayda pourra, sous sa propre responsabilité, ou en prenant un mazbata signé par la majorité des membres du Medjlis de la Montagne, siégeant à Beyrout, envoyer ces troupes ou besoin sera.	This arrangement is questionable.
En outre, les troupes peuvent être employées lorsqu'il y aura une demande expresse, &c.	Agreed.

Inclosure 10 in No. 33.

Minute of British Commissioner detailing Personal Reserves in Reorganization Scheme.

IN accordance with the preliminary understanding arrived at between his colleagues and himself, the British Commissioner now proceeds to place on record such observations regarding the future organization of the Lebanon as could not be conveniently inserted in any collective Report on the subject. Though perfectly willing to subscribe his name to a project which has met with the approval of a majority of the members of the Commission, and heartily approving the impartial spirit which has inspired their efforts, Lord Dufferin cannot forget that he has only been able to associate himself with their labours by the frequent sacrifice of his individual opinions; and that a result arrived at by such a process is necessarily incomplete, unless accompanied by explanatory reserves.

In order to divest his meaning of all ambiguity, he proposes to preface the statement of these reserves by a brief examination of the problem which has been submitted to the ingenuity of the Commissioners, and by an equally brief review of the solution they have recommended.

For several centuries the Lebanon has been a source of anxiety to all those interested in its administration. Entrenched within the fastnesses of their Mountain, its inhabitants have acquired a prescriptive right to certain exceptional privileges; but it is an error to suppose that previous to 1842 these privileges were founded on any other claims than such as a Mountain population is tacitly allowed to establish by a weak and distant Government, and it is a still greater mistake to imagine that they possessed anything of a religious character.

As far as the obscure history of its past condition permits us to ascertain, it would appear that the Lebanon, after the conquest of Syria in A.D. 1600 by the Sultan Selim, became subject to the Porte under exactly the same conditions as any other section of the province. For upwards of 200 years its government was administered by Mussulman Emirs, at first taken from the House of Maan, of which the famous Fakir-ed-Din was a distinguished member, and latterly chosen out of the family of the Shehabs, who derive their descent from a Mahometan tribe of Southern Arabia. To the authority thus delegated by their Sovereign to successive members of these two Houses, the mingled population of the Mountain seems to have willingly submitted, and the various Pashas that were deputed to assert the precarious dominion of the Sultan over the turbulent races of Syria were glad enough to commute the taxes, which it would have been difficult for their own officers to collect, into a tribute, for the payment of which the Chief who bid highest for the Emiriat became responsible. Such a

system was naturally calculated to encourage the first feudal administrator of the Lebanon, whose capacity equalled his ambition, to lay claim to a sort of semi-independence, and it is scarcely surprising to find a man of so vigorous and unscrupulous a nature as the Emir Beshir gradually assuming the pretensions of a petty potentate. In spite, however, of the peculiar qualifications which enabled this personage to play a rather remarkable part in the transition period during which he lived, in spite of the facility with which he professed either Mahometanism or Christianity as the exigencies of the moment required, and notwithstanding the barbarous energy with which he exterminated hostile families and tore out the eyes and tongues of disaffected relations, it is evident he acted rather as the submissive functionary of the power dominant in the province than the representative of a native autonomy, and that his ascendancy in the Mountain depended far more on a support derived from without than on any identity of interests between himself and its inhabitants. It was the timely interference of Jezzar Pasha that saved him from ruin at the outset of his career; it was by playing into the hands of Mehemet Ali that he preserved his position; and it was the downfall of his patron that accomplished his own ruin.

Even prior to his death the system he represented had been superseded by a new order of things. His nephew succeeded to his title as Prince of the Lebanon, but the relation in which he stood, both to the Government and to the populations of the Mountain, was very different. The former regarded him rather in the light of a hostile pretender to independence than a convenient instrument of Government, while to the latter he appeared as the mere leader of a local faction, and the representative of a religious sect.

Such a condition of affairs soon generated intestine troubles. To a semi-Mussulman Shehab, adorned with the prestige of the Sultan's authority, and of sufficient capacity to make his authority respected, Greek and Maronite, Druse and Mahometan were alike willing to submit, but the non-Christian and Orthodox section of the community regarded with very different feelings the pretensions of an individual who had degenerated from the Representative of their Sovereign into the organ of a religious community. To the domination of a neighbouring rite, neither Greek nor Druse were willing to submit, and the inglorious expulsion from Deir-el-Kamar of the Great Emir's weak representative was the natural consequence of this feeling. Then followed the settlement of 1842, which recognized as a principle the administrative independence one of another of the two most important races which compose the population of the Mountain, and rewarded the loyal spirit which had animated all sections of its inhabitants on the expulsion of the Egyptians by the grant of elaborate municipal institutions.

The condition of affairs thus established endured with questionable success until the summer of the year 1860, when Europe was suddenly startled by the intelligence that the little territory of the Lebanon was become the theatre of new convulsions. A Commission was sent to the spot for the purpose of ascertaining how far the present disasters were to be referred to the arrangements of twenty years ago, and whether it would be possible, by a different organization, to prevent their recurrence. It is to the consideration of these two questions that his colleagues and himself have been instructed to direct their attention, and it is a record of his individual views upon them that the British Commissioner now ventures to subjoin.

Before proceeding to a decisive conclusion on either of these important topics, it will be necessary to arrive at a distinct comprehension of the causes and character of the late disturbances. Unfortunately this is a matter of some difficulty. The phase of unusual horror which they finally assumed, and subsequent occurrences in other parts of the Province, have invested their origin with a fallacious character. We examine the earlier circumstances of the quarrel between Druses and Maronites by the ensanguined light of the fires that consumed Deir-el-Kamar, Hasbeya, and the Christian quarter of Damascus, and we confound what was undoubtedly at first a war rather of caste than of race or religion, with the fanatical excesses that afterwards enveloped a principal portion of Syria in ruin and dismay. Had the struggle been confined to the encounters near Hadeth and Baabda, the invasion of the Metn, and the siege of Zahleh; had not native barbarity and the massacres in the Anti-Lebanon entirely changed the aspect of the scene, it is possible that the fact of numerous Christian villages situated in the heart of the Druse districts having escaped scatheless,

and the still more significant circumstance of bodies of Christian partizans having voluntarily followed the standards of the Druse Chiefs, would have induced us to doubt whether the struggle was one either of a purely religious or of a purely ethnic character.

If, in addition to these peculiarities, we had paused to observe that the first invader of the Druse Kaimakamship had been the Chief of a successful agrarian revolution in his own district; that the original instigators of the hostile movement against the Druses were this man's partizans; that the priesthood, to whom public repute assigned a principal share in preparing the events that followed, had extended their patronage to the revolted peasants; and that numerous members of the Maronite landed aristocracy were accused of sympathising with the Druse nation, it would have been difficult to avoid arriving at the opinion that the contest was to be regarded rather as a demonstration against feudalism and the community which is *par excellence* the representative of the feudal principle, than a contest either of race or religion. That it afterwards assumed both a religious and national character, and finally degenerated into a tribe war, and the cruel butchery of one race by another, cannot be doubted; but even so, the religious distinction between the combatants has always remained a matter of secondary consideration.

If, then, the British Commissioner is asked whether, in his opinion, the late disasters are to be referred directly to the settlement of 1842, and the division of the Mountain, he has no hesitation in replying, "only in part, and in a minor degree."

The principal characteristic of that settlement consisted in the administrative independence, one of another, of the two principal races of the Lebanon. That was a most beneficent arrangement; the adoption of any other principle was, and is, impossible. Unfortunately it was accompanied by a latitude of self-government which neither community was fit to exercise, and a species of chronic anarchy has been the result.

At the same time that two barbarous and ignorant tribes were endowed with a semi-independence, no control was left over their international relations, and no authority was commissioned to inaugurate and maintain the complicated municipal regulations which had been invented for them; the consequence has been that these have remained a dead letter, and the vicious practices which they were intended to supersede have attained a fatal development. Feudal tyranny has been substituted for constitutional law, and the vendetta system for criminal justice.

Relieved from the wholesome fear of superior authority, with Kaimakams whose unpretending incapacity was their principal recommendation, and quite indifferent to the control of the venal Medjlises, each Mokatadji, or feudal Governor, exercised an almost absolute despotism within the limits of his little jurisdiction, and both Christian and Druse Kaimakamiyeh had become a confederation of petty Lords, each doing what was right in his own eyes, making war on his neighbours or his relations as best suited his convenience, and gratifying his cupidity by the most cruel exactions.

Such a state of things has naturally resulted in oppression on the one hand, and in revolt on the other; in a spirit of violent hostility between the proprietors and the cultivators of the soil, aggravated in the case of the Druse landlords and their Christian tenants by the difference of race and religion, and in the establishment of blood feuds not only between house and house, but what is much more dangerous, between nation and nation; the whole slowly growing by a process of intrigue, social and political, too complicated to describe, into the movement which first took shape two years ago, in the expulsion of the Khazzin Sheikhs from Kesrouan, and which has finally exhausted itself in the mutual ruin of every race that inhabits the Lebanon, and a loss of life, both Druse and Christian, which it is horrible to contemplate.

But if the above is a correct interpretation of late events, it clearly follows that the disorders which have shaken the Mountain are to be attributed, not to the arrangements made in 1842, but to the imperfect development of these arrangements, and the consequent expansion of the evils which they were intended to control.

After the overthrow of the Emir Beshir, and the expulsion of his nephew, it was proposed to replace the tyrannical autocracy of the one, and the unpopular and incompetent presidency of the other, by entrusting the Government of the

two preponderant nationalities to a couple of indigenous Chiefs, and by erecting in each Kaimakamiyeh a collateral system of Medjlises for the administration of justice.

Unfortunately neither the one nor the other of these institutions was able to make head against the license of the feudal magnates. Natural abuses, relieved from the rude control of former days, choked the newly-transplanted institutions. Discountenanced by the Porte, destitute of all prestige, with the most meagre appointments and an indifferent police, the Executive authority in either section of the Mountain sank into contempt, while the different Medjlises became mere registrars of the imperious Mokatadjis, or a still more imperious hierarchy, the whole presenting the same spectacle of disorder that used to characterize the worst governed States of Europe in the worst period of the middle ages.

It is to find a remedy for this state of things that the International Commission has been constituted. Various are the devices which have been proposed. It has been observed with considerable justice that what are called the privileges of the Mountain have proved but a very questionable advantage to its inhabitants. It is doubtful whether the exactions of the native Chiefs have not exceeded the amount of what might have been demanded by the most rapacious Pashas; while the insecurity of human life, the immunity of crime, and the prostitution of justice, have probably prevailed to a greater extent in the Lebanon than in any corresponding area of the Turkish dominions.

Irrespective of the loss of life in periodic war, it has been calculated that during the nineteen years immediately preceding the outbreak in 1860, about 1,100 murders had been committed within the precincts of the Mountain without a single author of any one of them having been brought to justice, while probably it would be impossible to enumerate the various minor acts of cruelty and oppression that have been perpetrated during the same period. In the presence of these facts it is asked with some plausibility on what plea has the Lebanon been withdrawn from the ordinary jurisdiction of the provincial authorities. On that of geographical convenience? In race, in language, in religion, its populations are identical with the populations of the adjoining districts. These districts are as mountainous as the Mountain; and the boundary which divides them is as arbitrary as the tracing on a map. Is it founded on traditional independence? There is not a tribe in Syria that could not adduce a similar claim. Is it one of political expediency? If so, the experiment has not been encouraging.

Under these circumstances would it not be advisable—say those who condemn the anomaly of an *imperium in imperio*—to assimilate the administration of the Lebanon with that of any other department of the province, and by the introduction of the strong arm of the law to put an end to the barbarous anarchy of Mountain clans incapable of self-government.

Others, again, advocate the application of an opposite principle, and desire to resuscitate, in the person of a Shehab, the departed era of the Emir Beshir; but such a project is a palpable anachronism, and any recurrence to the dynastic principle a clear impossibility. The Emir Beshir was an exceptional character; a man of unusual capacity, a Moslem or a Christian as suited his convenience, and uniting in his person the prestige which emanated from the support of the Government and that which he derived from the traditional connection of his family with the Lebanon. A modern Shehab could only be considered as the champion of a sect. In the eyes of the Porte he would represent the principle of revolt, and to the Druse and Greek portion of the population the domination of a rival race and creed. His authority could only be maintained by the presence of a foreign and Catholic army, and the active exertions of one or more of the European Powers. An ascendancy supported by such factitious means would be in direct contravention to the first principles of international law. Already the tribes of the Mountain are too prone to seek the sympathy of European Powers: the injudicious patronage of Consuls has tempted them to claim a description of foreign protection exasperating to the native authorities and embarrassing to the Government at whose hand it is demanded; while, so complete has become the perversion of the natural relations between the Crown and its subjects, that it is very questionable whether the contraband allegiance thus surreptitiously cultivated on behalf of the protecting Powers has not eclipsed, in the minds of his subjects, that which is due to their legitimate

Sovereign. At this moment, the International Commission and the army of occupation seem completely to have effaced the Porte's authority in the Mountain; and the Maronite population is persuaded that the sole mission of the military interference of Europe is to erect the Mountain into an independent Principality, and to subject every other sect and community within its precincts to the domination of some servile tool of their own priesthood.

Such results are necessarily fraught with mischief, and it seems a cruel policy to encourage in the hearts of the people an antagonism to their Government which can only excite its jealousy without disarming its power.

A reorganization of the Lebanon on such principles would equally compromise the interests of the Porte and those of its subjects.

Passing from the consideration of these two extreme proposals, of a Lebanon administered by a Turkish Pasha or by a Christian Prince, we next arrive at the solution recommended by the Commissioners. An examination of this plan will show that it does little more than confirm the principles adopted in the settlement of 1842, or rather that it endeavours to give those principles a more complete and minute development, the only new feature added on the present occasion being the proposed separation of the Druses from the Christians in the Mixed districts. In every other respect the main characteristics of the former plan are either maintained or expanded. In 1842 separate jurisdictions were granted to the Maronite and Druse communities; in 1861 it is proposed to extend the same benefit to the Greek Orthodox and the Greek Catholic rites, and, with a considerable show of justice, the Turkish Commissioner now stipulates for similar advantages being accorded to his own co-religionists. In 1842 an elaborate system of Judicial Councils and Mixed Medjlises was established from one end of the Lebanon to the other. In 1861 a similar experiment is to be made, with additional sureties for their efficiency. In 1842 great care was taken to place a check on the tyranny of dominant majorities. In 1861 these checks are reintroduced, and by the institution of Vakeels or representatives of the minorities in each Kaimakamiyeh they are invested with additional importance. Finally, in 1842 certain immunities were declared inherent in the Mountain, and in 1861 the inviolability of these immunities is expressed in still more imperative terms.

But it may be asked, if the present labours of the Commissioners have resulted in nothing but a more detailed elaboration of a system that late events have proved to be unsound, what security is obtained against a recommencement of similar calamities? A sufficiently satisfactory answer to this very reasonable objection will be found in an addition to the present project of two or three important provisions not included in the settlement of 1842.

In a previous portion of this paper it has been stated that the plan of 1842 was thrown out of gear by its machinery becoming clogged with the abuses of the old feudal system. In accordance with Article 19, all feudal privileges are to be abolished. By this expedient the ancient Mokatadji is converted from an hereditary, and consequently independent Chief, into a civic functionary removable at pleasure, and dependent on the Kaimakam. The tribute he was accustomed to consider as his birthright, and to increase at his pleasure, contracts to a definite per-centage on taxes levied by officers of the Crown. The landlord who sues the tenant is no longer the person who administers the law, and a beneficial distinction is created between social and official pre-eminence. Proportionally as the power of the turbulent Mokatadji is reduced, the position of the Kaimakam gains in importance, and the efficiency of the Medjlis and other Municipal bodies is increased. The former becomes a responsible officer, impelled by his own interest to act in concert with the Government, while the latter, named as it is now proposed to name them, by the notables and bishops of the various communities, will in some sort exercise the functions of Representative institutions.

In order to remedy a further defect in the working of the system of 1842, another very important item has been added to its machinery. By Article 30, the Vali of Saida is empowered to appoint in each Kaimakamiyeh an officer of his own in the capacity of Public Prosecutor for murder or any other kindred crime. Hitherto the prosecution of the criminal seems scarcely to have been reckoned as obligatory on the Government. His punishment was delegated to the friends of the injured person. Hence blood feuds, and all their attendant atrocities, became the law of the land. By rendering the Government responsible

for the prosecution of crime, and teaching the people to seek for justice through the legitimate channels, a stop may perhaps be put to this dreadful custom.

In addition to these two important alterations in the settlement of 1842, the Commissioners have introduced into their project several minor improvements—a more complete organization of the police; the separation of the judicial and administrative functions; the erection of a Mixed Court of Appeal at Beyrout; and the introduction of a better Penal Code. Well calculated, however, as those and the two above-mentioned provisions may be to supply the defects of the former arrangement, it still remains a question whether enough has been done to remedy what seems to have been its greatest blot, namely, the absence of all superintending and controlling authority on the part of the Imperial Government. Lamentable as this omission was when the Mountain was divided into two, its mischievous effects are still more likely to be felt now that it is proposed to create four or five separate circumscriptions. In proportion as the number of independent departments is increased, the debateable land adjoining their respective boundaries is extended, and the chances of collision between subjects of rival jurisdictions are consequently multiplied.

Under these circumstances it would seem almost imperative to create some superior authority capable of controlling the mutual relations of the petty officials we are going to call into existence; and some liberty ought to be granted to the responsible authorities of the empire for anticipating and counteracting the hostilities which can scarcely fail to be periodic in so strangely constituted a society, and under so divided an executive.

In making these suggestions the British Commissioner is well aware he is giving expression to an opinion which will not have the good fortune to receive the approval of some of his colleagues. With a jealousy which late events may seem to justify, though by a process of reasoning he considers fallacious, they have thought it their duty to debar the Turkish officials from all entry into the Mountain. The road to Damascus is indeed left open to them, but they are not to stir a step within the precincts of any circumscription without an invitation from its Kaimakam, countersigned by a majority of his Medjlis. Such a restriction Lord Dufferin cannot but consider highly imprudent.

The gravest charges brought against the late Pashas of Beyrout were founded on the fact of their neglect to march to the scene of the disturbances. When a whole district is in commotion; when the Kaimakam is perhaps himself the chief author of the disturbances; when the members of the Medjlis are either in flight or in arms; when an irruption across an imaginary boundary is imminent, how can it be desirable that the responsible officers of the Empire, who alone dispose of a force capable of quelling a revolt, are to wait perhaps eight-and-forty hours for a mazbatta, and are even then precluded from proceeding to the point of danger, because the authorities of an intervening Kaimakamiyeh refuse permission to cross their territory? It is impossible to enforce such a prohibition, and no Government can be expected to accept such a proposal.

To take precautions against the unnecessary occupation of the villages of the Lebanon is one thing, but to declare the roads that traverse it, or any part of its area, impossible of access to the troops of its Sovereign, appears to the British Commissioner not only an unwise measure, but an unjustifiable pretension. Had not the settlement of 1842 thrown difficulties in the way of the authorities of the Porte at once quelling the original disturbance caused by Tannus Shahin and his adherents, that person would not have been able to hold forcible possession of an important district during two successive years; and the impunity conceded to him by the weakness of the Local Executive would not have stimulated the development of his agrarian excesses into the terrible disasters of the past year.

Having thus discussed the main provisions of the plan of the Commissioners, it only remains to examine the new and exceptional proposal respecting the physical separation of Druses and Christians which has been subjoined to it. In principle the British Commissioner is decidedly opposed to such a method of securing tranquillity. In the first place it is nothing but the pitiful expedient of a weak executive to produce, by a clumsy and barbarous operation, results which would be more legitimately obtained by an intelligent exercise of its own functions. Government only exists for the purpose of engaging mankind to submit their interests to such control as shall be compatible with the maintenance

of society. If separation was to be accepted as a remedy for disputes, its logical consequence would be the infinitesimal disintegration of the human race, and a disorganization more complete than that which prevails among the more intelligent of the lower animals. Any step in such a direction is a protest against the march of civilization, and a return to the days when Nebuchadnezzar transplanted to the plains of Syria the forefathers of the men whose disputes are the occasion of our solicitude. The traditions of that Monarch's administration are not sufficiently captivating to induce us to follow his example, and if it were possible the operation suggested by the Commissioners might be abandoned with advantage. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that unfortunately we are precluded by the necessities of the case from being able to count upon that energetic action on the part of the Government which in other States is able to weld the most uncongenial elements into a homogeneous whole. The blot in our system is the absence of all central authority, and we may be consequently excused if we venture to tinker up the defect with whatever makeshift first comes to hand. It is an obvious fact that the contiguity, not only in the same districts, but in the same villages, of communities so hostile to each other as Druse and Maronite have now become, must increase the chances of collision, and past experience has proved to us that the most trivial circumstance, a quarrel for a partridge or a donkey, may light the flames of civil war.

Under these circumstances, the transplantation of the Druses out of the more exclusively Christian districts, and of Christians out of the Druse Kaimakamiyeh, is a tempting experiment, and provided its execution be conducted with a due regard to the interests of both races, satisfactory results may be produced by it.

On former occasions a similar attempt has been suggested, but the tenacity with which each population clings to the soil rendered it impossible. By the shock of late events this attraction has been momentarily paralysed, and it might be well to seize an opportunity which it is to be hoped will never again occur.

The Druses have been always anxious for the change. The Christians seem now most ardently to desire it. The Commissioners have taken especial care to secure the operation being conducted under conditions of the most strict impartiality, and with a religious regard to the rights of property.

In consideration of these circumstances, the British Commissioner is prepared to waive his objection to the principle of the measure, and to acquiesce in its adoption with the same cordiality as his colleagues. He would merely suggest that the process of separation should be only applied in the Druse districts to the Christians who are owners of land, and not to the felaheen, who are tenants on Druse property.

With these observations Lord Dufferin concludes his review of the amendments proposed to be introduced by the Commission into the settlement of 1842. He is still disposed to question the expediency of continuing the anomalous autonomy of the Lebanon. He does not consider that the discordant elements of which its population is composed possess any qualification for self-government. He is convinced that the erection of a miniature confederation of hostile tribes into a petty imperium within the precincts of an important Province of the Turkish Empire will continue to prove a disastrous experiment. He believes that the relations which are to exist between the indigenous Chiefs of the various circumscriptions, and the Provincial Governor on whom they are dependent, are of a kind which has no parallel in any form of government with which we are acquainted, and he does not believe any independent State would tolerate their existence. Nevertheless, if the Powers of Europe are determined to maintain the so-called privileges of the Mountain, it is only by founding them on the basis constituted in 1842 that they can be rendered beneficial. It was then decided that each community should be administered by its own Chief; that one race should never be subjected to the domination of another; and that the Christian and the non-Christian should share impartially in the protectorate of the European Powers. With an unanimity that cannot fail to gratify their Governments, the Commissioners have not only confirmed but extended this principle.

Henceforth it is proposed that a Municipal independence shall distinguish not only the Christian and Druse, but Greek and Maronite, Orthodox and Catholic; and the Mountain will present in future the singular spectacle of

differences of opinion on abstruse questions of mediæval theology, defining the geographical limits of political societies.

Happy in the perfect cordiality that has always existed between himself and his colleagues, even when he has had the misfortune to differ from them in opinion, the British Commissioner has the honour to subjoin the special reserves he feels it his duty to make on a few of the Articles of their plan. These reserves are calculated rather to enlarge than to curtail the scope of the arrangements to which they apply. They contravene no principle enunciated by the Commissioners, and embody nothing more than a practical method of giving effect to some of the opinions recorded in the Minute.

For the sake of more convenient reference, the British Commissioner has affixed to each Reserve the number of the Article on which it is made:—

Articles of the Project.	*Reserves of the British Commissioner.*
1. Il sera procédé à la séparation ethnographique des Chrétiens et des Druses.	1, 2, 3. This measure need not be carried out to its extreme limit, and may be allowed to depend on the option of the population concerned. If due facilities are given by the Government in the distribution of Crown lands, and a hearty co-operation is afforded by those appointed to superintend its execution on behalf of the Five Powers, the proposed interchange of residence may be effected, at all events, without disadvantage to the Christian section of the community.
2. En opérant cette mesure de désagrégation, on tiendra également compte des intérêts de chaque population.	
3. L'exécution en sera confiée, sous la surveillance de l'autorité locale et des Agents des Cinq Puissances, à une Commission Mixte dans laquelle les diverses populations seront représentées.	It is to be remembered that the Christians in the Mixed districts are almost entirely tenants at will, and not possessors of the soil. In quitting the villages where they are now located, they would not be called upon to abandon ancestral property, while the result would elevate them from the condition of peasants to that of proprietors of the soil. Ample compensation might be afforded to those who will be called upon to vacate their homes, in the remarkably valuable property which, under corresponding compulsion, will be abandoned by the Druses of the Metn.
6. La Caimacamie Druse, autant du moins que les nécessités de la mesure de désagrégation le permettront, se composera des territoires suivants :— El Gharb, sauf la portion qu'il serait indispensable d'en détacher pour réunir les deux parties septentrionale et méridionale de la Caimacamie Maronite ; Le Djurd ; L'Arkoub ; Le Chouf ; Le Menasif, en partie, et le Chehar (voir la carte de Kiepert, 1860). La Caimacamie Grecque Orthodoxe sera composée du Koura, y compris la partie inférieure et les fractions de territoire avoisinantes dans lesquelles la population Grecque-Orthodoxe serait en majorité.	6. The British Commissioner cannot pledge himself to the maintenance of the delineation contained in this Article. In the total deficiency of all local knowledge respecting the distribution of property in the districts referred to, as well as of all trustworthy statistics respecting their population, it would be premature to pronounce definitely on the future areas of the proposed departments.
8. Tous les territoires de la Montagne	8. It will be advisable to adopt the

Articles of the Project.

qui ne font point partie des deux Caimacamies Druse et Grecque Orthodoxe seront compris dans la Caimacamie Maronite, sauf Zahlé, qui, avec sa banlieue et son faubourg de Mohallacah, sera placée sous une Administration Mixte, dépendante du Vali de Sayda, au même titre que les trois Caimacams Maronite, Grec Orthodoxe, et Druse.

30. Le Vali de Saida nommera dans chaque Caimacamie un Procureur Impérial qui devra être choisi parmi les habitants du rite dominant. Ce Procureur sera chargé de constater les crimes et délits, et de provoquer leur repression. Dans la Caimacamie Maronite le Procureur pourra avoir un ou plusieurs substituts.

46. La Commission émet le vœu qu'il soit procédé le plutôt possible à un recensement exact de la population

Reserves of the British Commissioner.

proposition of his Excellency Fuad Pasha in regard to the Aklim of Kharûb, and place it under the administration of a Moslem. All the property in this district is either Druse or Musulman. The Christian inhabitants are merely tenants. The principal portion of the population is Mahometan, and the Druse residents do not exceed 100 persons. This arrangement would render unnecessary the provision indicated in the preceding Article for connecting the Maronite Kaimakamiyeh with so distant a district as Jezzin. It is obvious, moreover, that equal facilities of access to Beyrout should be granted to the inhabitants of every circumscription. A strip of Maronite territory running from the Metn to El-Tuffah would cut off the Druse districts from the seaport. By declaring the high roads neutral ground, and placing them under the guardianship of the Vali of Saida, any difficulties of this kind are avoided. With regard to the Aklims Jezzin and El-Tuffah, the British Commissioner is of opinion that as the land in these two districts belongs exclusively to Druses, it is obvious that it would be unfair to place them under a Maronite Kaimakam, unless estates of corresponding value elsewhere were given to the Druse proprietors. On the other hand, as the population is entirely Christian it is unadvisable to place them in the future under Druse jurisdiction. In this dilemma, and supposing no exchange of property is to take place, it might be well to place the Aklims in question under a Christian appointed by the Porte, but not a native of the Mountain, giving the Druses an equal share of representation in the Medjlises. Such an arrangement, though not perfect, is the most impartial the circumstances of the case permit. Lord Dufferin would prefer, however, to give the Druses property elsewhere, and create in Jezzin and Tuffah a class of Christian peasant proprietors.

30. This officer is likely to prove of the greatest service, but in order to render his action efficient he ought to be given some control over the police.

46. The British Commissioner must respectfully protest against the attempt which is made in this Article to restrict

Articles of the Project.

de la Montagne par commune et par rite. Au point de vue militaire la Commission est d'avis que la sécurité de la Montagne serait suffisamment garantie par l'occupation de la route de Beyrout à Damas.

Il serait desirable, selon elle, que les troupes employées à cette occupation fussent au moins en partie composées de Chrétiens sujets du Sultan.

En cas de force majeure et sur la demande expresse d'un Caimacam, approuvé par un vote conforme de son Medjlis Administratif, ces troupes pourront être envoyés partout où besoin sera.

Le Caimacam ou les membres du Medjlis qui n'auraient pas fait usage du droit de requisition qui leur est ouvert par le présent Article, seront responsables des conséquences que leur abstention ou leur négligence pourraient avoir sur le maintien de l'ordre dans la Montagne.

Reserves of the British Commissioner.

the responsible Governor of the Province from all efficient action in the Lebanon, during the critical junctures which, in spite probably of all our efforts, will prove of occasional recurrence. After demanding the capital punishment of the two Pashas for their want of promptitude in marching troops to the scenes of the late disturbances, it seems strangely inconsistent to interdict their successors from the very course which the Commissioners have so strikingly indicated as the only one which could have prevented the catastrophe.

To render the intervention of Imperial authority dependent on the invitation of a Kaimakam, who may perhaps be the principal fomentor of the troubles which render it necessary, would be unreasonable; but to require not only his consent, but that of a majority of his Medjlis, to authorize the prompt interference of the Executive, is so pernicious as to require no comment.

For the purpose of creating a central authority, as well as with a view to regulating the mutual relations of the several circumscriptions into which the Lebanon is to be divided, the British Commissioner proposes that at stated periods, or whenever the occasion may require, two deputies from each of the departments in question, the one nominated by its Kaimakam, the other by its Medjlis, shall assemble at Beyrout, under the presidency of the Vali of Saida, for the purpose of examining such questions as concern the general welfare of the Mountain.

If required to act in concert with a Representative Body thus constituted the Sultan's Vicegerent at Beyrout would be in a position to harmonize the international relations of the various communities of the Lebanon, and would probably facilitate the composition of such quarrels as may be generated by differences of race and religion, while the control of so popular an institution would be a sufficient security against his being able to entrench upon their municipal privileges. This Medjlis, in combination with the Pasha, might be rendered reponsible for the maintenance of order, and a mazbatta, signed by a majority of its members, might be declared requisite to authorize the entry of troops into the interior.

If these suggestions were fortunate enough to meet with the approbation of the Governments of the five Powers, the British Commissioner is of opinion that the project of Commissioners would assume a very practical and simple appearance.

The time-honoured division of the Mountain into Aklims would be maintained. Each Aklim would be administered by a Mudir or Mokatadji, who would represent the property and the dominant rite or nation in his district. Each group of Mokatadjis would be in their turn dependent on a Kaimakam, who would be entrusted with the administration of the districts occupied by his co-religionists. A collateral system of Medjlises would secure the pure administration of justice, and represent the popular elements in the Constitution. A Central Medjlis sitting at Beyrout, representing the several Kaimakams and the respective populations, would deliberate either alone or in the presence of the Vali on all subjects affecting the general interests of the Mountain. By this means ample security would be obtained for the preservation of its municipal privileges, while a harmonious concert would be established between the only description of Executive really capable of maintaining order, and the indigenous Representatives of the different nationalities.

Finally, instead of two extensive Kaimakamiyehs, resembling more the unruly

fiefs of the middle ages than integral portions of a united Empire, we should have created a number of Administrative Departments, whose Governments would possess the local colouring which was most congenial to their respective inhabitants, while advantage would have been taken of the present disposition of the peasantry to exchange their residence, in order to mitigate, if not to abolish, the inconveniences which are incident under such circumstances to Mixed districts.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Beyrout, April , 1861.

Inclosure 11 in No. 33.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, April* 26, 1861.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 24th instant, I have the honour to inclose copy of a report addressed to me by Mr. Noel Moore, whom I had instructed to inspect the room in which Said Bey Joublat had been until recently confined.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 12 in No. 33.

Vice-Consul Moore to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Beyrout, April* 26, 1861.

IN accordance with your Lordship's instruction, I have inspected the room in the barracks in which Said Bey Joublat was confined until his recent removal to another, having first obtained an order from Ahmed Pasha for the purpose.

The room in question is about eighteen feet long by fifteen broad, and twenty feet high; it has two good sized glazed windows, both to the west; a raised wooden platform runs along one side of the room which might serve both as a bed and a divan.

I ascertained that Said Bey had the room entirely to himself, and that when his cousin Selim Joublat was placed in it, it was at the former's own request.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NOEL TEMPLE MOORE.

Inclosure 13 in No. 33.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, April* 26, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to report for your Excellency's information, the arrival on the 23rd instant of five Turkish steamers, conveying 850 horses, as well as 1,300 men, partly Cavalry and partly Infantry.

This evening another Turkish frigate has arrived off this town with more troops on board, all of whom are reported to be in good condition.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 34.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received May 11.)

My Lord, *Paris, May* 10, 1861.

M. THOUVENEL has informed me that it is the intention of the Imperial Government to station a squadron on the coast of Syria.

His Excellency says that he continues to receive very unsatisfactory reports from Beyrout; that the approaching departure of the troops has filled the Christian populations with dismay, and that as many as 15,000 souls have asked or permission to leave the country under French protection.

M. Thouvenel intimated that if this resolution was persisted in, the French Government would be obliged to give these people an asylum in Algeria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 35.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell—(*Received May* 16.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, May* 3, 1861.

WITH reference to my previous despatch of the 20th ultimo,* I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a further despatch from Colonel Herman respecting the condition of the Druse prisoners and exiles.

Your Lordship will perceive that Colonel Herman strongly deprecates the policy of transporting any more prisoners to Barbary, owing to the limited accommodation which the Government can afford them, and I have not failed to draw his Excellency Fuad Pasha's attention to this important subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 35.

Consul-General Herman to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Tripoli, April* 18, 1861.

OF the 260 Druses whose arrival here I had the honour, on the 5th instant, of reporting to your Lordship, two are already dead, and twenty-six others are in hospital with typhus of a malignant type. The Chief of the Medical Staff, a German, tells me that they brought the germs of the disease with them.

In a conversation I had yesterday on the subject with the Governor-General he told me that according to the "defter" sent to him, only twenty-six are reported as criminals; the remainder are simply designated "nefider" (exiles), but he has received no suggestion from Fuad Pasha to quarter them in the hill district of Gharian, the features and physical configuration of which, as his Excellency told your Lordship, bear some resemblance to the environs of Nablous in Syria.

To adequately provide for these already here, consistently with their well-being and safe keeping, already severely taxes the means at his disposition. Should the already existing difficulties be complicated by fresh arrivals, should, from the want of proper quarters, an epidemic break out amongst them (no improbable contingency on the advent of the hot season), the results arising from natural causes would serve to be attributed to Turkish cruelty and neglect, and thus add to the obloquy which already rests on the Ottoman authorities. I therefore venture to take the liberty of observing to your Lordship that to add to the number of Druses already here will be a measure of very questionable policy.

No. 36.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received May* 16.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, May* 5, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a further despatch which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 36.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, April* 30, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a despatch lately addressed to me by Colonel Fraser.

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* No. 28.

Inclosure 2 in No. 36.

Colonel Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Damascus, April* 26, 1861.

A COMMUNICATION has been received from Abro Efendi regarding the grave state of Said Bek Joublat's health, and an order has been transmitted to Ahmed Pasha to afford him every medical aid and indulgence possible, within the walls of the barracks. At my request, however, supported by the medical opinion transmitted for his Excellency's satisfaction, the Pasha has consented to furnish me with a letter to Abro Efendi, herewith inclosed, and which I beg your Lordship to remit to that functionary, directing him, notwithstanding the instructions already sent on this subject to Ahmed Pasha, to have Said Bek transferred to a suitable residence, so that he may enjoy a change of air and the society of his family, together with any medical attendance of which he may desire to avail himself. In order, however, to diminish his Excellency's personal responsibility in this matter, Abro Efendi is desired to learn that the other Commissioners, already cognizant of the Bek's imprisonment and condemnation, will raise no objection against such a course of procedure, and to take the necessary precautions for the safe custody of the invalid.

Fuad Pasha does not expect to be able to leave Damascus for at least fifteen days. All the necessary proclamations and public notices regarding the forced impost are prepared, but his Excellency desires at the moment of publishing them, to be able to proclaim a general amnesty for both the Moslems and Druses, as the Christians almost daily still continue to accuse individuals of both these denominations, demanding their arrest. He therefore hopes, in order to admit of the proclamation of amnesty, that he may shortly receive the decision of the Porte regarding the Druse prisoners, and further considering it important that he should be here to superintend both the announcement and collection of the impost. In the meantime the evaluation of the Christian losses is proceeding rapidly.

His Excellency has transmitted to Abro Efendi a despatch contesting the allegations contained in the address of the Beyrout merchants, and asserting that order was restored without the aid of foreign intervention, and can equally be maintained without it.

I took the opportunity of Fuad Pasha's reference this morning to continued Christian accusations, to ask whether the Ottoman authorities had ever discovered the authors of the crosses chalked on some Christian houses some months ago. He replied that, although the Government had not been able to discover the individuals, all their investigations went to show that the crosses had been made by the Christians themselves.

Inclosure 3 in No. 36.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, April* 30, 1861.

IN a previous despatch I forwarded to your Excellency a Statistical Table with which I had been furnished by my Austrian colleague, but I was careful to state that, although drawn up some years ago, the information it contained could not be entirely relied on.

I now have the honour of transmitting to your Excellency another Return, which has been made out by Mr. Vice-Consul Abela at Mr. Finn's request. As Mr. Abela is a Maronite, and as the information in question was drawn up without any reference to the reorganization of the Lebanon, the figures it supplies must be free from suspicion. They also agree in a great measure with those with which I have already supplied your Excellency, as will be seen by the accompanying comparison made by Mr. Consul Rogers.

Inclosure 4 in No. 36.

TABLE of Population in the District of Sidon, according to their Religions, with the probable Number in each.

Districts or Mokataas.	Number of		Division of Population by Religions.									
	Villages.	Population.	Maronites.	Greek Orthodox.	Greek Catholics.	Latins.	Protestants.	Moslems.	Metuali.	Jews.	Druses.	Gipsies.
Menasif	22	4,403	1,942	1,356	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,105	
Deir-el-Kamar	1	7,773	4,180	2,100	..	..	..	..	..	350	1,143	
El Shufein	22	14,029	2,550	2,109	..	..	.	..	..	..	9,370	
Aklim-el-Kharûb	45	6,212	316	1,838	..	..	..	3,763	212	..	83	
Gharb-el-Bokaa	25	24,549	9,366	9,980	1,865	..	..	2,524	..	..	814	
Aklim Djezzin	47	8,344	6,442	1,329	..	..	..	84	432	..	57	
Jebel Rihan	25	906	171	..	..	..	..	..	735	..		
Aklim Tufah	35	5,691	2,481	3,117	..	..	..	..	93	..		
Aklim Jebaa	48	6,748	1,748	824	..	..	..	221	3,955	..		
Belad Shukif	36	7,156	58	190	..	..	..	..	6,658	..	..	250
Aklim Shumar	36	3,325	145	80	..	..	..	..	3,100	..		
Saida	1	9,370	500	1,200	60	120	40	6,700	250	500		
	353	98,506	29,899	23,123	1,925	120	40	13,292	15,435	850	13,572	250

(Signed) JACOB ABELA, *Vice-Consul.*

Inclosure 5 in No. 36.

Memorandum.

IT will be seen that, on comparison of Mr. Vice-Consul Abela's Statistical Table with the one compiled by myself from data furnished me by the British and Austrian Consulates-General, with one exception Mr. Abela's list shows a larger population than mine: still this difference is not very great, which leads to the conclusion that the information furnished is founded upon satisfactory data.

	Mr. Abela's Table.				Mr. Rogers's Table.			
	Total Population.	Christians.	Moslems and Metualis.	Druses and others.	Total Population.	Christians.	Moslems and Metualis.	Druses.
Deir-el-Kamar ..	7,773	6,280	..	1,493	6,240	5,250	..	990
The two Shuf ..	14,029	4,659	..	9,370	13,550	5,050	..	8,500
Aklim Kharûb ..	6,212	2,154	3,975	83	7,250	3,000	4,250	
Aklim Djezzin ..	8,344	7,771	516	57	7,850	7,250	..	600
Jebal Rihan ..	906	171	735	..	1,400	450	950	
Aklim Tuffah ..	5,691	5,598	93	..	4,200	4,000	200	

(Signed) E. T. ROGERS.

Beyrout, April 25, 1861.

REFORM CLUB PALL MALL

Inclosure 6 in No. 36.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, April* 30, 1861.

IN consequence of the misconception which appears to prevail at some of the Courts of Europe respecting the motives which induced the Commission to abandon the idea of placing the Lebanon under a single Christian Governor, as developed in the sixteen Articles I had the honour of forwarding to your Excellency in my despatch of the 15th of December last, it is necessary to mention that four out of five of the Commissioners have always considered that such an arrangement could only be agreed to on the condition that the various Pashalics of Syria should be subjected to the control of a Governor-General resident either at Damascus or Beyrout.

When, therefore, the news arrived that the Porte had refused to concentrate the administration of the Province in the hands of a single individual, the further elaboration of the project on which we are engaged became unnecessary.

The most complete unanimity of sentiment prevailed on this point between the Austrian, Russian, Prussian, and British Commissioners, and M. Béclard was fully aware from the commencement that our consent to the Christian unity was quite conditional.

In order to prevent all chance of misconception we had repeated our reserves at every meeting, and added to the 1st Article the words "dependent on the Governor-General." Yesterday I had the honour of asking my colleagues whether the above was a true version of the transaction. They all replied in the affirmative, and M. Béclard intimated that in his opinion it would have been a "supercherie" had any one of us pretended that the Commissioners had drawn up the Articles referred to except on such an understanding.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 7 in No. 36

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, May* 2, 1861.

WITH reference to my previous despatch of the 26th ultimo, I have now the honour to transmit, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the twenty-seventh sitting of the Syrian Commission held on the 22nd ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 8 in No. 36.

Protocol of the Twenty-seventh Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, April 22, 1861.

LE vingt-deux Avril, mil huit cent soixante-un, les Commissaires étant réunis sous la présidence de M. de Rehfues, Vice-Président, la séance est ouverte à deux heures.

Abro Efendi, Délégué du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, transmet à la Commission le texte des observations que l'examen du projet de réorganisation, paraphé par les cinq Commissaires, a suggérées à son Excellence, et qu'il a déjà transmises à la Sublime Porte. (Annexes 1 et 2.*)

Il semblerait résulter des termes de cette communication que Fuad Pacha considérerait ce plan comme un acte sur lequel la Porte aurait dès à présent à s'entendre avec les Représentants des Grandes Puissances.

Sur les observations présentées à ce sujet par M. le Commissaire de France, il est reconnu unanimement que le point de vue auquel s'était placé son Excellence le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan, n'a pu être que le résultat d'un malentendu, et que les travaux de la Commission, tant en ce qui concerne le projet de réorganisation que pour toutes les autres questions au réglement desquelles la Commission aurait reçu l'ordre de concourir, ne peuvent être clos que par l'envoi d'un rapport collectif à leurs Gouvernements.

La séance est levée à trois heures.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 9 in No. 36.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, May* 2, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that, at an unofficial meeting of the Commissioners, lately held at my house, preparatory to signing our final Report in favour of the project of reorganization, as developed in the forty-seven initialled Articles I have already forwarded to your Excellency in my despatch of March 23, the Prussian Commissioner unexpectedly informed us that he had received instructions from his Government to abandon the principle of a division of the Mountain into separate circumscriptions dependent on the Vali of Saida, and had been recommended to advocate, in its stead, the establishment in the Lebanon of a single Christian Governor dependent on the Porte.

An announcement of a somewhat similar nature was also made to us, though in less explicit terms, by the Austrian Commissioner. In reply, I ventured to observe that it seemed to me a matter of regret that individual Governments who had taken part in the appointment of an International Commission, furnished with identic instructions, should thus prematurely step in, and paralyze the concert established between us, by dictating conclusions contrary to the convictions of those they had sent to examine the difficulties of the question on the spot. Such a course of action not only embarrassed their own Representatives, but placed the Commissioners of the other Powers in a false position. Our Reports once signed, and sent to Constantinople, might fairly become an object of criticism to the European Cabinets; but it could hardly be expected that those who had accepted an

* Inclosures 5 and 6 in No. 33.

arrangement which had been deliberately adopted by an almost unanimous vote of the Commission should capriciously disavow the fruit of their joint labours, because an intimation was conveyed to them that the new project was regarded with disfavour in one or more of the distant capitals of Europe. Under such circumstances I could not consent to abandon the Articles which had already received the initials of my colleagues.

M. Novikow followed in pretty much the same sense, but his objections to sign or initial any other project than the one we had already drawn up were expressed in terms even more forcible than my own. Upon this, a member of the Commission intimated that he had reason to believe the next mail would bring the Russian Commissioner instructions of a nature to moderate his reluctance: and I was asked whether, in the event of all my brother Commissioners receiving instructions similar to those already transmitted to M. de Rehfues, I should refuse to take part in the elaboration of a second project. I replied, "By no means; provided the original Articles are allowed to remain as the expression of the unbiassed opinion of the Commission, and that a paragraph is placed at the head of the new scheme, recording the fact of its having been drawn up on a basis imposed upon the Commission by their respective Governments. Even so, however, I should not consider myself at liberty either to sign or initial anything but our original plan, and I must reserve to myself the right of enlarging, if necessary, in a separate note, on the inconvenient result which may be expected to arise out of the natural antagonism between a Christian Governor of the Mountain and a Moslem Pasha of Beyrout."

M. Novikow still adhering to his original opinion, and my proposition in regard to the hypothetical character to be given to the new project having met with general acceptation, the inclosed unsigned Articles were drawn up, during the course of three successive unofficial meetings.

Your Excellency will observe that with the exception of the one which places a Christian Governor at the head of the Mountain, these Articles differ but in very few particulars from those which regulate our former plan. The Lebanon is again divided into ethnological circumscriptions, administered by subordinate agents, chosen out of the bosom of the dominant nationality. Two Central Medjlises, in which each element of the population is equally represented, will still dispense justice and control the executive; while the various Aklims are left to the superintendence of officers corresponding in some respects to the ancient Mokatadjis. In fact, the second plan is a mere modification of the first, and, the principle of a Christian Governor for the Lebanon once admitted, I am inclined to prefer its details to those of the former one, more especially as, in the last, the entry of regular troops into the Mountain on occasions of emergency is no longer to depend on the consent of the members of the Medjlis.

As the rather questionable principle of disintegration has also been abandoned in the new project, it was necessary to specify expressly that the right of a nationality to be regarded as the "dominant rite" in any circumscription shall depend as much on property as on numbers. This will place a Druse at the head of the local administration of Druse districts, even though the Christian tenants should outnumber the Druse proprietors. The same precaution will also ensure the southernmost circumscription, where the property is Druse and the population exclusively Christian, being presided over by a mixed Medjlis, and administered alternately by a Druse and Christian "Chef d'Arrondissement."

These arrangements having been concluded, M. de Weckbecker demanded whether it was advisable we should engage on a third project, founded on the principle of the Government of the entire Mountain being placed in the hands of a native Christian.

Upon this I observed that I was sorry I could not myself take part in the elaboration of Articles on such a basis, but that I would be quite ready to transmit to my Government any project in that sense which might be communicated to us by any individual member of the Commission.

To this invitation M. Béclard replied by stating that he was quite contented with the details of the second plan, provided only the Christian ruler placed at the head of the new administration were a native of the Lebanon.

On my inquiring whether he should wish such Christian to be appointed for life, the French Commissioner answered that he would not go beyond the terms of our own Articles.

The subject having been thus exhausted, and it being very evident that most of the Commissioners were unwilling to commit themselves too definitely either to the plan which had been rejected by their Governments or to the other, of which in their conscience they disapproved, it was determined, on the proposition of M. de Rehfues, to get rid of all embarrassment by dealing with our twin productions in the following ingenious manner.

Neither the first nor the second project was to be signed, but both were to be appended as annexes to a short collective note, descriptive of the procedure which had been adopted, and of the circumstances which had led to the elaboration of a second set of Articles. This note was the only document which was to receive the signatures of all the Commissioners; but in order to indicate in a delicate manner our preference for the original plan, the *paraphes* at the foot of the first scheme were to be left unobliterated, while the second was to be presented uninitialled and unsigned. Individual Commissioners were then to be at liberty to subjoin, as additional annexes to the collective note, whatever reserves or independent observations they felt called upon to make, while an elaborate development of the first project, which had been drawn up by M. Crampon, the Secretary of the Commission, and which, until the idea of a second Project came to be talked of, had been intended for our Report, was also to be added, with that gentleman's signature attached.

I regret extremely that I cannot transmit by this mail, and in a collective form, the various documents I have thus enumerated; but neither M. Béclard's reserves, nor M. Crampon's Minute, has been definitely communicated to the Commission. The Articles of the first Project have been for some time past in your Excellency's hands, and last week I had the honour of forwarding a copy of Fuad Pasha's reserves, together with a separate Minute embodying my own.*

I now transmit the collective note of the Commission alluded to above, together with the sixteen Articles which compose the second Project. As soon as they come into my possession, I will forward to your Excellency the remaining papers.

As your Excellency will doubtless perceive, we have at last arrived at the reduction of the question of the organization of the Mountain to issues which are quite independent of all local considerations. As far as details are concerned, the Commissioners are entirely agreed. It is now merely a question as to what should be the prevailing character of the superior authority which is to regulate and control the institutions we have devised. M. Novikow, supported by M. de Rehfues, was anxious, while increasing the ancient subdivisions of the Mountain, to leave as much independence as possible in the hands of the local Chiefs or Kaimakams. M. de Weckbecker and myself, supported by Fuad Pasha, were willing, on the other hand, to preserve the Municipal privileges of these petty Administrations, provided only they were all rendered duly subordinate to Imperial authority; while M. Béclard's ambition was confined to the erection of the Lebanon into a little Principality under a Maronite Emir.

To these three distinct modes of dealing with this part of the subject, a fourth has been added by the European Cabinets, who have invited us to revert to our former idea of placing the administration of the Mountain in the hands of a non-native Christian.

I have so frequently troubled your Excellency with an explanation of the circumstances under which I should consider such an arrangement advantageous or the reverse, that I need not again discuss the subject. Were it possible to ensure the person selected for the post in question being a *bonâ fide* representative of the interests and authority of the Sultan, such an arrangement might be a convenient one; and it is to be observed that, according to the recommendation of the Commissioners, the officer in question is removable at pleasure, and will differ in no respect from any other servant of the Crown. Whether or no these circumstances will be sufficient to protect him from the baneful influence of foreign cajolery and intimidation is another question. If they are not, the difficulty of foreseeing what are to be the future relations of the Pasha of Beyrout and the Governor of the Mountain are as great as ever. At all events the final questions which have been raised by the deliberations of the Commissioners can scarcely be decided at Beyrout, inasmuch as their solution depends rather on principles of general policy than on any local necessities.

* See Inclosures 5, 6, 9, and 10 in No. 33.

By submitting to the Representatives of the European Powers at Constantinople the two projects they have now completed, accompanied by the Reserves appended to them by individual Commissioners, the humble labours of the Commission may be said to have terminated. We have reduced the subject in dispute to its simplest expression, and it will be for those whose position and experience better qualify them for such a task to decide on points which have passed beyond the sphere of our limited competence.

RM CLUB
PALL MALL

Inclosure 10 in No. 36.

Collective Note.

LES membres de la Commission Internationale pour les affaires de Syrie ont unanimement reconnu que l'organisation politique et administrative du Liban réclame de profondes modifications.

Envisageant tous à peu près de la même manière l'origine et les causes des évènements qui ont ensanglanté la Montagne, ils sont tombés d'accord sur la plupart des dispositions contenues dans un projet de réorganisation, en quarante-sept Articles, paraphé à la date du 20 Mars dernier.

Ce projet admis, avec des réserves, par ceux-là mêmes d'entre les Commissaires qui n'y donnaient pas leur pleine et entière adhésion, a paru devoir être l'élément principal du rapport préscrit par les instructions collectives du 16 Août, 1860; rapport à suite duquel sont exprimées, dans des notes séparées, les opinions particulières de chacun des membres de la Commission.

Plusieurs Cabinets ayant, sur les entrefaites, manifesté l'intention de considérer comme base préalable de toute réorganisation le principe d'un pouvoir unique et Chrétien, la Commission n'a pas cru que, au point où en était arrivé l'examen de la question, elle dût se borner à l'émission du projet ci-dessus mentionné et de l'exposé de motifs qui l'accompagne. Pour mieux préparer les voies à la résolution définitive des Cabinets, elle a en conséquence élaboré éventuellement un second plan de réorganisation, en seize Articles, sur la base du pouvoir unique et Chrétien non indigène, auquel M. le Commissaire de France a adhéré sous la seule réserve du principe de l'indigenat, et introduit, dans ce nouveau projet, toutes les dispositions du premier qui procuraient s'y rattacher. L'exposé de motifs rédigé avant l'élaboration de ce deuxième plan, sans pouvoir être considéré comme un Rapport collectif n'est donc pas non plus un Rapport séparé, puisqu'il contient, sur l'origine et les causes des évènements de la Montagne, sur la nécessité d'y fortifier le pouvoir exécutif et d'y abolir le régime féodal, sur l'organisation judiciaire et sur celle des Medjlis Administratifs, des développements qui s'appliquent à tous les projets indistinctement et sont l'expression d'une pensée commune.

Beyrout, le 4 *Mai*, 1861.

(Signé) WECKBECKER.
L. BECLARD.
DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.
REHFUES.

Sont annexés à cette note :—

1. Le projet de réorganisation en quarante-sept Articles.
2. L'exposé des motifs de ce projet.
3. Les réserves faites sur ce projet.
4. Le projet en seize Articles.
5. Les réserves faites sur ce projet.

(Signé) W.
D. AND C.
L. B.
R.

Inclosure 11 in No. 36.

Projet élaboré par les Membres de la Commission pour le cas où leurs Gouvernements les inviteraient à prendre, comme base de la réorganisation du Liban, le principe d'un pouvoir unique et Chrétien non-indigène, principe contraire à celui qui sert de base au projet déjà paraphé.

IL a été convenu qu'il n'y aurait de réserves admises en marge de ce projet que celles qui seraient présentées à la fois par deux Membres de la Commission.

Article 1. Le Liban sera administré par un Gouverneur Chrétien non-indigène, nommé par la Sublime Porte et relevant d'elle directement.

Ce fonctionnaire amovible sera investi de toutes les attributions du pouvoir exécutif, veillera au maintien de l'ordre et de la sécurité publique dans toute l'étendue de la Montagne, percevra les impôts, nommera les Agents administratifs, instituera les juges, convoquera et présidera le Medjlis Administratif Central, et procurera l'exécution de toutes les sentences légalement rendues par les tribunaux.

Chacun des éléments constitutifs de la population de la Montagne sera représenté auprès du Gouverneur par un Vékil nommé par les Chefs et notables de chaque communauté.

Art. 2. Il y aura pour toute la Montagne un Medjlis Administratif Central, composé de douze membres, savoir, deux Maronites, deux Druses, deux Grecs Orthodoxes, deux Grecs Catholiques, deux Metualis, deux Musulmans, chargés de repartir l'impôt, contrôler la gestion des finances, et donner son avis consultatif sur toutes les questions qui lui seront posées par le Gouverneur.

Art. 3. La Montagne sera divisée en six arrondissements administratifs, savoir :—

(1.) Le Kourah, y compris la partie inférieure et les autres fractions de territoire avoisinantes dont la population appartient au rite Grec Orthodoxe.

(2.) La partie septentrionale du Liban sauf le Kourah, jusqu'au Nahr-el-Kelb.

(3.) Zahlé et son territoire, y compris le faubourg de Moallacah.

(4.) Le Meten, y compris le Sahel Chrétien, et les territoires du Katah et de Solima.

(5.) Le territoire situé au sud de la route de Damas jusqu'au Djezzin.

(6.) Le Djezzin et le Tuffah.

Dans le cas où les habitants Chrétiens de Hasbeya, Rasheya, et Merdjaïoun, ne voudraient pas retourner dans leurs localités respectives, la Commission émet le vœu qu'une septième circonscription soit formée en leur faveur avec la partie des versants orientaux du Liban et de la Bokaa, qui pourrait leur être attribuée en équivalent, et où ils seraient appelés à jouir de tous les privilèges appartenant aux populations Chrétiennes de la Montagne.

Il y aura dans chacun de ces arrondissements, un Agent administratif nommé par le Gouverneur et choisi dans le rite dominant, soit par le chiffre de sa population, soit par l'importance de ses propriétés.

Art. 4. Il y aura dans chaque arrondissement un Medjlis Administratif local, composé de trois à six membres représentant les divers éléments de la population, et les intérêts de la propriété foncière dans l'arrondissement.

Ce Medjlis local, présidé et convoqué annuellement par le Chef de l'arrondissement, devra refondre, en premier ressort, toutes les affaires de contention administratif, entendre les réclamations des habitants, fournir les renseignements statistiques nécessaires à la répartition de l'impôt dans l'arrondissement, et donner son avis consultatif sur toutes les questions d'intérêt local.

Art. 5. Les arrondissements administratifs seront subdivisés en cantons, dont le territoire, à peu près réglé sur celui des anciens aklims, ne renfermera autant que possible que des groupes homogènes de population ; et ces cantons, en communes qui se composeront chacune d'au moins 500 habitants.

A la tête de chaque canton, il y aura un Agent nommé par le Gouverneur sur la proposition du Chef de l'arrondissement, et à la tête de chaque commune un Cheikh choisi par les habitants, et nommé par le Gouverneur.

Dans les communes mixtes, chaque élément constitutif de la population aura un Cheikh particulier dont l'autorité ne s'exercera que sur ses coreligionnaires.

Art. 6. Egalité de tous devant la loi; abolition de tous les privilèges féodaux, et notamment de ceux qui appartenaient aux Mokâtajis.

Art. 7. Il y aura dans chaque canton un Juge de Paix pour chaque rite; dans chaque arrondissement, un Medjlis Judiciaire de Première Instance composé de trois à six membres représentant les divers éléments de la population; et, au siège du Gouvernement, un Medjlis Judiciaire Supérieur, composé de douze membres, dont deux appartenant à chacune des six communautés désignées en l'Article 2, et auxquels on adjoindra un représentant des cultes Protestant et Israélite toutes les fois qu'un membre de ces communautés aura des intérêts engagés dans le procès.

La présidence des Medjlis Judiciaires sera exercée trimestriellement, et à tour de rôle par chacun de leurs membres.

Art. 8. Les Juges de Paix jugeront sans appel jusqu'à concurrence de 500 piastres.

Les affaires au-dessus de 500 piastres seront de la compétence des Medjlis Judiciaires de Première Instance.

Les affaires mixtes, c'est-à-dire, entre particuliers n'appartenant pas à un même rite, quelle que soit la valeur engagée dans le procès, seront immédiatement portées devant les Medjlis de Première Instance, à moins que les parties ne soient d'accord pour reconnaître la compétence du Juge de Paix du défenseur.

En principe, toute affaire sera jugée par la totalité des membres du Medjlis. Néanmoins quand toutes les parties engagées dans le procès appartiendront au même rite, elles auront le droit de récuser le Juge appartenant à un rite différent. Mais dans ce cas même, les Juges récusés devront assister au jugement.

Art. 9. En matière criminelle, il y aura trois degrés de juridiction: les contraventions seront jugées par les Juges de Paix; les délits par les Medjlis de Première Instance; et les crimes par le Medjlis Judiciaire Supérieur, dont les sentences ne pourront être mises à exécution qu'après l'accomplissement des formalités d'usage dans le reste de l'Empire.

Art. 10. Tout procès en matière commerciale sera porté devant le Tribunal de Commerce de Beyrout, et tout procès, même en matière civile, entre un étranger ou protégé et un habitant de la Montague, sera soumis à la juridiction de ce même Tribunal.

Art. 11. Tous les membres des Medjlis Judiciaires et Administratifs, sans exception, ainsi que les Juges de Paix, seront choisis et désignés, après une entente avec les notables, par les Chefs de leurs communautés respectives, et institués par le Gouverneur. Le personnel des Medjlis Administratifs sera renouvelé par moitié tous les ans, et les membres sortants pourront être réélus.

Art. 12. Tous les Juges seront rétribués. Si après enquête, il est prouvé que l'un d'entre eux a prévariqué ou s'est rendu par un fait quelconque indigne de ses fonctions, il devra être révoqué, et sera en outre passible d'une peine proportionnée à la faute qu'il aura commise.

Art. 13. Les audiences de tous les Medjlis Judiciaires seront publiques, et il en sera rédigé procès-verbal par un greffier institué *ad hoc*. Ce greffier sera en outre chargé de tenir un régistre de tous les contrats portant alienation de biens immobiliers, lesquels contrats ne seront valables qu'après avoir été soumis à la formalité de l'enregistrement.

Art. 14. En temps ordinaire, le maintien de l'ordre et l'exécution des lois seront exclusivement assurés par le Gouverneur, au moyen d'un corps de police mixte, recruté par la voie des engagements volontaires, et composé à raison de cinq hommes environ par 1,000 habitants.

L'exécution par garnisaires devant être abolie et remplacée par d'autres modes de contrainte, tels que la saisie ou l'emprisonnement, il sera interdit aux agents de police, sous les peines les plus sévères, d'exiger des habitants aucune rétribution, soit en argent, soit en nature. Ils devront porter un uniforme, ou quelque signe extérieure de leurs fonctions, et dans l'exécution d'un ordre quelconque de l'autorité on emploiera, autant que possible, des agents appartenant à la nation ou au rite de l'individu que cette mesure concernera.

En cas de nécessité, et après avoir pris l'avis du Medjlis Administratif Central, le Gouverneur pourra requérir auprès du Vali de Saida l'assistance des troupes Ottomanes.

Art. 15. L'impôt de 3,500 bourses sera doublé, et son produit exclusivement affecté aux frais d'administration de la Montagne, et à ses dépenses d'utilité publique.

En dehors de cet impôt aucune contribution directe ou indirecte ne pourra être établie sans le consentement de la majorité des membres du Medjlis Administratif Central.

Art. 16. La Commission émet le vœu qu'il soit procédé le plutôt possible au recensement de la population par commune et par rite, à la levée d'un cadastre de toutes les terres cultivées, et au désarmement des habitants de la Montagne, quand cette mesure aura été effectuée dans le reste de la Syrie.

Le 1 Mai, 1861.

Inclosure 12 in No. 36.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, May* 2, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, extract from a private letter which I have received from the Rev. Mr. Calhoun, on the future organization of the country. He is an American missionary in whose judgment and impartiality I am disposed to place great confidence.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 13 in No. 36.

The Rev. — Calhoun to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *April* 30, 1861.

I HAVE been wishing for more time to write a line to your Lordship in reference to the affairs of the Mountain. It seems most desirable that some plan should be agreed upon for its government as speedily as possible. The minds of the people are not at ease, and of course they do not pursue their various callings with much vigour. They are in general an obedient people, and I think, could be easily satisfied, if the Representatives of the Five Powers and the Ottoman Government were to agree upon any possible scheme.

An effort has been made, of which no doubt your Excellency has been apprised, to secure a petition from the various populations, in favour of a successor of the old Emir Beshir, in the person of one of his descendants or relatives. The petition has been extensively signed. Even Druses, in some places, have given their names, as I understand.

This petition, in my humble opinion, does not represent the unbiassed wish of the people. I do not doubt that multitudes have signed it, while in their hearts repudiating the scheme.

The Druses in this quarter are decidedly opposed to the plan. The Greeks, to a great extent, I think are equally opposed.

Having said thus much in the way of a statement of facts, let me add an opinion, and that is that the better government for the Lebanon, at least at present, is the Ottoman, directly. I would have neither Maronite, nor Greek, nor Druse. I believe that the people would more generally be satisfied, after a time, with the Turk than either of the others.

I have a growing conviction, that were the foreign forces out of Syria, we should, with the cordial co-operation of the European Powers, soon see good results. I have little doubt that, say, Fuad Pasha would make a mighty effort to govern Syria, and of course to have the Lebanon Government in a manner acceptable to the Great Powers.

We must not expect too much. Whoever imagines that any Government, by whatever agency, can be administered over such a people as occupies Syria, in a perfect way, is in my opinion mistaken. We want a firm, not to say a vigorous dispensation. Crime must be punished, property must be secure. As the people improve, the Government will of necessity improve.

Inclosure 14 in No. 36.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, May* 5, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Excellency's information, that in addition to the troops brought here by five Turkish steam-vessels, as reported in my despatch of the 26th ultimo, a further reinforcement of men and horses has arrived, amounting to 3,500 men, forming four battalions, as well as 200 horses, bringing the total number landed since the 23rd ultimo up to 4,850 men, and 1,000 horses.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 37.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, May* 17, 1861.

I HAVE to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government are anxious that you should, as soon as possible, come to an arrangement with the Representatives of the several Powers and with the Porte, for the future government of the Lebanon.

I have intimated to you on several occasions, by telegraph, that Her Majesty's Government would not consent to the appointment of a single Maronite Governor for the whole Mountain.

Such an arrangement would lead to the extermination of the Druses.

It appears to Her Majesty's Government that if a single Christian Governor is to be appointed, he should not be a native of the Lebanon.

No. 38.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received May 18.)

My Lord, *Paris, May* 16, 1861.

THE transports to bring back the French troops from Syria were to set out yesterday. The squadron to be stationed off the coast will follow on the 20th instant. I understand that the embarkation is to commence without loss of time.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 39.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received May 20.)

My Lord, *Paris, May* 18, 1861.

THE ratifications of the Convention of the 19th of March last, for the prolongation of the occupation of Syria, were exchanged this afternoon between the Representatives of the different Powers, and I have the honour to transmit those destined for Her Majesty's Government.

The *procès-verbal* of the exchange is also transmitted herewith.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 40.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received May* 23.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, May* 10, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 40.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, May* 10, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the twenty-eighth sitting of the Syrian Commission, held on the 29th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 40.

Protocol of the Twenty-eighth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, April 29, 1861.

LE Lundi, vingt-neuf Avril, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de M. de Rehfues, Vice-Président, la séance est ouverte à deux heures.

Le procès-verbal est lu et adopté.

M. le Délégué Ottoman communique à la Commission une déclaration par laquelle quatre médecins attestent que Said Bey Djoumblat est atteint d'une maladie qui exclut toute possibilité de guérison, et recommandent de le placer dans un local où il puisse recevoir les soins de sa famille. Son Excellence Fuad Pacha, avant de donner suite à cette demande, a voulu consulter la Commission. Les Commissaires ne croient devoir prendre aucune part, même consultative, à une mesure de détail administratif qui n'est point de leur compétence. M. le Délégué Ottoman demande que la déclaration des médecins soit annexée au procès-verbal (Annexe No. 1).

M. le Commissaire Britannique appelle, comme il a déjà essayé de le faire plusieurs fois, l'attention de ses collègues sur la position faite aux Druses par l'attitude hostile des populations Chrétiennes. Il résulte de renseignements positifs, émanés d'un missionnaire Américain, personnage entièrement digne de foi, que ces jours derniers des Druses qui venaient à Beyrout déguisés en Chrétiens, comme ils sont obligés de le faire, ont été attaqués à main armée dans les environs de Hadeth; que les mulets, dérobés aux Druses par les aggresseurs Chrétiens, ont été conduits à Hadeth, où les soldats Ottomans, informés de cette affaire, n'ont pas osé aller les chercher. Dernièrement, d'après d'autres renseignements, un bœuf a été enlevé dans les environs de Zouk à un Druse qui n'a pu en obtenir la restitution qu'à la condition de payer 300 piastres au voleur. D'autres renseignements prouvent que, pour venir à Beyrout, les Druses sont obligés de se déguiser. Tous ces faits sans grande importance en eux-mêmes, mais qui se renouvellent fréquemment, sont, aux yeux de Lord Dufferin, l'indice d'une situation grave. Ils attestent que la sécurité ne règne point dans le pays, et que la masse des Druses qui n'a point mérité d'être atteinte par la répression, ne jouit d'aucune sécurité par suite de l'attitude hostile et menaçante des Chrétiens, attitude à laquelle rien ne vient faire obstacle, et que tout au contraire semble encourager. Lord Dufferin, pour la dernière fois et afin de mettre sa responsabilité à couvert sur les conséquences que pourrait avoir un tel état de choses, si l'on n'y mettait un terme, demande formellement aujourd'hui que son Excellence le Commissaire Ottoman soit invité par la Commission à prendre les mesures nécessaires pour le faire cesser.

M. de Rehfues demande, si pour les délits qui viennent d'être rapportés et

tous ceux du même genre, l'autorité a sévi contre les coupables, et si elle s'est d'abord assuré les moyens de mettre la main sur eux.

M. le Délégué Ottoman répond qu'il serait dans l'impossibilité de donner aucune information exacte à ce sujet. Il en référera à Fuad Pacha.

M. Novikow rappelle que, d'après un projet récemment communiqué, tous les délits particuliers devaient être soumis à la juridiction d'un Tribunal Provisoire ; ce Tribunal fonctionne-t-il ?

M. le Délégué Ottoman répond qu'il n'a pas encore pu être formé.

M. Béclard se proposait, dit-il, de faire la même question. Il avait aussi l'intention de présenter à la Commission quelques observations sur l'établissement de cette juridiction essentiellement provisoire. Ces observations, il les fera avec d'autant plus de raison qu'il vient d'apprendre que le Tribunal Mixte n'avait pas encore été institué. Il est utile, selon lui, d'examiner les termes du document communiqué à ce sujet par Fuad Pacha avant son départ pour Damas. Selon M. Béclard, l'institution arrêtée il y a un mois, en vue des besoins du moment, et qui ne fonctionne pas encore, tend à transporter à Beyrout le siège des instructions judiciaires non seulement pour la partie de la Montagne provisoirement soumise à un régime exceptionnel, mais encore pour toute la partie de la Montagne où le régime légal ordinaire n'a pas cessé d'être en vigueur. Il appartient à la Commission de réserver la juridiction du Medjlis de la Caimacamie du Nord. Ce Medjlis est-il en dissolution ? Qu'on le reconstitue. Mais le ressort du Medjlis Provisoire et Extraordinaire dont la formation a été projetée, ne peut s'étendre que sur le territoire de la Caimacamie du Sud, soumis lui-même au régime provisoire de l'état de siège. D'ailleurs ce n'est point dans le Nord que se commettent les faits du genre de ceux qui viennent d'être signalés par M. le Commissaire Britannique. C'est dans le Sud : que le Nord conserve donc ses institutions.

Lord Dufferin fait observer que de pareils incidents ont lieu partout où il y a des Druses, et par conséquent dans le Meten, district Mixte de la Caimacamie Maronite.

M. Béclard admet alors que la juridiction exceptionnelle du Tribunal projeté puisse s'étendre jusqu'au fleuve du Chien.

Quant aux faits de détail rapportés par Lord Dufferin, et qui seraient dans l'opinion de sa Seigneurie l'indice d'une attitude hostile et menaçant des Chrétiens contre les Druses, M. le Commissaire de France éprouve quelque embarras à leur attacher autant d'importance que veut bien le faire M. le Commissaire Britannique. En tout pays et en tout temps, on a toujours volé des bœufs et des mulets. Ces délits, dont il ne nie point la gravité, tombent sous le coup de la loi ordinaire ; c'est à la police à les prévenir, aux Juges à les réprimer. M. le Commissaire Français aperçoit difficilement en quoi ils pourraient motiver l'intervention des Commissaires des Cinq Grandes Puissances. S'ils sont l'indice d'un état de choses fâcheux, et si quelques-uns d'entre les Druses ne croient pas pouvoir venir à Beyrout sans se déguiser, il est prouvé que la nation Druse est encore aujourd'hui dans un certain état de malaise et d'inquiétude ; quel moyen la Commission a-t-elle d'empêcher cela ? La communication que vient de faire Lord Dufferin s'appuie sur ce fait que l'œuvre de la répression doit être considérée comme entièrement close. Il serait fort à désirer en effet qu'il en fût ainsi. Malheureusement cette clôture n'a pas eu lieu, bien que les Commissaires aient fait tous leurs efforts pour atteindre ce résultat. Si les quelques violences isolées qui ont lieu de temps en temps dans la Montagne dérivent de l'état de lutte des deux races, que l'on y mette un terme, en donnant aux Chrétiens les satisfactions dues, et la Commission ne pourrait à cet égard qu'émettre des vœux déjà mille fois exprimés. Si ce ne sont que des faits isolés, sans caractère politique, c'est à la justice, à l'autorité locale à s'en occuper.

M. le Commissaire d'Autriche incline à penser que ces faits doivent attirer l'attention de la Commission. C'est le défaut complet de police locale qui les rend possibles, et qui empêche que les Druses ne puissent venir à Beyrout en sécurité. La Montagne que l'on croit pacifiée, se trouve encore en état de guerre, et c'est à proximité de Beyrout, c'est tout près du camp des troupes auxiliaires, au milieu des détachements de troupes Ottomanes, que ces tentatives à main armée peuvent se commettre impunément. M. de Weckbecker croit devoir en conséquence appuyer la motion de Lord Dufferin, et il lui paraît qu'un appel de la Commission à la sollicitude du Représentant du Gouvernement Ottoman n'aurait rien que d'opportun.

M. de Rehfues trouve que depuis six mois il a formulé tant de vœux d'une nature analogue, et restés sans aucun succès, qu'il serait peut-être plus pratique de tourner autrement la question, et de demander à M. le Délégué Ottoman de vouloir bien faire immédiatement connaître quels sont les empêchements qui s'opposent à ce que le Gouvernement du Sultan fasse la police, et institue le Tribunal dont il a dernièrement annoncé la formation.

M. le Délégué Ottoman se réserve de les indiquer ultérieurement.

M. Novikow pense que dans l'état actuel des choses la répression n'étant pas terminée, puisque les principales sentences de condamnation n'ont pas été exécutées, il n'est que très naturel que des actes de représailles se commettent par les Chrétiens contre les Druses. Il les trouve sans doute déplorables, mais il ne peut oublier qu'il a toujours dit que la paix ne pouvait être rétablie dans la Montagne que quand l'œuvre de la répression serait définitivement terminée. Il serait fort porté à attirer l'attention de Fuad Pacha sur cet état de choses, mais l'intention de son Excellence a déjà été attirée plusieurs fois sur le même objet, et M. le Commissaire Russe ne voit pas dans quel sens la Commission pourrait formuler une nouvelle représentation.

Lord Dufferin est d'avis que la chose est parfaitement claire. Il a reçu de renseignements nombreux qui lui prouvent que les Chrétiens sont portés à céder à de mauvaises inspirations, et que le moment est venu pour l'autorité Ottomane de prendre des précautions très sérieuses. Il a signalé des faits avec modération et s'est décidé à troubler encore une fois la quiétude de ses collègues, afin de mettre à couvert sa responsabilité.

M. le Commissaire de France ne croit pas que celle des Chrétiens en général puisse être atteinte par le récit des faits susmentionnés. La responsabilité de tous les faits isolés de ce genre pourra être imputée à qui l'on voudra, sauf aux Chrétiens. Cet état de malaise et de souffrance que tout le monde déplore, a été souvent constaté par la Commission, et l'on est malheureusement fondé à dire qu'il s'aggrave au lieu de s'améliorer. D'où cela provient-il ? Devons-nous l'attribuer à quelques délits isolés, commis par des Chrétiens sur des Druses, ou par des Druses sur des Chrétiens ? La raison se refuse à la croire. En présence des promesses qui ont été faites aux Chrétiens, et dont pas une seule n'a été tenue jusqu'à ce jour, il est naturel que cet état de crise persiste. Il fallait réprimer promptement et sévèrement des crimes commis dans des proportions inouies. Cette répression a-t-elle eu lieu ? La réparation des dommages, soufferts par les populations Chrétiens, était le second point du programme. A-t-elle été donnée ? Quelques à-comptes dérisoires ont été inégalement distribués. Dans un grand nombre de localités, un sixième des sommes reconnues nécessaires pour la construction des maisons a été délivré ; mais à quoi cela pouvait-il servir ? Les victimes mouraient de faim ; elles l'ont dépensé pour vivre, et ne sont pas aujourd'hui plus avancées qu'auparavant. Reste le troisième point : la réorganisation du pays, l'institution d'un pouvoir capable de protéger ses administrés et de maintenir l'ordre au sein des populations. Les Chrétiens l'attendent patiemment. Elle aura lieu, mais ce n'est encore qu'une espérance. Ainsi, depuis tout à l'heure onze mois, de toutes les promesses faites pas une n'est réalisée, et le mal ne va qu'en augmentant. Nul n'a souhaité plus ardemment que M. le Commissaire de France une reconciliation pleine et entière entre les Chrétiens et les Druses. Mais pour qu'un tel résultat pût être obtenu, il faudrait clore l'ère de la répression. Or, cela ne dépend plus de la Commission. Il appartient à qui de droit d'exécuter les sentences légalement rendues par les Tribunaux de l'Empire, et de donner enfin aux Chrétiens, au moins sur ce point, les satisfactions qui leur sont dues.

Lord Dufferin ne s'attendait point à ce que, à propos des faits qu'il a rapportés, on reviendrait sur un débat déjà terminé. Mais puisqu'on l'a fait, il est conduit à examiner la valeur des appréciations auxquelles M. le Commissaire de France vient de se livrer. Il a dit que la répression n'était pas terminée, parce que les sentences rendues n'étaient pas toutes exécutées. Mais 250 Druses ont été transportés dernièrement à Tripoli de Barbarie. Il a été convenu que les autres détenus de Mokhtara, condamnés à mort, ne seraient point exécutés, et que leur peine serait commuée d'un degré. Quant aux onze détenus de Beyrout, il s'est produit dans le sein même de la Commission une dissidence d'opinions, qui a amené des retards inévitables. Il n'est donc pas exact de dire que rien n'a été fait.

Au surplus Lord Dufferin ne voit pas quel rapport il y a entre ces questions

et celle qu'il a posée. Dans l'état actuel des choses, les Druses ne peuvent venir à Beyrout sans se déguiser. Dans l'opinion de Lord Dufferin, c'est là un fait qui rejaillit d'une manière fâcheuse sur Fuad Pacha et les autres Commissaires.

M. le Commissaire de France déclare qu'il est disposé à s'intéresser aux souffrances des Druses, mais avant tout à celles des Chrétiens. Qu'on mette un terme aux souffrances des Chrétiens, alors il s'intéressera aux Druses.

M. de Délégué Ottoman croit que les souffrances des populations ne cesseront que quand toutes les causes de troubles auront disparu de la Montagne.

M. de Weckbecker pense que cet état de choses s'explique sans se justifier. Les Chrétiens voient encore aujourd'hui dans les Druses les détenteurs le leurs biens. Mais c'est aux autorités à s'interposer, et la Commission pourrait, ainsi que le demande Lord Dufferin, les y inviter.

M. de Rehfues avoue que le malaise des populations persiste et ne fait qu'augmenter, mais il voudrait, avant de remettre aucune note à Fuad Pacha, qu'il fut bien prouvé qu'en général un état d'effervescence nouveau s'est développé entre les Chrétiens et les Druses.

Lord Dufferin fait remarquer que sa motion n'a pas précisément pour but de provoquer l'émission d'une note collective à Fuad Pacha, mais d'appeler par l'intermédiaire d'Abro Effendi l'attention de son Excellence le Commissaire Ottoman sur l'attitude hostile et menaçante des Chrétiens contre les Druses.

M. le Commissaire de France déclare ne pas pouvoir s'associer à une démarche qui, telle qu'elle vient d'être formulée, ne rendrait en aucune façon sa pensée.

M. le Commissaire Russe ne demanderait pas mieux que de concourir à l'émission d'un avis tendant à appeler l'attention et toute la sollicitude de Fuad Pacha sur l'état actuel des choses dans la Montagne. Mais dans quels termes formuler cet avis? Cet état de choses a des causes multiples. La plus grave, ce n'est pas tant encore le retard apporté à la clôture de la répression, que le non-paiement des indemnités tant à Damas que dans la Montagne. D'après les renseignements qui lui parviennent, la détresse des populations augmente de jour en jour, et provoque sans cesse de leur part de nouvelles et stériles supplications.

M. le Délégué Ottoman promet de faire connaître dans la prochaine séance le mode qui vient d'être adopté en principe pour le réglement des indemnités mobilières pour les habitants de la Montagne.

M. le Commissaire Français prend acte de cet engagement, dont il attendra l'exécution avec impatience, et déclare que, s'il refuse de s'associer à la motion de Lord Dufferin, c'est parce que les termes dans lesquels on propose de la rédiger lui paraissent, à lui aussi, trop étroits et trop absolus.

Lord Dufferin déclare ne point s'opposer à ce que dans sa motion il soit tenu compte de ce que M. Novikow vient de dire au sujet du non-paiement des indemnités.

En conséquence le Secrétaire de la Commission donne lecture d'un projet de note ainsi concue :—

" Les communications faites par M. le Commissaire Britannique à la séance du 29 Avril, 1861, tendant à prouver que l'état des choses dans la Montagne, eu égard à l'hostilité des Chrétiens contre les Druses, est tel que ces derniers ne croient pas pouvoir y circuler librement, par suite de ce que les populations Chrétiennes, ne recevant pas les satisfactions qui leur ont été promises, sont portées à se faire justice elles-mêmes, la Commission croit nécessaire d'appeler l'attention de son Excellence le Commissaire Ottoman sur l'ensemble de cette situation."

Cette redaction est approuvée par les divers membres de la Commission, et M. le Commissaire de France y adhère pour son propre compte.

Copie de cette résolution est remise à M. le Délégué Ottoman, qui promet de la faire parvenir à Damas par le plus prochain courrier.

M. Béclard prie M. le Délégué Ottoman de vouloir bien informer la Commission :—

1. Des mesures qui ont été prises à Damas pour la levée d'un à-compte de l'impôt extraordinaire.

2. Du résultat de l'enquête à laquelle il a lui-même pris part au sujet des crimes commis l'année dernière à Sayda.

Abro Efendi répond, sur le premier point, que son Excellence le Commissaire Extraordinaire du Sultan s'occupe en ce moment de la levée d'un impôt de 15,000,000 de piastres, et, sur le second point, que les jugements sont rendus et vont être transmis à Fuad Pacha, qui les renverra à Beyrout après les avoir examinés.

M. le Commissaire de France demande à ses collègues la permission de provoquer leur attention sur un fait grave qui s'est produit l'année dernière à Beyrout, à l'époque des troubles de la Syrie. Un jeune Chrétien de dix-sept ans a été arrêté, jugé, et mis à mort en quelques heures, contrairement aux régles de la justice Ottomane, qui ordonnent de suspendre l'exécution des sentences capitales jusqu'à ce que le tribunal supérieur de Constantinople ait donné son avis. La voix publique, les circonstances dans lesquelles l'arrestation a été opérée, le jugement rendu, le défaut de preuves, la précipitation du supplice, tout atteste qu'il a eu là un sacrifice fait aux plus détestables passions. L'homme qui s'en est rendu coupable, le Kiahya Vasfi Efendi, un des employés Ottomans actuellement détenus à Beyrout et condamnés pour leur conduite dans les événements de l'été dernier, s'est donc rendu coupable d'un assassinat juridique, et M. le Commissaire de France a déjà exprimé l'opinion, lors des discussions relatives aux sentences rendues contre les fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans, que cette circonstance était une de celles qui devaient motiver à son égard l'application du plus sévère châtiment. Depuis lors, M. le Commissaire de France a reçu une pétition dans laquelle le père de cet enfant demande que l'innocence de son fils soit reconnue, et que sa mort soit vengée. M. Béclard désirerait savoir si ses collègues ont reçu la même adresse, et quelle suite ils se proposent d'y donner.

M. de Weckbecker a pu constater en effet lui-même que le 23 Juin un assassinat avait été commis, et qu'avant le 24, c'est-à-dire, dans la même journée, le coupable, ou soi-disant tel, avait été exécuté, ce qui est formellement contraire aux lois de l'Empire. Mais la légalité des procédures et des jugements se trouvant placée en dehors de l'appréciation des Commissaires, il y aurait lieu, eu égard à la précipitation de l'exécution, de demander à son Excellence Fuad Pacha s'il a eu connaissance du fait.

M. Novikow fait observer à son tour que la question de savoir si la sentence de mort pouvait être légalement exécutée est en dehors de la compétence de la Commission. Mais, si en effet celui qui a été exécuté est innocent, et si son père demande la réhabilitation de sa mémoire, la Commission a le droit de réclamer auprès de Fuad Pacha la révision de ce jugement, qui se rattache, par sa date et les circonstances qui l'ont accompagné, à l'ensemble des événements de l'année dernière.

Lord Dufferin dit qu'il n'a pas eu le moyen d'apprécier cet évènement, qui lui a toujours paru un peu suspect.

M. le Commissaire de Prusse s'associe à la proposition de révision d'un procès qui a tout-à-fait à ses yeux le caractère d'un meurtre juridique, et augmente de beaucoup la culpabilité de Vasfi Efendi.

Abro Efendi rappelle qu'il y a environ quatre à cinq mois, un parent de ce jeune Chrétien a fait une demande tendante à la révision du procès. Les pièces de ce procès, alors examinées, ayant été trouvées régulières, il n'a été donné aucune suite à la demande. Quant à l'exécution du jugement, il croit savoir qu'il y a un acte qui l'autorise. Néanmoins M. le Délégué Ottoman s'engage à porter cet incident à la connaissance de Fuad Pacha.

La séance est levée à cinq heures.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Annexe.

Les Soussignés, ayant visité Said Bey Djoumblat dans les prisons de la caserne à Beyrout, déclarent que Said Bey est atteint d'une phtysie tuberculeuse à un degré assez avancé pour exclure toute probabilité de guérison.

Le traitement médical ne pouvant dans ce cas avoir d'autre effet que de soulager et de prolonger peut-être les jours du malade, les Soussignés recom-

mandent, pour atteindre ce but, de lui permettre d'être soigné par les personnes de sa famille dans un local mieux approprié à cette destination.

Beyrout, le 23 *Avril*, 1861.

En foi de quoi ont signé :

(Signé) PESTALOZZA.
PINCOFFS.
SUQUET.
DOBROWOLSKI.

Les Docteurs Colman et Cauvin ont décliné de signer ce certificat, puisqu'il est contraire aux réglements d'apposer des signatures sur un document sans un ordre supérieur.

(Signé) P. PINCOFFS.

Inclosure 3 in No. 40.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, May* 10, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a circular addressed, by direction of Fuad Pasha, to the Commissioners of the five Powers, containing his Excellency's reply to a Resolution passed at their twenty-eighth sitting, in which his attention is drawn to the aggressive attitude lately assumed by the Christians towards their Druse neighbours.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 40.

Abro Efendi to the Members of the Syrian Commission.

MM. les Commissaires, *Beyrout, le* 8 *Mai*, 1861.

LA Commission ne s'étant pas réuni ni hier ni avant-hier, je n'ai pu lui faire la communication dont j'étais chargé par son Excellence Fuad Pacha en réponse à la Résolution qui a été adoptée dans la vingt-huitième séance ; et afin de ne pas différer plus longtemps cette communication, je l'ai faite dès ce matin mettre sous presse pour être distribuée demain à MM. les membres de la Commission comme annexe à cette circulaire.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) S. ABRO.

Inclosure 5 in No. 40.

Communication made by Abro Efendi to the Members of the Syrian Commission.

QUOIQUE j'aie déclaré dans la précédente séance que Fuad Pacha viendrait en personne répondre à la motion de Lord Dufferin, amendée et adoptée par la Commission, et qu'elle m'a prié de porter à sa connaissance, je me trouve dès aujourd'hui, suivant les instructions que je viens de recevoir, en mesure de répondre à cette motion, dont le but était d'attirer l'attention du Plénipotentiaire du Sultan sur la situation actuelle de la Montagne. La Commission doit savoir que son Excellence n'a pas perdu un instant de vue cette situation, dès le moment même qu'elle s'est dessinée, et qu'elle n'a pas manqué de prendre les mesures propres à prévenir les maux que MM. les Commissaires prévoient à leur tour. Les recommandations qu'implique la motion font assumer au Commissaire du Sultan une responsabilité morale dont il ne veut se décharger en aucune façon. Ces recommandations donnent en même temps au Plénipotentiaire le droit de se prononcer franchement sur cette situation et sur les causes qui l'ont produite. Mais avant de présenter un aperçu succinct sur l'état général du pays, je crois que, pour le bien exposer, il faudrait remonter au début

des mesures que son Excellence a prises immédiatement après son arrivée en Syrie.

On sait avec quelle rigueur le premier point, celui qui, comme j'ai eu l'honneur de le dire dans la précédente séance, devait avoir la priorité sur les deux autres, a été exécuté à Damas, ce triste théâtre d'un grand crime, crime de lèse-humanité, qui a provoqué une sévère et immédiate punition. On sait aussi avec quelle énergie le Plénipotentiaire s'est mis à l'œuvre à Damas pour donner cours à une terrible justice. De grands coups ont été portés et des peines afflictives et infamantes appliquées non seulement aux auteurs de cet horrible drame, mais à tous ceux qui avaient manqué d'une manière grave à leurs devoirs. Le châtiment dont Damas a été frappée, servit d'exemple salutaire à tout le pays qui, sous la sensation que lui imprimait la force de la main de la justice souveraine, est rentré sans retard dans le cercle de ses devoirs. Ce fut le point de départ de la pacification, et une des parties les plus difficiles de la tâche du Commissaire du Sultan. Les pénibles travaux de la répression exercée sur la Montagne ont suivi de près ceux de Damas. Ces travaux, par leur nature compliquée et par les difficultés locales qu'ils offraient, ont réclamé beaucoup plus de temps qu'on n'en a mis à Damas. Leur clôture a eu lieu aussi promptement qu'il a été possible, et si, après l'exécution des condamnations inférieures à la peine de mort, celle de la peine capitale a tardé, la cause principale ne réside point dans la Mission Impériale, mais bien, je crois devoir le répéter, dans les difficultés politiques qui ont surgi, et que chacun de MM. les Commissaires connait parfaitement en conscience. Indépendamment de ce que la vindicte publique a fait pour réprimer les crimes commis dans la Montagne, une punition morale n'a pas moins été infligée à tous les Druses en général. Cette population, habituée à se conduire avec arrogance et surtout dans une sorte d'insubordination, s'est vue inopinement placée sous l'étreinte de la justice, grâce à de larges mesures militaires, et n'a pas osé faire la moindre résistance. Des miliers de Druses, saisis et emprisonnés, furent soumis à toutes les péripéties d'un jugement sévère, et vécurent longtemps de la vie des prisonniers. De plus, les requisitions faites à plusieurs reprises auprès des habitants des villages Druses, la déchéance de leurs chefs de tous les privilèges dont ils jouissaient, le séquestration de tous leurs biens dont les revenus ont été affectés à la subsistance des Chrétiens, l'interruption de leurs communications avec les villes dont ils ont été jusqu'ici forcément exclus, tout cela dans son ensemble constitue des faits qui doivent être considérés comme autant de châtiments forts et exemplaires, infligés à la masse des Druses. Si un petit nombre a pu se soustraire provisoirement aux rigueurs de la justice, en se réfugiant dans le Hauran, ce petit nombre de Druses est aujourd'hui cerné et bloqué par les troupes Impériales dans différentes localités, et tenu, sans pouvoir s'éloigner du Hauran, de vivre dans un isolément qui approche de l'état de misère.

Pour ce qui regarde le réglement des indemnités, tâche également épineuse, les travaux urgents de la répression et de la pacification du pays, et notamment l'embarras financier où se trouve le Gouvernement Impérial, ont rendu cette œuvre encore plus difficile. Malgré ces graves difficultés, le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan a fait tout ce qu'il a pu pour réparer, au moins en partie, les pertes des Chrétiens. Un assez grand nombre de villages ont été plus ou moins reconstruits ; des vivres, des secours pécuniaires, du bétail, des semences, des ustensiles, des graines de vers à soie ont été successivement distribués aux victimes des événements de l'année dernière.

Aujourd'hui que la répression touche à sa fin, pour ce qu'elle concerne le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan, toute l'attention de son Excellence est occupée par les moyens qui doivent compléter la seconde partie de sa mission. A Damas le prélèvement d'une contribution forcée, dont cette ville sera bientôt frappée, nous mettra à même de donner aux victimes de forts à-comptes qui, j'ai raison de le croire, dépasseront bien les 15,000,000 de piastres. Pour la Montagne l'évaluation des pertes mobilières ne tardera pas à être effectuée. Malgré toutes les difficultés qu'il y a de connaître exactement ces pertes, les Chrétiens du Liban toucheront également de nouveaux à-comptes.

Quant à la réorganisation de la Montagne, qui sera une œuvre commune, elle recevra une solution dès que le Gouvernement Impérial prendra une décision sur le projet de la Commission que Fuad Pacha a soumis à la Sublime Porte avec ses propres observations, projet qu'il ne manquera pas de soutenir.

Je crois devoir constater ici que le Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Impériale

s'est attaché à réaliser, en tout ce qui lui était particulièrement dévolu, les intentions du Gouvernement de son auguste Souverain, et à assurer le maintien du bon ordre dans le pays. Je puis dire, au nom de son Excellence, que la sécurité et la tranquillité dont jouissent en général les Provinces de la Syrie, sont les premiers résultats des efforts des autorités locales qui s'y sont vouées avec autant d'énergie que de vigueur. En relevant ce fait, Fuad Pacha ne peut néanmoins s'empêcher de reconnaître que la situation morale de la Montagne est peu satisfaisante. Les Chrétiens se laissent entraîner par des insinuations et de mauvais conseils, s'agitent et se livrent à des actes repréhensibles contre les Druses. La passion de la vengeance, propre aux populations appartenant à toute religion dans cette contrée, éclate de la part des Chrétiens avec d'autant moins de ménagement qu'ils croient que l'impunité leur est assurée. Ne considérant pas la mission de la justice publique comme suffisante pour satisfaire leurs propres ressentiments, ils s'autorisent à se venger de leurs griefs personnels. Ainsi l'autorité est accusée de partialité lorsqu'elle veut arrêter la main de la vengeance, tandis que tous ses actes sont dictés par la plus stricte impartialité, et qu'ils couvrent d'une égale protection les sujets du Sultan, Chrétiens, Druses ou autres indistinctement. C'est ainsi encore qu'on accuse les troupes Ottomanes de protéger les Druses et de haïr les Chrétiens, au moment où des recommandations réitérées et des ordres de jour successifs font suivre à nos soldats une conduite irréprochable et impartiale, en leur enjoignant de ne faire aucune distinction dans leur protection envers les Druses et les Chrétiens, et surtout de traiter ces derniers avec une certaine douceur et ménagement, en considération de leurs récents malheurs.

Le Plénipotentiaire Impérial déplore vivement que, lorsqu'il consacre constamment ses efforts à empêcher le désordre, des encouragements soient donnés aux Chrétiens, et qu'une fraction de cette population pousse la masse à méconnaître l'autorité souveraine et à renouveler ces actes de vengeance qui sont, comme ils ont été, la source des calamités dont nous travaillons aujourd'hui à effacer les traces et à empêcher la reproduction. Fuad Pacha n'ignore pas que, pour relever le moral abattu des Chrétiens, il faut leur donner de l'encouragement. Cet encouragement, il travaille à le leur donner, mais cela ne doit pas aller au point qu'une fois debout ils frappent ceux dont ils ont eu à se plaindre autrefois. En conséquence, dans le but de maintenir le bon ordre et d'empêcher tout conflit, la Mission Extraordinaire ne cesse de prendre les mesures nécessaires. Le Gouvernement Impérial ayant en dernier lieu envoyé des troupes pour renforcer les garnisons, une partie de ces troupes est mise à la disposition du Commandant des forces de la Montagne. Le dernier soldat du Sultan, de même que ses officiers, est prêt à verser la dernière goutte de son sang plutôt que de laisser répandre le sang Chrétien. Mais il faut d'autre part espérer que les Chrétiens ne mettront pas l'autorité en demeure de les empêcher de vive force de pousser la vengeance au point de troubler le repos et la tranquillité du pays.

La Mission Extraordinaire ayant fait tout ce qui était en son pouvoir, il est juste que la Commission prête aussi son concours moral et loyal au succès de ses efforts, qui ne tendent qu'à assurer le bien-être des populations de ce pays, but constamment poursuivi par la sollicitude de Sa Majesté le Sultan.

Avant de terminer, je crois devoir informer la Commission que le Lieutenant-Colonel Hassan Bey, envoyé en tournée d'inspection sur la Montagne, est déjà de retour à Damas. Le rapport de cet officier constate que la conduite des troupes Ottomanes et des Agents du Gouvernement Impérial est empreinte d'une juste impartialité, et que tous leurs efforts sont employés au maintien de la tranquillité, mais que malheureusement ils ne rencontrent pas partout ce concours loyal sur lequel ils ont droit de compter.

Beyrout, le 6 *Mai*, 1861.

(Signé) S. ABRO.

Inclosure 6 in No. 40.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, May* 10, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copies of three Annexes to the Protocol of the twenty-ninth meeting of the Syrian Commission, held on the 4th instant.

As soon as the Protocol reaches my hands I shall not fail to transmit it to your Excellency forthwith.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 7 in No. 40.

Annexes to the Protocol of the Twenty-ninth Meeting of the Syrian Commission.

Annexe No. 1.

(Traduction.)

Rapport de la Commission à son Excellence Fuad Pacha sur le Système à adopter pour le Règlement des Pertes Mobilières de la Montagne.

CONFORMEMENT aux ordres de votre Excellence une Commission a été nommée pour l'évaluation des pertes mobilières éprouvées par les habitants de la Montagne pendant les derniers événements. Elle a déjà tenu plusieurs séances, dans lesquelles les discussions provoquées par cette question l'ont conduite à trois modes d'enquête qui lui ont paru propres à atteindre le résultat désiré.

Le premier, c'est de demander aux habitants des listes détaillées de leurs pertes; le second, de les diviser par catégories et d'assigner à chacune d'elles une somme proportionnée à ses pertes; le troisième, de prendre pour base d'évaluation la liste des maisons incendiées et de fixer approximativement par ce moyen les pertes de chacun. Considérant que dans le temps passé le premier système a été préféré aux autres, à la suite des événements de 1840; considérant en outre que, pour assurer le succès de celui qu'on adopterait des trois susmentionnés, il faut toujours commencer par le premier, il en résulte que celui-ci a fixé le choix de la Commission, par la raison que sans informations on ne saurait employer les deux autres qui paraissent plus expéditifs. Or, il est indispensable de s'arrêter au premier pour s'enquérir des pertes de chacun et y pourvoir en conséquence. Afin de s'assurer de la véracité des listes qui seront présentées on les confrontera avec les registres des impôts de chaque village, et l'on s'en tiendra aussi aux listes des maisons incendiées, qui ont été dressés sur le pied d'une proportion approximative. Alors il arrivera de deux choses l'une; ou l'on trouvera les enquêtes qui ont eu lieu suffisantes, et dans ce cas on donnera à chacun le part d'indemnité qui lui revient, ou bien l'enquête exigeant beaucoup de temps, et afin d'accélérer la marche du travail, on divisera les habitants par catégories, et l'on fera l'évaluation des pertes de chacune. Si ce mode ne réussissait pas, on procéderait à la vérification régulière des pertes subies en produits de commerce et en objets précieux, et pour les pertes d'objets ordinaires de mince valeur, on chercherait une proportion d'évaluation par maison.

Les agents d'autorité et les notables seront tenus, suivant les ordres qui leur seront donnés, de faire dresser à leurs administrés des listes détaillées de leurs pertes. Les habitants de leur côté feront ces listes sur deux pages. La première contiendra leurs pertes en meubles et habillements, avec leur prix et quantité respectifs. La seconde mentionnera leurs pertes en produits, tels que céréales, soie, cocons et étoffes, en un mot des objets destinés au commerce. Sur la même liste ils indiqueront aussi les objets et produits qui leur ont été rendus avec leur valeur et quantité respectives. Après avoir opéré la présentation des listes détaillant séparément les pertes de chacun, les agents de l'autorité, conjointement avec les notables, feront le relevé des pertes de chaque village, et par ce moyen on connaîtra le total des pertes de chaque village et les individus qui les ont subies.

Les prêtres connaissant mieux que personne la position des individus placés sous leur direction spirituelle, chaque individu, avant de présenter sa liste, la soumettra au prêtre de son village, qui l'examinera avec attention. Le prêtre l'engagera par ses conseils, comme ministre de la religion, à lui avouer si la liste qu'il lui soumet est conforme à la vérité; ensuite, après avoir donné publiquement lecture de sa liste en présence des habitants de son village et des agents de l'autorité, il recevra publiquement son serment.

Il sera notifié en outre aux habitants que les pertes de ceux dont les listes sont exactes seront prises immédiatement en considération; au contraire ceux dont les listes sont fausses, comme le prouverait l'enquête de la Commission,

encourront une grave responsabilité. Après avoir fait le relevé des pertes de chaque village, on l'enverra à la Commission des pertes immobilières. Cependant les agents de l'autorité, après avoir reçu les listes des villages, écriront au bas de ces listes les informations qu'ils auront pu prendre secrètement ou ouvertement à ce sujet, et après y avoir apposé leurs sceaux, ils les enverront à Beyrout. En outre ils n'accepteront pas les listes de ceux qui n'ont pas éprouvé des pertes, ou bien qui ont pu sauver leurs biens pendant les événements.

En résumé le premier degré d'enquête sur les listes, contenant les pertes mobilières, consiste dans le serment que les habitants prêteront entre les mains des prêtres ; le second sera fait par les agents de l'autorité résidant dans les districts ; et le troisième par la Commission constituée à Beyrout. Dans ce troisième mode d'enquête, il faut prendre quelques mesures qui empêchent les habitants des villages de venir en masse à Beyrout. Pour prévenir un tel inconvénient, la Commission pense :

1. Que l'enquête pour chaque village devrait être effectuée au premier degré sur les lieux ;

2. Qu'en cas de besoin des délégués du village seraient appelés à Beyrout.

3. Que les habitants d'un village qui se présenteraient en masse à Beyrout ne devraient point être reçus par la Commission ;

4. Qu'en cas de nécessité des agents spéciaux seraient envoyés sur les lieux par la Commission des pertes mobilières.

Tous ces points seront d'ailleurs discutés au sein de cette Commission, qui adoptera telles mesures qu'elle jugera nécessaires. De plus, pour éviter aussi la confusion qui pourrait naître de la prétention des habitants d'un village d'avoir la priorité sur les autres dans le réglement de leurs pertes, la Commission Centrale prendra note de l'époque des réclamations et procédera à l'enquête par ordre de date.

Tel est, Excellence, le résultat des discussions de la Commission que nous soumettons à votre haute appréciation.

Annexe No. 2.

(Traduction.)

Rapport du Conseil Provincial à son Excellence Fuad Pacha.

INVITES par Abro Efendi à émettre notre opinion sur le rapport touchant le plan d'évaluation que la Commission chargée d'étudier le meilleur système à suivre dans le réglement des pertes mobilières éprouvées pendant les événements a élaboré, et que ce fonctionnaire nous a communiqué, nous venons en conséquence présenter à votre Excellence les observations que l'examen de cette question nous a suggérés.

Nous avons remarqué que, des trois modes proposés, la Commission a cru devoir donner la préférence au premier, qui consiste dans la présentation de listes de la part des habitants. En effet elle ne pouvait s'arrêter au second mode, qui serait de diviser les habitants en catégories, et d'assigner à chacune d'elles une somme proportionnée à ses pertes sans informations préalables qui permissent d'arriver à une juste appréciation. Quant au troisième, qui serait de prendre pour base d'évaluation la liste des maisons incendiées, ce mode n'est pas non plus exempt de difficultés, s'il était adopté en premier lieu.

En conséquence le premier mode serait le plus préférable, mais, pour s'assurer de la véracité des listes qui seront présentées et pour éviter la confusion et l'agglomération qui entraveraient l'expédition des affaires, trois Commissions d'enquête seront nommées. Ces Commissions seront composées de notables et prêtres dignes de toute confiance, appartenant aux différents rites de Beyrout, Sayda, Tripoli, et des autres localités importantes. Chacune de ces Commissions sera placée sous la présidence d'un agent spécial de l'autorité. Elles s'occuperont de l'évaluation des véritables pertes mobilières éprouvées par les habitants de chaque village, et dresseront sur le modèle ci-joint, qui sera imprimé, les relevés destinés à être présentés à la Commission Centrale avec un mazbatta au bas de chaque relevé. Chaque Commission comptera un personnel rétribué de dix membres, y compris les greffiers qui y seront attachés. Deux de ces Commissions se rendront aux cercles de la Montagne Druse, et la troisième à Meten et à ses dépendances qui sont sous la juridiction Chrétienne. Quant à la prestation du serment qui doit avoir lieu, d'après l'avis de la Commission, avant l'enquête,

c'est-à-dire, au premier degré, nous pensons qu'il serait plus à propos de laisser l'accomplissement de cet acte à la fin de l'enquête, attendu que, si le porteur d'une liste venait à être soumis en premier lieu à cette formalité, il serait difficile de la démentir dans le cas que les renseignements exacts qu'on pourrait recevoir ultérieurement viendraient à constater l'inexactitude de sa liste.

Les membres de ces Commissions s'engageront par serment, prêté en présence de leur chef spirituel suivant la forme voulue dans leur culte, et avant leur entrée en fonctions, de ne point commettre d'injustices, de ne dire que la vérité, et de ne pas se laisser corrompre par leur intérêts personnels dans l'accomplissement de leur tâche. Si jamais chacune de ces Commissions, en tout ou en partie, manquait à son serment, elle serait passible de peines sévères. Le *minimum* et le *maximum* de ces peines seront fixés et porté a leur connaissance.

Ces Commissions parcourront les divers points de la Montagne suivant l'ordre topographique des villages. Dans chaque village elles appelleront le prêtre et les notables, auxquels elles notifieront que le Gouvernement accordera des indemnités à ceux qui ont subi des pertes, mais à la condition que chacun d'eux présente une liste exacte et détaillée de ses pertes mobilières. Elle leur feront aussi savoir que ceux dont les listes ne présenteront pas ce caractère, n'obtiendront aucune indemnité, afin qu'ils soient punis de leur mauvaise foi, et que tout porteur de liste sera soumis à la prestation du serment à la fin de l'enquête.

A mesure que les habitants apporteront leur listes, les prêtres et les notables seront appelés par la Commission, et en leur présence ces listes seront examinées, et si les membres de la Commission, les prêtres, et les notables sont unanimes à reconnaître l'exactitude des objets et des prix portés sur ces listes, ils feront prêter serment au réclamant, et apostilleront sa liste, en la déclarant admissible. Si au contraire des doutes sur l'exactitude de la liste s'élèvent dans l'esprit des membres de la Commission, si le prêtre et les notables du village contestent en tout ou en partie le contenu de la liste, ou bien si la liste présentée n'est pas conforme aux renseignements que la Commission se serait procurés, alors la liste sera rendue à son propriétaire avec l'injonction d'apporter une liste exacte. Après avoir ainsi relevé les listes de chaque village, le prêtre et les notables de ce village prêteront le serment que, d'après leur renseignements et leur conviction, les listes portées sur le relevé sont exactes, et après que le prêtre et les notables auront en conséquence apposé leur signature au bas du relevé, les membres de la Commission le signeront à leur tour.

Au fur et à mesure que les Commissions dresseront les relevés de l'évaluation des pertes de chaque village, elles les enverront à la Commission Centrale avec les listes mentionnant les détails, et qui seront annexées à ces relevés. Cette dernière n'aura pas à s'occuper des détails qu'ils renferment, mais elle se bornera à examiner si quelque erreur ou omission n'y a été commise. Elle n'aura pas besoin de se livrer à un examen plus sérieux, par la raison que l'enquête a été entourée de toutes les garanties possibles d'ordre et de vérité. Le serment, prêté d'abord par les membres des Commissions, ensuite par les prêtres et les notables qu'elles ont consultés dans leurs opérations, excluant toute idée de fraude et de corruption, la Commission Centrale pourra admettre en toute sûreté les relevés qui lui seront présenté, à moins qu'elle n'ait reçu des renseignements exacts, ou qu'elle n'ait conçu des doutes sérieux pour ordonner la révision de tel ou tel relevé.

Tel est, Excellence, le résultat de nos discussions que nous soumettons à sa haute approbation.

Annexe No. 3.

(Traduction.)

Extrait du Plan de Réglement des Pertes Mobilières qui ont eu lieu dans les précédents Evénements du Mont Liban.

L'ADOPTION du système ayant pour base la présentation de listes de la part des habitants qui avaient éprouvé des pertes fut alors résolue. Ces listes étaient remises à la Commission qui avait été nommée pour l'évaluation de ces pertes. En conséquence notification a été faite de cette mesure aux habitants de la Montagne par l'intermédiaire de leurs Caimacams.

La Commission, organisée alors, se composait des Caimacams des deux Administrations, de deux Membres du Conseil de Beyrout, dont l'un Musulman

et l'autre Chrétien, d'un Evêque, de prêtres Chrétiens et de Cheiks. Elle se réunissait tous les jours à l'exception du Dimanche et du Vendredi, depuis cinq heures jusqu'à neuf heures, et le Vali de la Province y assistait tous les jours pendant une heure.

Aussitôt que cette Commission a été instituée, les individus qui avaient souffert des événements commencèrent à présenter leurs listes. La Commission les recevait et les transmettait aux greffiers chargés de la tenue des registres. Ceux-ci les enregistraient, et après les avoir marqués, les rendaient à leurs possesseurs.

Après avoir opéré l'enregistrement de ces listes, nom par nom et village par village, un Grand Conseil fut institué. Il se composait de Musulmans et de Chrétiens de Saida, Sour, et Beyrout, ainsi que des Druses et des Chrétiens de la Montagne. Les Membres de ce Conseil furent soumis à la prestation du serment. Cette formalité remplie, l'autorité les invita à modifier l'évaluation des pertes mobilières que figurait sur les listes présentées. Les membres de ce Grand Conseil se mirent en conséquence à l'œuvre.

Les décisions définitives de ce Conseil ont été consignées dans un procès-verbal remis à l'autorité locale, après avoir été acceptées et confirmées par les notables Chrétiens et Druses des localités qui avaient été pillées durant les événements.

A cette époque le montant de l'évaluation s'élevait de 300,000 à 400,000 bourses environ, dont 160,000 représentaient des pertes subies par les Druses. Le restant de la somme mentionnée fut réduit à 86,000 bourses environ.

A l'arrivée de feu Chekib Pacha, en Mission Extraordinaire pour les affaires de la Montagne, il se forma un Conseil composé de prêtres et de notables Chrétiens, recommandables par leurs antécédents. Ceux-ci apportèrent de nouvelles modifications au plan d'évaluation qui leur fut soumis, et ils l'arrêtèrent définitivement au chiffre de 61,000 bourses.

A valoir sur cette dernière somme le Gouvernement du Sultan accorda sur le trésor de Saida 10,000 bourses, et décréta le paiement par les Druses de 3,000 bourses encore, de manière que la somme de 13,000 bourses a été répartie, village par village, entre les réclamants dont chacun a prouvé et reçu la quote-part qui lui revenait. Nous donnons ci-après le relevé des pertes mobilières d'alors avec la désignation des noms de ceux qui faisaient à cette époque partie du Conseil, nommé pour opérer des modifications.

Elias Soussa, de Deir-el-Kamar (il se trouve à Beyrout).
Michaël Hos (mort).
Farès Tabet, de Deir-el-Kamar (à Deir-el-Kamar).
Nicolas Atrache, de Beyrout (il est à Beyrout).
Suleïman Choueri, de Meten (mort).
Habib Nassif, de Djezzin (à Djezzin).

Relevé de l'Evaluation des Pertes du Mont Liban avec la Répartition des Indemnités du temps de Chékib Pacha.

	Réduction opérée pour la seconde fois sur le Montant des Evaluations.	Répartition des 13,000 bourses payées par le Gouvernement et les Druses.
	Piastres.	Piastres paras
Deir-el-Kamar	6.981,940	1,499,335 10
Bekaa	2,709,900	581.936 37
Meten	1,923,550	421,662 7
Chehar	1,998,670	429,203 39
Djourd	1,203,430	258,430 13
Iklime-Kharoub	1,010,884	217,082 2
Chouf	678,180	145,636 5
Iklime-Tuffah	649,750	138,530 18
Arkoub	285,245	61,254 37
Ménassif	291,800	62,662 20
Gharb-Fokani	307,320	65,995 16
Iklime-Djezzin	2,299,995	493,892 26
Sahil-Beyrout	2,666,815	572,684 20
Aux Couvents	3,043,406	653,567 38
Aux Emirs	3,218,000	691,048 31
Aux étrangers	951,631	204,357 97
A Abbas Chediac	} 12,000	1,717 39
A Em Daher Rechdan		
	30,272,426	6,500,000 0
	Bourses 60,945 352 piastres	Bourses 13,000

No. 41.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received May 24.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, May 10, 1861.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for your Lordship's perusal, copy of a letter addressed to me by Dr. Pincoffs respecting the actual hopeless condition of Said Bey Joublat.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 41.

Dr. Pincoffs to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, May 10, 1861.*

AFTER having left Said Bey Joublat last night at half-past 12 o'clock, I returned there this morning at 8 o'clock, accompanied by Mr. Wood. I found him less feverish, but he had scarcely slept.

The room at present occupied by the patient is spacious, well ventilated and comfortable ; he is surrounded by his children and the female members of his family, and seems to have all his wants attended to. He has been daily seen and prescribed for by Dr. Pestalozza.

No. 42.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received May 24.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, May 10, 1861.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, copy of a letter I have received from Colonel Fraser, inclosing a report made by that gentleman to his Excellency Fuad Pasha.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 42.

Colonel Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Beyrout, May* 9, 1861.

WHEN Fuad Pasha intimated his entire approval of my proceeding from Damascus to Mount Lebanon, his Excellency requested that I would keep him informed of the state of affairs in the Mountain, as these might come under my observation, and that I should make any suggestions circumstances might appear to demand.

Believing such a course to be also in keeping with your Lordship's views, I addressed a hurried communication to his Excellency on the 5th instant, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy for your Lordship's information.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. J. FRASER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 42.

Colonel Fraser to Fuad Pasha.

(Translation from French.)

Excellency, *Mokhtara, May* 5, 1861.

ALTHOUGH I have not yet had time to form a definite upon the actual condition of affairs in the Mountain, where I arrived the night before last, I yet beg, in conformity with your Excellency's wish, to submit one or two points which appear to me to demand immediate attention, and, as I desire to profit by an express starting directly for Damascus, I trust that brevity will be pardoned.

In the first place much distress at present exists among the Druse population of this portion of Mount Lebanon, not only from the generally depressed state of the country in connection with recent events, but as arising more particularly from the sequestration by Government of Druse estates, whose revenues formerly afforded the means of existence to numerous dependants, but which are now paid into the Imperial Treasury.

These estates may be divided into four classes as follows:—

1st. Those belonging to Druses who have been condemned, and are yet in prison.

2nd. Those belonging to Druses formerly arrested, but who have since been released from prison as innocent; or, at least, against whom there had been no proof of guilt.

3rd. Those belonging to Druses who had fled during the arrests, but who have since returned, and against whom there is no accusation.

4th. Those belonging to Druses who have been banished.

It appears to me that the properties coming under the second and third categories should be immediately relieved from sequestration, and, until a final decision be taken at Constantinople or elsewhere regarding those of the first and fourth classes, that some provision should be made by Government, either from the revenues of the sequestrated properties or from the public chest, for maintaining the families of the prisoners and exiles in question. Their need is such, that compassion, not less than the reputation of the Government itself, demands that instant measures be taken for lodging, clothing, and feeding these women and children.

Omer Pasha (commanding at Moktarah) informs me that he has already addressed two communications to Achmet Pasha (Governor of the Province of Saida) on this subject, but as no relief has yet been afforded, I permit myself to bring the urgency of the case to your Excellency's notice.

Another subject which has attracted my attention is the following:—

On the Eastern slope of Lebanon there are several villages of mixed population, from which the Druse inhabitants were driven by the Christians some few months ago. The villages with which I am personally acquainted are those of Sughbin, Ain Zibdé, and Khurbeh, in which the production of silk forms an important part of the local industry. The season for commencing this operation has already arrived, but the Druses are unable to return to their villages on account of the menacing attitude of the Christian population; and their alarm

has been increased in consequence of the murder, last week, of a Druse who had returned to the village of Kaukaba (Bukaa), by a Christian whom your Excellency has since arrested. I have, therefore, recommended Omer Pasha to place an Infantry detachment of 30 men at the central position of Ain Zibdé, for the protection of the inhabitants of that and the neighbouring villages.

As it appears, however, that Ain Zibdé is beyond the military district placed under Omer Pasha, although at a distance of only three hours' march from Moktarah, I beg your Excellency to cause such a detachment to be supplied from the district to which these villages belong, or to authorize Omer Pasha to furnish it from that of Moktarah.

The Druses of this neighbourhood appear to be as obedient as patient, and the country through which I travelled on my way hither from Damascus, so far as I could judge at a passing glance, seemed undisturbed.

I beg, &c.

(Signed) A. J. FRASER.

No. 43.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received May* 24.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, May* 10, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, copy of a memorandum drawn up by Mr. Vice-Consul White on the actual constitution of the local Medjlises or Councils, and the reforms called for therein. The document is interesting as much from the ability which characterizes it, as the valuable suggestions it contains.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 43.

Memorandum by Vice-Consul White on the Medjlises in Syria.

IN the chief towns of Pashalics there are generally three distinct Councils, or Medjlises :—

1. "Medjlis el Eyalet," called also "Medjlis el Kebir," or the Great Medjlis.
2. "Medjlis et Tahkeek," which is also called "Medjlis el-Jenaieh."
3. "Medjlis et Tidjaret."

The Medjlis el Eyalet is the Provincial Council, which takes cognizance of all matters of an administrative or of a financial character, such as taxes, iltizams, or farming the public revenues; affairs connected with Customs; matters appertaining either to the property of the Miri, or State, or to the "Vacoof," or mortmain property. All civil suits not immediately connected with inheritance or marriages are also generally referred to this Medjlis. It also happens not unfrequently that even in criminal cases decisions given in the Medjlis et-Tahkeek are sent up to and revised by this Court.

As a general rule this Council is composed of about twelve to fourteen members, of whom four are appointed by the Pasha from amongst the chief notables of the place. Besides these the Mufti, Cadi, and sometimes the Nukeeb el Ashraf, or head of the descendants of the Prophet, the Vacoof Naziri, or administrator of the mortmain property, and the Neffus Naziri, or public Registrar, are *ex officio* members; and finally the number is completed by the Vekils, or delegates of the various non-Mussulman communities.

The Pasha himself is the President of this Medjlis, but he often deputes his Kehya, or else the Bash Muhasibji, the chief finance officer, to preside in his stead.

The members of this body are not generally paid, but in some places they are in the receipt of a small salary; at Beyrout the Mussulman members receive a higher salary than the non-Mussulman.

The tenure of their seats by the non-official members is entirely dependent upon the will of the Pasha, who has also very frequently sufficient influence to prevent the appointment of any person whom he may dislike as Vekil of a non-Mussulman community.

The "Medjlis et-Tahkeek" is the tribunal which takes cognizance of all criminal cases. The new Karrun-Varneh, or code of civil law, is the legal rule by which they should proceed.

The Mussulman members of this Medjlis are likewise appointed by the Pasha, and with them sit Deputies from the non-Mussulman bodies; the President is named by the Pasha, and his opinions are generally found to have great influence over the other members.

It sometimes happens that in civil suits between Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans, when the Great Council is unwilling to hear Christians' evidence, the case is sent for inquiry before this Court, who hear it "Nizaman," or according to new Nizam law, instead of "Sherâan," or according to Mahometan law. This, however, is not of frequent occurrence, for it is very seldom that Christian or other non-Mussulman evidence is received against Mussulmans.

The "Medjlis Tidjaret" is the Commercial Court, or guild to which all commercial suits are referred, and which judges by the Karrun et Tidjaret or Commercial code.

This is likewise a Mixed Court, formed partly of the chief Mussulman merchants and partly of merchants delegated from each of the non-Mussulman bodies. In places of much European commerce, the Consul of each Power also sends a Delegate; but in consequence of dissensions it often happens that this Court is split up, and the European members are withdrawn.

In district towns, seats of Kaimakams or Mudirs, one Medjlis generally takes the place of the three, whose functions are thus combined in one Municipal Council. In places, however, of sufficient commercial importance commercial affairs are generally referred to a Commission of merchants named *ad hoc* by the Kaimakam.

Sometimes two special Commissioners are appointed in district towns by the Pasha, to take cognizance of financial affairs.

The regular district Medjlis, or Municipal Council, is formed much in the same way as the Provincial Councils, but in smaller towns its members are often fewer.

The Kaimakam or Mudir always presides at their sittings.

In some districts the members of the Medjlis are merely tools of the local Governor, to whose decision they bow in all matters. But it quite as frequently happens that the Governor himself is compelled to submit to the dictation of the most powerful and influential members of the Medjlis. It may be, in such cases, that one person is all-powerful, and every one yields deference to him, or, perhaps, the power is divided by a clique of two or three persons whose united authority is regarded paramount; or, again, it frequently occurs that there are two rival parties who are constantly struggling for influence, and who gain or lose it by turns according to the side taken by the Local Governor, or according to the favour of the Pasha, which each strives by every means to secure. In any case the inhabitants of the district are regarded as lawful prey by the powerful persons in the Medjlis, who generally decide cases brought before them more by an appreciation of the gifts which are offered to them, than by any appreciation of the merits or equity of the case.

Appeals are allowed from the district to the Provincial Council.

Having thus sketched out the organization of these bodies, it will be well to point out certain vices which would demand attention in the case of any re-organization of these bodies.

Practically one of the greatest evils of the present system is the irresponsible character of the individual members of Councils, as well as of the body itself acting collectively in all acts connected with the exercise of their functions.

Nothing is of more ordinary occurrence than the giving of "mazbatas," or written decisions, which are utterly false, and in direct violation of well-known and undeniable fact; nay, the most contradictory mazbatas are often given by the same Medjlis, in the space of a few weeks or even days. Statements of facts are set forth utterly incompatible with each other. And this is done with complete impunity, and no one called to account. The Medjlises of some places indeed enjoy a notorious reputation for the constant use of official falsehood, and are commonly spoken of as "megowerin," or perjured; but seeing no personal ill-results accrue to themselves from such a practice, the members thereof become perfectly callous and shameless in this respect.

It is most urgent that a check be placed upon this practice, by attaching to

it and enforcing such penalties as may cause every member of a Medjlis to feel that he is himself individually responsible for every official act that he performs, and that he will be unable to shield himself by the excuse that he is only one member of a corporate body, whose other members are all equally compromised in the same act.

Another vice in the present system is that the whole power and authority of the body generally passes into the hands of one man, or of a clique of two or three persons, who obtain their influence either through their wealth or family rank, or from their unscrupulous character, which renders people afraid of them, or, again, from the support which they may manage to secure to themselves on the part of the Pasha. No cases, however evident their justice, can be carried through the Medjlis without the goodwill of such persons, which must be generally purchased. Other members of the Medjlis are obliged either to be mere cyphers in the body, or to completely subserve their views. In fact, it becomes the rule of a small oligarchy which disposes of everything. The wealth which these persons unduly acquire is constantly increasing, and their power and local influence increases in proportion to their wealth.

This evil might be partly obviated by periodically introducing new elements into these bodies, and withdrawing, at least for a time, the old elements, so as to prevent authority and power remaining for any length of time in the hands of the same persons. Thus the tyranny of the few, often intolerable, would be either altogether broken down or materially weakened.

It is with a view to this also that it is desirable that the system of *ex officio* members be abolished; otherwise, under the pretext of some office which they would obtain, the same members would be always found in the same Medjlis.

If it should be deemed, however, necessary that some persons holding particular offices should occasionally take part in the deliberations and decisions of a Medjlis, it should be carefully provided for that they should take part in them only in cases particularly interesting the office they hold.

A circumstance which greatly militates against the interests of the non-Mussulman communities is, that the Mussulman element so greatly preponderates over the non-Mussulman that the former is always able to swamp the latter, whose most important interests are consequently ever liable to be sacrificed.

This I would remedy by securing that, at least in the Provincial Councils, to which appeals lie from the District Councils, fully one-half of the members be non-Mussulmans.

Another grievance under which Christians, in common with other non-Mussulmans, lie, and of which they feel bitterly the injustice is, that their evidence is never received against their Mussulman fellow-subjects.

It is true that the Hatt-el-Humaium declares that this shall no longer be the case, and it is true that in some rare cases in which, perhaps, foreign influence has been brought to bear, such evidence has been received in special and mixed tribunals; yet it may be stated that generally such is not the case, and unless powerful and sustained efforts are made to ensure it, such will never be the case. Thus a large portion of the Sultan's subjects are placed in a painfully inferior position to that of their more fortunate fellow-subjects, and a gross injustice is done to them.

To correct this, it is essential that all cases in which one of the parties to a suit is Mussulman, and the other of some other creed, should be judged by a Mixed Tribunal, in which the evidence of all persons, without any distinction of religious belief, shall be held as equally good and valid.

When due responsibility is fixed upon the members of the Medjlises, when the term of their power is rendered of shorter duration, when provision shall be made for ensuring the rights of non-Mussulman communities, and when public opinion is brought to bear upon the official conduct and acts of these bodies, then, and not before, may we hope to see their working beneficial to the country, and a considerable improvement in the administration of justice.

But it must ever be borne in mind that to ensure the proper working of any scheme that may be devised for the better organization of Municipal Councils, or for the general amelioration of the condition of the people, all will and must finally depend upon the personal character, energy, and integrity of those entrusted with governmental authority. For however excellent such organization or such schemes may be in theory, they will not fail of being

practically valueless, unless decision, faithfulness, and vigour be displayed in carrying them into execution.

(Signed) H. P. WHITE.

No. 44.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received May* 24.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, May* 11, 1861.

HAVING just returned from a short tour through the Mixed districts, and having had the pleasure of an interview with Omar Pasha at Mokhtara, and with Fuad Pasha at Beyrout, I am happy to be able to report that the condition of affairs is more satisfactory than I could have hoped.

The definite news which has just arrived of the departure of the French troops has been received with more indifference than might have been expected.

My colleagues started for Constantinople early this morning, and I propose to follow in Her Majesty's ship "Melpomene" during the course of the afternoon.

No. 45.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received May* 24.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, May* 11, 1861.

I REGRET exceedingly that the last event of which it is my duty to inform your Lordship before leaving Syria, is the death of Said Bey Joublat, which took place this morning at 8 o'clock.

I have seen his wife and children, and taken every precaution to ensure due attention being paid to their personal comfort.

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of an official report announcing Said Bey's death, together with a medical certificate with which I have been furnished by Dr. Pincoffs.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 45.

Dr. Pincoffs to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Beyrout, May* 11, 1861.

AS previously arranged, I called this morning at 8 o'clock with Dr. Pestalozza to visit Said Bey Joublat.

He had died half an hour before our arrival; the body was still warm, muscular rigidity had just set in. I was informed that he had died without pain, and without a struggle; his features were calm and bore no trace of suffering. As usual in such cases, a loud and constant wailing was kept up by the females and attendants of the harem.

After having reported the death to your Lordship, I repaired, according to your Lordship's instructions, to his Excellency Fuad Pasha, in order to announce Said's death, and to learn his Excellency's intentions as to the mode and place of burial. His Excellency told me that these matters would be arranged agreeably to the wishes of the family of the deceased.

In order to prevent the possibility of any doubt as to the cause of his death, his Excellency seemed desirous of a *post mortem* examination being made.

As I had already stated my opinion on this subject to your Lordship, an opinion in which your Lordship fully concurred, I told his Excellency that the medical history of the case was so plain, the physical and other symptoms during life-time, and particularly in the latter days, so clearly defined, and the opinions of the various medical men who had visited him and watched the progress of the disease so unanimous and decisive, as to render all doubt about the real cause

of his death impossible; that, therefore, a *post mortem* examination would be perfectly unnecessary, and as such very marked prejudice exists amongst all Orientals, that they might not unlikely consider the opening of the body a more severe punishment than any which could have been inflicted during life-time, his Excellency decided that no *post mortem* examination should take place.

A certificate about the cause of death, of which I have the honour of subjoining a copy, was then signed by Dr. Pestalozza and myself; I believe it is also to be signed by Dr. Suquet, the Médecin Sanitaire de France.

I have, &c.

(Signed) P. PINCOFFS, M.D., M.R.C.P.L., &c.

Inclosure 2 in No. 45.

Certificate.

LES Soussignés, Docteurs en Médecine, ayant eu l'occasion de visiter à plusieurs reprises le nommé Said Bey Joublat, pendant la maladie à laquelle il vient de succomber dans la matinée d'aujourd'hui, déclarent:—

Que Said Bey est mort de phthisie pulmonaire, caractérisée de la manière la plus nette par la fonte purulente du poumon et par la fièvre hectique qui l'a accompagné.

En foi de quoi, &c.

Beyrout, le 11 *Mai*, 1861.

(Translation.)

THE Undersigned, Doctors of Medicine, having had occasion several times to visit Said Bey Joublat during the illness to which he has this morning succumbed, declare—

That Said Bey died of pulmonary consumption, characterised most plainly by the purulent discharge from the lungs, and by the hectic fever which accompanied it.

In testimony whereof, &c.

Beyrout, May 11, 1861.

No. 46.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received May* 24.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, May* 11, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 46.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, May* 10, 1861.

WITH reference to my previous despatch of this day's date, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the twenty-ninth sitting of the Syrian Commission, held on the 4th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 46.

Protocol of the Twenty-ninth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, May 4, 1861.

LE quatre Mai, mil huit cent soixante-un, les Commissaires des cinq Puissances étant réunis à Beyrout, sous la présidence de M. de Rehfues, Vice-Président, la séance est ouverte à deux heures.

M. le Délégué Ottoman communique à la Commission diverses pièces, relatives au mode qui sera adopté pour l'évaluation des pertes mobilières, essuyées par les habitants de la Montagne pendant les évènements de l'année dernière (Annexes Nos. 1, 2, et 3*).

Abro Efendi, revenant sur ce qui a été dit dans la précédente séance au sujet du Tribunal Mixte de Beyrout dont l'institution provisoire a été décidée il y a un mois, fait savoir aux membres de la Commission que, si ce Tribunal n'a pas pu encore fonctionner, cela tient uniquement à ce que les populations intéressées n'ont pas encore envoyé siéger leurs représentants. Un Tribunal ne peut fonctionner sans Juges, et l'autorité ne croyant pas pouvoir constituer autrement qu'elle ne l'a fait le personnel de ce Medjlis, l'institution n'a pu encore avoir lieu. Mais des ordres nouveaux et pressants vont être donnés. Ce Tribunal ne s'occupera que des crimes et délits commis par des Chrétiens sur des Druses, ou par des Druses sur des Chrétiens. Toute affaire entre Chrétiens sera déférée à la juridiction ordinaire, à moins que les parties ne soient d'accord pour se soumettre à la juridiction du Tribunal Mixte Provisoire.

M. le Commissaire de France, d'après ce qui vient d'être exposé, croit devoir maintenir ce qu'il a déjà dit dans la précédente séance au sujet de cette juridiction, et demande que la Commission émette un avis touchant la question de savoir si ce Tribunal, d'un caractère tout exceptionnel, devra exercer sa juridiction sur toute la Montagne, ou seulement sur la partie située au sud de Nahr-el-Kelb, soumis à un régime également exceptionnel.

M. le Commissaire d'Autriche pense que, puisque les crimes et délits qui seront justiciables de ce Tribunal étaient déjà soumis à la juridiction du Tribunal Provincial de Beyrout, cette institution ne lui paraît pas de nature à porter atteinte aux privilèges de la Montagne.

M. Béclard s'empresse de faire observer qu'il n'appartient à personne isolément de développer ou de restreindre les privilèges de la Montagne. Il y a là un progrès, ce dont il doute fort, ce progrès doit être le résultat d'une entente commune, analogue à celle qui a présidé à la Constitution antérieure, et à celle d'où va résulter une nouvelle organisation. En tout cas, puisque les crimes et délits à la répression desquels il s'agit de pourvoir, ne se commettent que dans les districts Mixtes, situés au sud du Nahr-el-Kelb, il n'y a pas péril en la demeure, et pour ne rien préjuger des résolutions collectives qui vont être prises, M. Béclard persiste à croire que le plus convenable serait de ne pas étendre la juridiction du Tribunal en question au-delà de cette limite.

Abro Efendi exprime son regret de n'avoir pas entendu plus tôt les observations de M. le Commissaire de France. Il les aurait transmises à Fuad Pacha, qui, depuis un mois, s'est trouvé dans le cas de croire que l'institution de ce Tribunal était approuvée par les membres de la Commission.

M. le Commissaire de Prusse est d'avis que dans l'état actuel des choses il n'y a aucune nécessité à innover dans la partie nord de la Montagne.

M. le Commissaire Russe avait pensé que la création de ce Tribunal Mixte n'était faite qu'en vue des territoires à population mixte. Ce que vient de dire tout-à-l'heure M. le Délégué Ottoman n'a pu que le confirmer dans cette opinion, Abro Efendi ayant reconnue que les crimes ou délits commis entre individus de la même nation ne seraient déférés à la nouvelle juridiction centrale de Beyrout que si les parties le voulaient bien. Il résulte de ceci que la nouvelle juridiction exceptionnelle ne peut invalider l'ancienne juridiction ordinaire. M. Novikow s'associera d'ailleurs volontiers à la rédaction d'un avis collectif de la Commission qui garantirait ce résultat.

M. le Commissaire Britannique a considéré l'institution du Tribunal Mixte comme très bonne et très opportune, et il ne lui a pas paru qu'elle dût porter atteinte aux privilèges de la Montagne.

Après ce débat, il est entendu d'un commun accord que la Commission

* Inclosure 7 in No. 40.

approuve l'institution provisoire d'un Tribunal Mixte à Beyrout, pourvu que cette institution ne porte aucune atteinte aux privilèges de la Montagne, et ne préjuge en rien les modifications que, par suite de l'entente des Cabinets, pourront être apportées ultérieurement à l'organisation du Liban.

M. le Délégué Ottoman informe la Commission que son Excellence Fuad Pacha a reçu communication de la motion collective insérée dans le procès-verbal de la séance du 29 Avril dernier. Son Excellence, devant être très prochainement de retour à Beyrout, se réserve de s'expliquer elle-même auprès de la Commission sur les véritables causes de l'état des choses signalé à son attention.

Quant aux observations qui ont été adressées à l'autorité dans la dernière séance, et d'après lesquelles rien n'aurait été fait pour la pacification du pays, M. le Délégué Ottoman croit devoir faire remarquer que, sur le premier point concernant la répression, les retards apportés à l'exécution des sentences rendues proviennent uniquement des divergences d'opinion qui se sont produites dans le sein de la Commission. Cette œuvre de répression absorbant d'abord l'attention de l'autorité, elle n'a pu s'occuper du réglement des indemnités qu'elle est actuellement en train de mener à bonne fin, ainsi que le prouvent et l'impôt extraordinaire que Fuad Pacha va faire lever sur Damas, et la communication qui vient d'être faite au commencement de cette séance, touchant le mode adopté pour l'évaluation des pertes mobilières dans la Montagne.

Quant à la réorganisation, son Excellence le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan a envoyé aussi promptement que possible aux Commissaires les observations que lui avait suggérées l'examen de leur projet. On ne peut donc sur aucun de ces trois points imputer à la Mission Extraordinaire toute la responsabilité des lenteurs dont il a été question.

M. le Commissaire de France, étant d'avis que la question a été épuisée dans la précédente séance, ne trouve, en ce qui le concerne, qu'il soit nécessaire de continuer ce débat, et préfère s'abstenir de répondre aux observations qui viennent d'être présentées par M. le Délégué Ottoman.

La séance est levée à 4 heures et quart.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 3 in No. 46.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, May* 10, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that, last Sunday evening, I paid a private visit to Said Bek Joublat.

The Druse Chief has been removed to the house lately occupied by General Kmety.

He seemed very glad to see me, but the interview has left a most painful impression on my mind.

He is evidently dying; and though Dr. Pincoffs, who was with me, was unable to pronounce positively how soon the fatal event may be expected, it can only be a question of weeks, or even of days.

I beg to inclose a short Memorandum of what took place on the occasion, which Mr. Rogers, who was with me, has been good enough to draw up.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 46.

Memorandum.

ON our arrival at the house into which Said Bek has been lately removed, we were admitted into the room he occupies, which we found comfortably furnished.

Said Bek was on a sofa in a corner of the room. The officer on guard and one private entered with us.

On approaching the sofa he sat up; he appeared very ill and weak, with a difficulty of respiration. Lord Dufferin told him to lie down again. Upon the

communication being made to him, he appeared surprised at my addressing him in his own language, and said most emphatically, as if in fear of personal injury, "Are you friends?" I answered in the affirmative, and he then pointed to Lord Dufferin and asked whom he had the pleasure to see. On being informed, Said Bek tried to rise and kiss his Lordship's hand, at the same time expressing his gratitude.

Lord Dufferin then asked him if he were comfortable, and whether he had any cause for complaint of the treatment he was receiving during his illness.

Said Bek answered that his petty grievances were of no account; that he was convinced that his life had been saved by the interposition of Lord Dufferin, and he did not wish to trouble his Lordship with minor complaints; that, having had the honour of a personal interview with his benefactor, he should die happily.

Dr. Pincoffs then addressed him in Turkish, and held a conversation with him upon the subject of his health. The doctor was satisfied that he was no worse since he last saw him.

Lord Dufferin then asked whether the Turkish officer understood Arabic, and was answered in the negative, but that the private spoke that language. The latter was then requested to retire, which, with some slight demur, he did.

Lord Dufferin then told Said Bek that he wished for a frank answer to the question he was about to put to him; and asked whether the Druses had received any encouragement from the Turkish Government during the late occurrences.

Said Bek answered, with apparent sincerity, that he was happy to have an opportunity of speaking directly with his Lordship on the subject. He said that his trial was not conducted in a proper manner, and that many of his answers were not recorded; that the intrigues emanated from the Christians; that the Druses of the Yesbek (a rival) faction opposed them, and made war; that he himself foresaw the difficulties, and that he wrote to the Government, saying that, unless he were provided with due support, matters would become very serious; that, after repeated applications, he received an answer that a Pasha had been sent to Deir-el-Kamar and an officer to Zahleh who had full powers to prevent an outbreak; that he was satisfied on the receipt of this answer, and that Tahir Pasha shortly afterwards arrived in Deir-el-Kamar, who demanded from him (Said Bek) a guarantee for the security of the town, which he refused to give; that on Tahir Pasha expressing his intention of returning to Beyrout, he begged him to remain, saying that if he left there would be a massacre at Deir-el-Kamar, and, moreover, he sent to the notables of that town, advising them also to beg Tahir Pasha to remain, and, in case of his insisting on going, that they should accompany him; still he went away, and although a Turkish officer, with troops, was also sent to Zahleh, both these towns were taken, and a dreadful massacre occurred in one of them. He acknowledged that he was acquainted with no document that could prove the complicity of the Turkish Government, but implied that the Yezbeks, or more violent section of the Druses, knew probably more than he did.

Lord Dufferin then again asked him if he could do anything for him, and if he had anything to complain of.

He answered, that he was thankful for his Lordship's great kindness, and earnestly inquired whether he should ever be put back into the barracks.

Lord Dufferin assured him of the contrary, and intimated that in all probability some time would elapse before any decision were come to as to what should become of him, but that, under any circumstances, his family should be taken proper care of; for which he expressed his thanks, and said that he would ask one favour, namely, that upon his recovery he should be allowed to go to England, there to live and die, as he had already seen too much of the Osmanli Government. On Lord Dufferin's saying that that might take place, he kissed his hand again, and expressed his thanks.

Upon Lord Dufferin rising to leave the apartment, Said Bek rose also, and would have followed him to the door, but was held back and prevented from such exertion.

Beyrout, May 6, 1861.

(Signed) E. T. ROGERS.

Inclosure 5 in No. 46.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, May* 10, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that I have agreed to the following mode of valuing the claims of British subjects whose property has been destroyed during the late disturbances.

His Excellency Fuad Pasha and Mr. Moore, will each designate three individuals who are to form a Commission, and make a report on the amount of indemnity due to each individual; Mr. Moore and his Excellency will then arrive at a final conclusion on the basis furnished them by the above Commission.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

P.S.—Fuad Pasha has also promised to write to Constantinople in favour of a pension being granted to the widowed mother of the Missionary Mr. Graham, murdered at Damascus.

D. AND C.

Inclosure 6 in No. 46.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, May* 10, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that during the course of a conversation I had yesterday with Fuad Pasha, his Excellency gave me a most positive assurance that the Porte had no intention to confiscate the estates of any of the Druse Sheikhs, and that although on his arrival in the country, the necessities of Government had compelled him to lay hands, in a very arbitrary manner, on the moveable property of those who were in prison or in hiding, he now intended, as soon as he had a little leisure, to examine carefully each individual case, and make reparation for any injustice which might have been committed.

The Druse olive trees and lands, which Government has hired out on short terms to different persons, are immediately to be restored to their rightful owners, and a due account is to be taken of the Druse woods which have been forcibly cut down for the reparation of the Christian houses.

Said Bek's wife and children are to be shortly reinstated in their mansion at Mokhtara.

I have requested Colonel Fraser, after my departure, to see that Fuad Pasha's assurances on the above important points are duly observed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 7 in No. 46.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, May* 10, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Fuad Pasha is about to proclaim a general amnesty to the Druse nation as soon as the Mufti returns with the final decision of the Porte on the sentences which have been referred to Constantinople.

This functionary is now daily expected.

Only those persons will be excluded from the benefit of the proposed act of grace who are in flight in the Hauran.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 8 in No. 46.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, May* 10, 1861.

I AM informed that, notwithstanding the energetic endeavours which have been made in the Kesrouan to obtain signatures to the Shehab petition, very few persons have, and that both the Maronite Patriarch and the Christian Kaimakam, still decline to lend the sanction of their names to that document.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 9 in No. 46.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, May* 11, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copies of some maps which I have had constructed, illustrating the two projects elaborated by the Commission.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 10 in No. 46.

Maps showing the Proposed Division of the Lebanon into Kaimakamîyehs and Circumscriptions, according to the Commissioners' First and Second Projects.

No. 47.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received May 24.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, May* 11, 1861.

I HAVE the honour of forwarding to your Lordship copy of my final despatch, dated the 11th of May, to Sir H. Bulwer.

Inclosure in No. 47.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, May* 11, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's despatch of the 28th ultimo, in which I am instructed to repair to Constantinople.

In reply I beg to state that on a proposition made by M. Béclard, it has been arranged that the Commissioners shall leave Beyrout some time between Thursday and Saturday. The Russian and Prussian Commissioners will accompany M. Béclard on board the "Roland," while the Austrian Commissioner and Abro Efendi will go in Her Majesty's ship "Melpomene."

My mission to this country being thus concluded, and the occasion being arrived on which I am to trouble your Excellency for the last time with a despatch, I cannot resist the temptation of expressing my sense of the extreme kindness with which you have been always good enough to encourage my labours while acting under your Excellency's auspices and instructions. On looking back on the series of transactions in which I have been concerned during the last ten months, it is only too probable I have given expression to opinions, and adopted a course of conduct, which greater experience would have regulated differently; but if on a few occasions of moment and anxiety I have been enabled to act in a manner to give satisfaction to Her Majesty's Government, it is but due to your Excellency I should publicly acknowledge how much I have been indebted to your guidance and advice.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 48.

Mr. Grey to Lord J. Russell.—(Received May 24.)

My Lord, *Paris, May 23, 1861.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the copy of a despatch which I have this day received from Her Majesty's Consul at Marseilles, reporting the departure of the French squadron from Toulon on the 20th instant for the coast of Syria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. G. GREY.

Inclosure in No. 48.

Consul Mark to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Marseilles, May 21, 1861.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the French squadron, accompanied by several steam-transports, left Toulon yesterday for the coast of Syria, for the purpose of bringing back the French troops now occupying that country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. MARK.

No. 49.

Mr. Grey to Lord J. Russell.—(Received May 25.)

My Lord, *Paris, May 24, 1861.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Moniteur" of this day, announcement of the departure on Monday last of the French fleet for the coast of Syria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. G. GREY.

Inclosure in No. 49.

Extract from the "Moniteur" of May 24, 1861.

Paris, le 23 Mai, 1861.

BULLETIN.—L'ESCADRE de la Méditerranée, commandée par le Vice-Amiral Le Barbier de Tinan et composée de deux divisions sous les ordres des Contre-Amiraux Chopart et Paris, est partie Lundi dernier de Toulon pour se rendre à Beyrout.

Nos vaisseaux étaient suivis d'un assez grand nombre de bâtiments de transport destinés à ramener nos troupes en France et en Algérie.

Après le départ du corps expéditionnaire, la majeure partie de l'escadre stationnera sur les côtes de Syrie pour assurer, en cas de besoin, une protection efficace aux Chrétiens.

(Translation.)

Paris, May 23, 1861.

BULLETIN.—THE Mediterranean squadron, commanded by Vice-Admiral Le Barbier de Tinan, and composed of two divisions under the orders of Rear-Admirals Chopart and Paris, left Toulon for Beyrout on Monday last.

Our vessels were followed by a considerable number of transports for bringing our troops back to France and Algeria.

After the departure of the expeditionary force, the greater part of the squadron will be stationed on the coast of Syria, in order to give assistance, if required, to the Christians.

No. 50.

Lord Napier to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received May* 27.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, May* 22, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith an extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of this morning, containing the instructions addressed by Prince Gortchakoff to M. de Kisseleff respecting the evacuation of Syria by the French.

Inclosure in No. 50.

Prince Gortchakoff to Count Kisseleff.

St. Pétersbourg, le 2 *Mai,* 1861.

A MESURE que le terme fixé pour l'évacuation de la Syrie approche de son échéance, nous ne pouvons nous défendre d'envisager cette éventualité avec une vive appréhension.

Votre Excellence a été appelée, lors de la dernière Conférence de Paris, à exprimer la conviction de Sa Majesté l'Empereur que la cessation prématurée de l'occupation, avant qu'une organisation définitive et l'installation d'un pouvoir régulier ne soient venues remplacer les garanties résultant pour les Chrétiens de la présence des troupes Européennes, entraînerait des calamités dont les Grandes Puissances devaient se préoccuper sérieusement, dans l'intérêt de l'humanité et dans celui de leur propre dignité.

Nous constatons à regret qu'aucun des faits qui se sont produits depuis lors, et des renseignements qui nous parviennent, n'est de nature à dissiper ces craintes. Nous les voyons même partagées par les étrangers de tous les pays résidant en Syrie, dont les intérêts, l'existence même se trouvent en question, et qui viennent d'attester l'unanimité de leurs sentiments et de leurs vœux par une pétition adressée, dans les termes les plus pressants, aux Grandes Puissances de l'Europe.

Veuillez, M. le Comte, entretenir de ce sujet les Représentants des Cabinets qui ont participé aux dernières délibérations.

Nous croirions manquer à un devoir si nous n'appelions pas leur attention sur les dangers qui pourraient résulter d'un rappel de l'occupation, s'il avait lieu completement, à jour fixe, sans aucun égard pour la situation critique où il pourrait laisser la Syrie, et sans qu'on ait encore rempli aucune des conditions préalables qui, à notre avis, auraient pu suppléer aux garanties dont les populations Chrétiennes se verraient tout à coup privées par le départ des troupes qui avaient reçu de l'Europe la mission de pourvoir à leur sécurité.

En pareil cas, il ne nous resterait pour notre part qu'à décliner formellement, comme nous l'avons déjà fait, toute responsabilité quant aux résultats d'une détermination dont nous aurions prévu et signalé les conséquences.

Votre Excellence est invitée, d'ordre de notre auguste maître, à ne laisser subsister aucun doute à cet égard dans l'esprit de ses collègues.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) GORTCHAKOFF.

(Translation.)

St. Petersburgh, May 2, 1861.

AS the period fixed for the evacuation of Syria draws nigh, we cannot help looking upon the prospect of it with lively apprehension.

Your Excellency was called upon, at the time of the last Conference at Paris, to express the conviction of His Majesty the Emperor that the premature cessation of the occupation, before a definitive organisation and the installation of a regular power had replaced the guarantees resulting to the Christians from the presence of European troops, would produce calamities with which the Great Powers ought seriously to be prepossessed for the interest of humanity and that of their own dignity.

We state with regret that not one of the facts which have happened since th

time, and the information which has reached us, is of a nature to disperse these fears We see them indeed, participated in by strangers of all countries residing in Syria, whose interests, nay, whose very existence is concerned, and who have just attested their agreement in opinion, and their wishes, in a petition addressed in the most pressing terms to the Great Powers of Europe.

Will you have the goodness, M. le Comte, to bring this subject to the notice of the Representatives of the Cabinets who took part in the last deliberations?

We consider that we should be wanting in our duty if we did not call their attention to the dangers which might result from a recall of the troops of occupation, if it took place entirely, on a fixed day, without any regard to the critical situation in which Syria might be left, and without any of the previous conditions having been as yet fulfilled, which, in our opinion, might have supplied the place of the guarantees of which the Christian populations would see themselves suddenly deprived by the departure of the very troops who had received from Europe the mission of providing for their security.

In such a case, it would only remain for us to decline formally, as we have already done, all responsibility in the results of a determination of which we had foreseen and pointed out the consequences.

Your Excellency is instructed, by order of our august master, to allow no doubt on this head to remain in the minds of your colleagues.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) GORTCHAKOFF.

No. 51.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, May* 27, 1861.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatch of the 11th instant, reporting your departure for Constantinople; and I have great satisfaction in conveying to you, by the Queen's command, Her Majesty's most gracious approval of all your conduct during the whole period of your residence in Syria.

The ability and judgment which you displayed in dealing with the intricate questions which came under discussion, the temper and conciliatory spirit which you uniformly maintained in your intercourse with your colleagues, and the zeal with which, while caring for the exigencies of public justice, you endeavoured to consult the claims of humanity, would necessarily ensure for you the approbation and thanks of Her Majesty's Government; but I have still greater pleasure in acquainting you that those qualities are as warmly recognized by the Governments of those foreign Powers with whose Representatives you have been associated in the arduous work of bringing about the pacification of Syria.

No. 52.

Colonel Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received May 29.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, May* 19, 1861

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch dated the 15th instant, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

Inclosure in No. 52.

Colonel Fraser to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, May* 15, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that, in consequence of the threatening aspect of affairs in Mount Lebanon, I had been requested by Lord

Dufferin to proceed thither from Damascus for the purpose of watching events, calming excitement, or supporting the Ottoman authorities, as more fully indicated in his Lordship's despatch addressed to me on the 28th ultimo, a copy of which, I am informed, has already been transmitted for your Excellency's information.

I arrived at Mokhtara, in Mount Lebanon, on the 3rd of May, where I was warmly welcomed by Omer Pasha, in command of the troops of the Mountain, who also expressed a strong desire that I should remain to advise and aid him. I spent three days at this point, during which time I had constant opportunities of discussing with the Pasha the present condition of the Mountain, and the measures to be taken in the various contingencies which might arise with a view to present collision between the Druses and Christians, or between the latter and the troops. I had at the same time an opportunity of extensive communication with the population of that neighbourhood.

Finding it desirable that I should make myself personally acquainted with the state of affairs in other parts of the Mountain, I had commenced a tour through the districts most likely to become the scene of disturbances, should such unfortunately arise. This, however, was interrupted, it being Lord Dufferin's wish that I should join him at Mokhtara and subsequently accompany him to Beyrout, for the purpose of more ample communication on important public business previous to his Lordship's departure for Constantinople.

So far as my observations extended, I had arrived at the conclusion that a dangerous degree of excitement existed at one or two places between Druses and Christians, chiefly in the neighbourhood of French detachments; but as the Turkish troops were well posted, and on the alert, there did not appear to me reason to apprehend serious collision, though it would be difficult to say that isolated disturbances might not occur.

Omer Pasha himself appeared perfectly to appreciate the delicacy and responsibility of his position, and seems possessed of both decision and good sense.

As the Druses, so far as my inspection extended, seemed submissive and disinclined to resent any provocations offered them, I have good hope that the tranquillity of Mount Lebanon will not be seriously disturbed.

No. 53.

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received June* 1.)

My Lord, *Berlin, May* 29, 1861.

AT my last interview with Baron Schleinitz, I referred to the question now under discussion at Constantinople as to the selection of a Christian Governor for the Lebanon. I represented to his Excellency that the object of the European Powers was to allay the jealousy and strife which have so long existed between the different sects and races of the Lebanon, and more especially between the Maronites and Druses. His Excellency must admit that with this aim in view, it could not be desirable to place one race under the subjection of the other, which would be virtually the case if a native, for instance a Maronite, were to be selected as the Chief under whom the Druses and other sects were to be governed. The result would inevitably be the renewal of the murderous warfare hitherto carried on between these tribes, and of those excesses which had called for the intervention of Europe.

I observed to his Excellency that where so large a Christian community existed as was now the case in Turkey, there could surely be no difficulty in finding some person not a native of the Mountain, in whose impartiality and strict justice towards all parties confidence could be placed, and I expressed a hope that in treating this question the Prussian Government would support the views taken by Her Majesty's Government, and would instruct the Prussian Minister at the Porte to co-operate with Her Majesty's Ambassador in supporting the choice of a Christian Governor who is not a native of the Mountain, and whose appointment could not, therefore, give umbrage to either of the contending races.

Baron Schleinitz entered into a long explanation to prove that the conduct pursued by the Prussian Government in Syria was alone dictated by a feeling of

scrupulous regard for the interests of the population, without any reference to political aims or rival factions. Their object was to restore peace, tranquillity, and good government, where anarchy, strife, and bloodshed, had unfortunately, hitherto prevailed.

He was neither in favour of one or other party, but he wished to see a just and firm Government organized, and he felt some apprehensions lest, on the withdrawal of the French troops, fresh disorders might arise which would occasion a far greater danger to the independence and authority of the Porte than if the French occupation had continued until the new form of government had been duly installed.

With respect to the selection of the future Governor of the Lebanon, his Excellency, in reply to my inquiry, stated that he had instructed the Prussian Minister at Constantinople to be guided entirely by the opinion and wishes of the Sultan, and that his vote with respect to the choice of a Governor should be dependent on the approval by the Porte of the proposed candidate.

For his own part he thought that, as the Maronites were numerically the most important of the two races, they might fairly claim a preference if a native were to be selected as Governor.

He considered, however, that in this matter the wishes of the Sovereign should be consulted; and with this view the instructions to which I have referred have been sent to the Prussian Minister at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 54.

Acting Consul Wrench to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received June* 5.)

My Lord, *Damascus, May* 1, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship, copy of my despatch of yesterday's date to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Sublime Porte, in answer to one from his Excellency, requiring information regarding the crosses chalked, in February last, on the pavements and doors of houses occupied by Christians in the quarters of the city, Meidan and Kanawât.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

Inclosure in No. 54.

Acting Consul Wrench to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Damascus, April* 30, 1861.

I HAVE had the honour to receive from Mr. Rogers, through Colonel Fraser, your Excellency's despatch to the former of March 23.

In compliance with the instructions therein contained, I have the honour to state, for your Excellency's information, that all I have been able to learn on the subject to which it referred is, that shortly after the crosses were chalked on the pavement and doors of houses occupied by Christians in the quarters of the Meidan and Kanawat, a Commission was formed of four Government employés, two Greek and two Catholic members, to examine into the matter. The authors of the crosses made in the former quarter were not discovered, nor was any one arrested on suspicion; and although the Vali and Mushir visited the spots at the time, their investigations were followed by no apparent results.

A Greek boy was taken up on suspicion of having made the crosses in the Kanawat quarter, and two Mussulman witnesses bore testimony against him. The evidence, however, seems to have been defective, as no sentence was drawn up, the minutes of the proceedings merely being signed by the members, and the boy released.

I would remark in conclusion, that although nothing positive has been discovered as to the authors of the crosses in question, it is the opinion of both the Vali and Mushir that they originated with the Christians.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

No. 55.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, June 5, 1861.*

IN the present state of the discussions at Constantinople on the Syrian question, it may be convenient to pass in review the course which those discussions have hitherto taken, and the directions which you have received from Her Majesty's Government.

It appears, then, that a preliminary meeting was held among the Representatives on the 21st of May, at which the Minister of the Porte did not attend, and that the main object then discussed was the nationality and condition of the future Governor of the Lebanon.

Your Excellency, basing your proposal on the Report of the Commissioners, advocated the recognition of a single Christian Governor, with a limited tenure of office.

The French Plenipotentiary, on the other hand, advocated the appointment of a Governor of the Shehab family, who should hold his office for life, and have at his disposal a native military force.

The Russian Plenipotentiary dissented from this last proposal, which, however, found favour with the Austrian, while the Prussian pleaded the absence of instructions as precluding him from offering an opinion.

As the result of what passed, your Excellency requested instructions on two points: first, whether the questions at issue were to be decided by a majority of the Representatives; and secondly, whether, if the French Plenipotentiary persisted in advocating the claims of a native Governor, you would be authorized to declare the proposal, as presented to the Conference, to be so much at variance with the views entertained by the Commissioners as to preclude you from assenting to it.

I informed you, in reply, that Her Majesty's Government could not consent to be bound by the opinions of a majority on a matter of so much importance as that under discussion; and that the better course would be, if the French proposal was adopted by the greater number of your colleagues, that your Excellency should, either singly or in concert with the dissidents, formally put forward the plan of the Commissioners.

Some days afterwards I repeated to you the strong objection entertained by Her Majesty's Government to the nomination of a Shehab as Governor of the Mountain; and I directed your Excellency, in the event of a majority being in favour of a native Governor, to lay before the Conference, as a proposal separately made by yourself, the appointment of a Christian Governor, not a native of the province.

At the same time I intimated to your Excellency, and I desired that you would make known to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, the strong opinion of Her Majesty's Government that the discussion on these matters should be brought to a close without further delay.

I received, on the morning of the 29th, a telegram from your Excellency announcing that a General Conference, at which the Turkish Representative would attend, was appointed to be held on the following day; that the Prussian Representative had been directed to conform his vote to the wishes of the Porte; while the Russian had received instructions to support a native Governor.

Prince Labanoff had, however, suggested as a means of reconciling conflicting opinions in regard to the person to be selected for the Governor of the Lebanon, that a single Christian Governor should be appointed, it being left to the Porte to determine, without restriction, who that Governor should be.

I acquainted you, in reply, that Her Majesty's Government considered it right that the Turkish Plenipotentiary should be present at the Conference which you announced, the Porte being, of course, the party principally concerned.

I at the same time informed you that I had stated to the French Ambassador, in reply to a further communication which I had received from him, that Her Majesty's Government could not agree to a native Christian Governor.

Nevertheless, I added that Her Majesty's Government were prepared to accept the compromise suggested by the Russian Plenipotentiary, and to agree to the nomination of a single Christian Governor of the Lebanon, the choice of such Governor to be left to the Sultan, and his tenure of office to be either

during pleasure or during good behaviour, but not for life. But I said that it appeared to Her Majesty's Government that if this point were so settled, the plan of the Commissioners in regard to other points should be carried into effect.

It appeared from your Excellency's telegrams of the 31st of May, that at the Conference which had taken place on the preceding day, the Prussian Minister was prepared in consequence of instructions that he had received, to acquiesce in the appointment of a Native Governor, and that, after a long discussion, the Representatives agreed to submit to their respective Governments a proposition which had been drawn up by the Prussian Minister in the following terms, viz. :—" La Porte choisit un Gouverneur Chrétien investi de l'autorité pour trois ans : ce fonctionnaire sera amovible, mais la Porte ne le destituera pas sans jugement ; trois mois avant l'expiration du mandat il y aura de nouveau entente sur la question d'indigénat entre la Porte et les Représentants."*

I stated to you in reply that Her Majesty's Government were willing to accept the proposition of the Prussian Minister, but that your Excellency must not agree to any change in the wording of it without reference home.

It appears by a telegram which I have received from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, that the French Ambassador at Constantinople has also been authorized to agree to the Prussian proposition.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 56.

Colonel Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received June 6.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, May 24, 1861.*

THE absence at Constantinople of the European Commission, and the unsettled condition of the questions of a future Government for Syria, of punishments, including confiscations, and of indemnities, all subjects which have been referred to Constantinople for a final decision, afford additional motives for expectation rather than action being the ruling principle for the moment.

Each third or fourth day I have taken occasion to remonstrate with Fuad Pasha on the delay occurring in the collection of the forced impost on Damascus, and in releasing from sequestration the properties of certain Druses whose innocence had been satisfactorily established, as brought formally to his Excellency's notice by me on the 5th instant, and subsequently communicated to your Lordship by Lord Dufferin ; but I regret to say that my efforts have not hitherto produced a satisfactory result. So little organization exists in the various Government departments, that business of every class and character is conducted by Fuad Pasha and his personal Staff. There being but few capable persons among the latter body, it becomes nearly impossible to carry on more than one subject of investigation or arrangement at the same time, and hence the great delay which is so frequently recurring.

His Excellency promises that both the above subjects of repeated representation will be arranged, without fail, within a week from the present time.

I returned yesterday afternoon from a visit to the Mountain, where I had been examining whether there was any cause to anticipate disturbance on the removal of the French detachments. I am happy to be able to assure your Lordship that I found the population tranquil and busily occupied with the silk harvest ; I have, therefore, no reason to fear any disturbance of the public tranquillity.

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* Translation.—" The Porte is to select a Christian Governor invested with authority for three years : this functionary will be removeable, but the Porte will not displace him without a judgment ; three months before the expiration of the mandate the Porte will come to a fresh understanding with the Representatives upon the question of a native Governor."

No. 57.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received June 7.)

(Extract.) *Constantinople, May* 22, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I arrived, on the 15th instant, at the Dardanelles in Her Majesty's ship "Melpomene," whence I proceeded to this place in the "Banshee," which his Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer had kindly sent to meet me.

In my last despatches from Beyrout I had the honour to inform your Lordship that the Commission had prepared two plans for the consideration of the European Representatives at Constantinople; that one plan introduced the principle of a division of the Mountain into several separate Kaimakamiyehs under a Vali of Saida, while the other united them, in the shape of circumscriptions, under the jurisdiction of a single Christian Governor, not a native of the Mountain: and I furthermore stated, that of these two plans the first was the one to which four out of five of the Commissioners gave the preference, the last having been elaborated at the dictation of some of the European Cabinets.

The question being, then, reduced to an issue dependent on considerations of general policy, I feel that my humble duties have found their natural termination, and that the subsequent conduct of the affair must remain entirely in the hands of Her Majesty's Ambassador.

No. 58.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received June 7.)

(Extract.) *Constantinople, May* 29, 1861.

HAVING agreed with the French Ambassador that a preliminary conversation should take place between the Representatives previous to an official meeting with the Representative of the Porte, the Representatives met on the 21st instant, and exchanged their opinions. I have no hesitation in saying that my own, after a deliberate consideration of the subject, are not entirely in accordance with any yet pronounced.

I consider a native Governor liable to these objections: If he can make himself powerful, he will oppress every sect and party but his own; if he cannot, he will be without authority, and in constant and helpless strife with internal foes. On the other hand, a Christian Governor not native, and residing in the Mountain, will probably want both friends and prestige, and can only rely on the Ottoman force outside the Mountain, which will not be under his control.

By far the most practical and sensible plan, in my opinion, is, to keep the separate parts of the Mountain district under their local jurisdiction, and to put them generally under the Pasha at Beyrout, who has alone any sort of power as to checking their rivalries, and preventing the consequences of their animosities. At the same time, however, I should place by the Pasha's side some Christian functionary charged with exercising a superintendence over the preservation of the Christian privileges, acting as intermediate between the Christians and the Turkish Governor, and sanctioning or refusing the intervention of Turkish troops into the Christian districts. In this manner the Local Government of the districts would be provided for, and the wants, habits, and feelings of each locality attended to; whilst the General Government, under safeguards for Christian interests, would be that of the Porte, which Europe would hold responsible for its conduct.

Notwithstanding, however, my feelings on this subject, it seemed to me better, on many accounts, to adopt the last project of the Commissioners which had had their united assent (if my colleagues were also willing to do so), than to enter into a contest for any new project, however much I might prefer it. Thus, whilst I opened the Conference by a statement as to my personal opinions, I concluded my remarks by observing that I was ready to accept at once the sixteen Articles of the Commissioners, providing they were accepted by the other Representatives as a whole; but that I was not willing to take any one sentence or principle in them, and to consider that as determined and adopted because it was found in the general plan, and subsequently to discuss the other points of that plan as if they had not been equally determined.

M. de Lavalette took an opposite view; he considered that we might at once settle that there should be one Christian Governor for the Mountain, but he was not willing to take into account the fact that the Commissioners had declared that Governor should not be a native and removeable at pleasure. He desired, on the contrary, that he should be named for life, be a native and a Maronite, and only revocable with the concurrence of the Great Powers; he held also that he should have a native army. He asserted, moreover, that the said Governor ought to be chosen from the family of Shehab, but he added that he did not positively consider this a *sine qud non*.

It appeared to me that the pursuit of these views would create a tyrant in the Mountain, and a factious vassal out of it. The Chief thus selected for life from a particular tribe and rite would easily domineer over the other tribes and rites. Not being removeable by the Porte, he would be, in fact, independent of it, and thus, whilst he oppressed without control within the circumference of his rule, beyond it a constant struggle would be going on between him and the Turkish functionaries in his neighbourhood; a situation in which he would be necessarily obliged to seek some foreign protection.

I conceived also, as I have said, that the project should be treated as entire, since all its parts held together; or that altogether a new project should be adopted.

Baron Prokesch said that, acting according to his instructions, he must maintain the advisability of selecting a native Governor or Prince, and a Maronite, and he supported this view by observing that such a Prince or Governor would at least have some partizans he could rely on, and that it was not improbable that to guard himself against the rest, he would have to cultivate friendly relations with the Sultan's Government.

He did not, however, touch on the two points insisted on by M. de Lavalette, namely, that this Maronite Governor should be named for life, and have an independent army; two conditions which evidently precluded the necessity of cultivating those friendly relations with the Ottoman Government to which the Baron alluded.

Prince Labanow objected to a single native and Christian Prince, on much the same grounds as I did. He showed clearly, and with ability, that M. de Lavalette, who had asserted that this was the immemorial usage in the Mountain, was in error. The Shehabs themselves were of foreign extraction, and chosen originally because they were foreigners. The famous Emir Beshir, who professed himself a Turk at one time and a Christian at another, had merely derived his power from the Porte's favour; and although by great cruelty and great ability he had preserved order, the ability he had evinced did not seem hereditary, and the means he had employed were no longer possible.

Count Goltz said that he could give no opinion for or against a Maronite Governor, since he was waiting for instructions on that very point. He professed himself, notwithstanding, rather more favourable to a Governor not a native than to a native Governor, but was in this case for having the nomination made by the Great Powers and the Porte, and not by the Porte alone.

After this discussion we read the project of the Commissioners Article by Article, and found no difficulty in agreeing to each Article except Article 1, which contained the conditions that the Prince of the Mountain should not be a native, and that he should be removeable at pleasure, and that order should, in case of necessity, be maintained by the Turkish forces.

On these questions, which in point of fact determine the condition of the Prince both as to the Porte and to the inhabitants of the Mountain, M. de Lavalette's opinions and mine greatly differed. I cannot say that the other Representatives expressed any very decided opinions, but I remarked that Count Goltz seemed to favour the idea of a native army, whilst the other Representatives looked upon it as impossible.

The project being read, however, a new question arose. I suggested that, having thus interchanged our own opinions, it would be desirable to be in official possession of the opinions of the Porte, and to discuss with her Representative those questions we had just been discussing amongst ourselves.

M. de Lavalette objected to this course, and was of opinion, as I stated in my telegram of the 22nd instant, that the Representatives should first decide by a majority on some plan, and then communicate their opinion to the Porte.

I observed that I thought such conduct would be disrespectful to the Ottoman Government, and that I could not consent to it, but deemed, on the contrary, that we should have a meeting with Aali Pasha without delay, after which, if we were unable to come to any agreement, we might refer to our several Governments.

It was then agreed that the Conferences should be suspended till the Representatives had time to communicate with their respective Governments.

Finding that time passed away without anything further taking place, I requested Aali Pasha to inform me what course he meant to pursue: whether he meant to convoke the Representatives, or whether he was in favour of the separate Conferences continuing. Aali Pasha said he was quite opposed to the arrangement under contemplation being discussed separately, and that the Porte claimed to take part in the discussions upon it.

Aali Pasha consequently saw the French Ambassador, who agreed to attend a meeting which is fixed for to-morrow, Thursday.

I then saw Prince Labanow and Count Goltz.

The former stated to me that since the last meeting he could not say his own opinions had changed; but that his Government had instructed him to support a native Prince, and that, therefore, he should do so when we next met.

He then went into the question generally, saying that when opinions were so divergent, it was necessary, if things were to be settled amicably, to seek some compromise, and that he thought of proposing that we should agree as to a single Christian ruler, without specifying whether he should be a native or not, but leave the Porte free to decide, without restriction, on the person, whether native or not native, that she would name.

He was rather of opinion that the French Ambassador would accept this basis, providing it was agreed that the Prince selected should be a Catholic, but that he thought himself there should be no restriction even on this point.

He went on to say that he should decidedly object to a Shehab, but that he did not think there would be the same objections to Yusef Keram.

I then saw Count Goltz. He said his last instructions were to support whatever view was taken by the Porte on the matter in debate.

I then had a short conversation with the Marquis de Lavalette, the pith of whose observations was that he had agreed to a general meeting; that he had no further objection to such meeting, it being understood that the Porte did not previously affirm that its views were irrevocably fixed.

No. 59.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, June* 11, 1861.

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatch of the 22nd of May; and I have to state to you, in reply, that I approve of your having left the future conduct of the Syrian question in the hands of Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, limiting yourself to the communication of information, and the expression of your opinion on such points as may be referred to you by his Excellency.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 60.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 11, 1861.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 29th ultimo, reporting what passed on the Syrian question at a preliminary meeting of the Representatives of the Great Powers, held on the 21st May, at Constantinople; and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held in Conference upon that occasion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 61.

Colonel Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received June* 13.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, May* 29, 1861.

I LATELY remarked a statement in a French newspaper, I believe "La Patrie," to the effect that 288 Christians had been murdered by Druses since the date of Fuad Pasha's arrival in Syria, and that a document containing minute statistical details of each case had been laid before the European Commission at Beyrout; a copy having at the same time been transmitted to Paris.

While this statement continued to be limited to French newspapers, I did not consider it necessary to notice it; but the allegation having been referred to in the British Parliament as a matter of fact, during the discussion on Syrian affairs of the 10th May, I feel it incumbent upon me to state for your Lordship's information, that although continuously in Syria during the period referred to, and constantly moving about in Mount Lebanon, with two or three exceptions, I have heard of no murders of Christians, although of many by them; that Lord Dufferin's information, derived from a variety of sources, as described in a despatch addressed to your Lordship under date of February 24th of the present year, was identical with my own; and finally, that Fuad Pasha, the President and only representative of the Commission at present in Beyrout, assures me that no such murders have occurred, and that no document descriptive of them was ever laid before the European Commission.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. J. FRASER.

No. 62.

Colonel Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received June* 13.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, June* 2, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose for your Lordship's perusal copies of three despatches I have lately addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

Inclosure 1 in No. 62.

Colonel Fraser to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, May* 28, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to state, for your Excellency's information, that Fuad Pasha informed me yesterday that General de Beaufort had received, by the mail steamer which had arrived that morning, his definitive instructions for the embarkation of the French expeditionary corps.

This morning the first of the steam-transports destined for the conveyance of the French troops arrived. I am informed that the Artillery will embark on board of her this evening, and active preparations for departure are making by the remainder of the force.

A detachment of Chasseurs returned by sea from Sidon two days ago, and a steamer proceeded to Tortûs, near Tripoli, this morning, to embark a small party quartered in that neighbourhood.

General de Beaufort transmitted orders to all the outposts last evening, directing the return to head-quarters of the different detachments. Notice has also been served on the various contractors that their services will only be required a few days longer.

As it is stated that the remaining transports due will arrive here with a sufficient supply of coal for the return voyage, there is good reason to believe that no delay will take place, and that the evacuation will be completed by the 5th of June.

In the meantime, since news of the certain and near departure of the expedition has spread to Deir-el-Kamar and other French garrisons, the Christians of these places loudly proclaim their determination to abandon their villages, and fall back upon Beyrout with the French troops.

That there exists well-founded ground for uneasiness in the breasts of many of them I do not doubt, as they have in too many instances availed themselves of the immunity from punishment they enjoyed in districts garrisoned by French troops to attack and molest their Druse neighbours in numberless ways, as already repeatedly brought under your Excellency's notice by Lord Dufferin. Such persons, estimating the probable conduct of others by the rule which guided their own, now naturally fear that, being about to lose the shelter under which they hitherto perpetrated crimes with impunity, their late victims will be likely to call them to a rigorous account for their past misdeeds.

I feel quite assured, however, that no real ground exists to anticipate any serious acts of retaliation on the part of the Druses—(for the absence of petty attempts of this sort I would not vouch)—who are held perfectly in hand by the Ottoman authorities.

I do not doubt, therefore, that when these Christians find their outcry fails in securing, on the one hand, the continuance among them of troops in whose presence they can contravene the law, and oppose their own authorities with impunity; and that, on the other, the Government of the country is both able and ready to afford them efficient protection, they will quietly return to their villages and ordinary occupations, should they, indeed, ever go so far as to quit them, notwithstanding any noisy asseverations to the contrary they may think it necessary or becoming to utter in the meantime.

Inclosure 2 in No. 62.

Colonel Fraser to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, June* 2, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Excellency's information, that the French troops are actively employed in effecting their embarkation, the concentration at Beyrout of the various detachments having almost been completed.

On the 29th ultimo the Artillery sailed for Marseilles, and large quantities of provisions and other stores have since then been shipped: 800 Chasseurs embarked this morning, to be followed by 400 Infantry of the Line in the course of the evening, and by the Zouaves to-morrow.

One line-of-battle ship, without guns, and fitted as a transport, together with an ordinary transport, are taking these troops on board.

It is stated that two line-of-battle ships, without guns, are about to arrive under Vice-Admiral Chopart, to embark the remainder of the force; and that, in default of these, there are four disposable steam-ships of the squadron which may be appropriated for the purpose. There is, therefore, every prospect that the evacuation will be completed on, or at the furthest within a day or two after, the 5th of June.

General de Beaufort and the French officers were present, last evening, at a farewell dinner given by Fuad Pasha, which passed off satisfactorily.

M. de Beaufort subsequently intimated to his Excellency that he himself did not expect to leave Syria before the 9th instant.

Inclosure 3 in No. 62.

Colonel Fraser to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, June* 2, 1861.

ON the 28th ultimo I had the honour to state, for your Excellency's information, that on the news of the immediate departure of the French garrisons reaching Deir-el-Kamar and some other outposts, the Christian inhabitants of those places had announced their intention to abandon their villages, and fall back upon Beyrout with the retiring troops.

So soon as I learned that orders had been transmitted to Deir-el-Kamar for the actual march of the detachments, I proceeded towards that village, and on the way I met several parties of men, women, and children who were moving on Beyrout in advance of the French troops. I stopped one party after another, asking why they abandoned their homes; they replied that the French troops were

leaving, and that they did not feel safe with Turkish soldiers, who were leagued with the Druses against them; they felt obliged to go to Beyrout for safety. I assured them that Omer Pasha would afford to all efficient protection; that he would reside in their village; that Fuad Pasha had forbidden a single Druse to approach Deir-el-Kamar on any pretence whatever, and had authorised fifty men of that village to be formed into an armed police corps placed under the orders of one of the principal Christians for its protection. I told them I had been through all that part of Lebanon but a few days before; that I knew its condition well, and that I firmly believed there was no real reason for fear, without which conviction I would on no consideration advise them to stay: but all in vain. I offered myself to remain with them at Deir-el-Kamar, and to make their safety my personal care; but this also they declined. I then asked what were the indications to them that danger existed; they replied that a Druse had held Omer Pasha's horse when he came to Deir-el-Kamar, a sign that the Druses and Turks were one; that several shots had been fired in the Druse village of Beisoor, which was a sign that they were glad the French were going; and that some Turkish soldiers had attempted to speak to their women: all reasons so trifling in themselves, even were they true, which I doubted, that I felt they had not exposed their real motives; and I was confirmed in this belief by a man who perceived I was at length gaining an audience, desiring the people not to listen to me, but to continue their march. Further conversation added to the impression that the persons leaving were chiefly camp followers and others who had no fixed interests in Deir-el-Kamar, but had subsisted principally as hangers-on of the French troops, whose fortunes they were, therefore, disposed to follow as far as they could.

Some of the inhabitants of Deir-el-Kamar were said to have thrown away their half-completed silk-harvest; but I have the greatest doubts on the subject. If anything of the kind did occur, I imagine that but a few handfuls of cocoons or silkworms were purposely destroyed, in order to furnish specious evidence for a statement that people were flying for their lives. With no desire to put an uncharitable interpretation upon such assertions, I can in no other manner explain to myself the pretended fact that poor people should throw away incipient cocoons, whose value would have been an important item to them after the past year of disasters, while many of the richer people remaining on the spot would have been only too glad to purchase at a cheap rate, and at a place where plenty of food could be had for the completion of the crop, an article which forms the object of the keenest speculation at this season throughout all Lebanon. In addition, in none of the Christian villages right and left of the Deir-el-Kamar road—all productive centres of silk cultivation—did I see the slightest sign of emigration, but only from the one focus of Deir-el-Kamar.

I also find that the Maronite Bishops, Tobia and Butros, are privately calling the Christians of districts in which they possess influence, to come at once to Beyrout, while at the same time they transmit public letters to the villages, desiring the people to remain quietly at home, and to trust to the benevolence of the Ottoman Government. They are to-day holding meetings at the house of the former, for the purpose of inducing the villagers to sign a petition demanding from the Sublime Porte a Shehab ruler for the Lebanon in the person of Emir Medjid, as the condition of the return to their villages of the people, some of whom have gone so far as to intimate that the Mountain must now either belong to the Maronites or to the Turks, in which latter case the Maronites will not inhabit it.

Twice to-day some of these Christian notables, who were about to pay me a visit previously to returning to their villages, have been detained by the above-mentioned prelates, and forbidden to hold any communication with me, their intention to return homeward having come to the ears of the reverend gentlemen.

Nevertheless one or two principal Christians, who have evaded their influence, have already returned to the Mountain yesterday afternoon, for the purpose of combating any influence that may be exerted to induce a further exodus of the ignorant peasantry. That the emigration, so far as it has yet gone, amounting probably to between 200 and 300 souls, has been artificially excited, I have no doubt whatever, excepting in the instance of the camp-followers above alluded to, who have no motive for remaining after the departure of the troops who supported them.

That no good ground exists for present alarm, I feel well convinced, and that none is manifested where extraneous influences are not brought to bear on the people, is clearly demonstrated by the fact that, while pseudo refugees are sent flocking in from Deir-el-Kamar, a nearly equal number have, within the same time, and of their own accord, left Beyrout for Damascus.

The portion of Lebanon where these movements are being excited, is garrisoned by about 4,000 good troops, of whose vigilance I have assured myself by repeated personal inspection. Their present Commander, Omer Pasha, is a man of intelligence and promptitude, who is perfectly cognizant of the responsibility attaching to his present position. In the rest of Syria the military strength may amount to between 12,000 and 13,000, forming in all 16,000 to 17,000 effectives; a force amply sufficient, in the hands of such a man as Fuad Pasha, to secure the most complete internal tranquillity.

I ought here to explain that the Returns show a total of about 23,000 in Syria; but from the best private information I have been able to obtain, deducting sick and other non-effectives, and allowing for the usual incorrectness of Turkish Returns, the real effective force of the country may fairly be considered to be about 17,000 men.

The military force is therefore ample, and if only paid with anything approaching to moderate regularity, will, I conceive, be found equal to any calls likely to be made upon it. When it is borne in mind that, in addition to the Ottoman land-forces, there remains anchored off the coast a fleet of five sail of the line and four other vessels, under Admiral de Tinan, and of three sail of the line and five other vessels, under Admiral Mundy, both equally available for either protective or for coercive purposes, as may be required, I trust your Excellency will not consider that I am over sanguine when I say that I see no reason whatever to anticipate any grave disturbance of the public peace. In the meantime, as a precautionary measure intended to meet the attempt made to excite agitation and alarm in the Mountain, Fuad Pasha has received the principal men of property belonging to Deir-el-Kamar, and has informed them he is willing to accede to any reasonable proposals they may make to him with a view to ensuring the peace and safety of their town.

In order to afford a certainty that an experienced officer, with a sufficient force, will always be at that spot, he has ordered Omer Pasha to remove his head-quarters from Mokhtara to Deir-el-Kamar. He has also issued, as above stated, a proclamation forbidding Druses, under any pretence whatever, to enter the precincts of the town, and has established a local police of fifty armed Christians, under the orders of their principal men, as an additional safeguard.

As attempts are still being made, however, to induce the population of the interior to fly to the coast, as though menaced by some impending calamity, and fearing that these might result in producing a real panic among the more distant or more ill-informed inhabitants, I have urged Fuad Pasha to show himself in the Mountain without delay, and first at those points where the agitation appears infectious.

The prestige of his Excellency's name among all classes, arising from the extensive powers he is known to possess and the firmness with which he has shown he can occasionally wield them, will, I feel assured, exert both a repressive and a tranquillizing influence.

His Excellency has considered it well to accept my proposal, and has consented to start to-day for Deir-el-Kamar, accompanied by myself.

No. 63.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received June* 13.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, June* 1, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of my despatches of the 28th ultimo and of the 1st instant to his Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer.

I beg also to report the arrival of four more French transports which are now engaged in embarking military stores.

Outposts continue to arrive in town.

I have, &c.

(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 63.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, May* 28, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to report the arrival this morning of the first French transport to embark the army of occupation. Some field-pieces were at once conveyed to the wharf, preparatory to being sent on board.

On Sunday last the French troops stationed at Tyre and Sidon arrived here, and orders have been transmitted to the different localities in the Lebanon, recalling the troops to Beyrout.

Ahmet Pasha has just sent to tell me that he has received intelligence that it is the intention of the inhabitants of Deir-el-Kamar to accompany, *en masse*, the French troops to Beyrout, on their withdrawal from that town. His Excellency desired my friendly co-operation to induce the inhabitants to remain, and asked my opinion as to the means I considered most likely to attain that object. I suggested that himself and Fuad Pasha should send for the leading people of Deir-el-Kamar, and speak to them in kind and reassuring terms; I further suggested that Omer Pasha, who is favourably viewed by the Christians, should be instructed to take up his quarters in the town with a body of picked men, and to interdict the entry of Druses into the town for the present, as the occasional presence of Druses there has always created irritation and collision.

I intend also to speak to the most influential among the people of Deir-el-Kamar, recommending them to remain, especially as they are now settled with some degree of comfort in their homes.

The exodus of so large a body of people, mostly composed of women and children, would produce a most unfavourable effect on the Christian population in this neighbourhood. So large a number, besides, would further encumber this already over-crowded town.

The Medical Committee here have lately found it necessary to recommend the removal of many of the Damascus Christians, among whom the typhus fever was raging, in consequence of the overcrowded state of their dwellings, and 600 of them have been accordingly conveyed to Tripoli and Latakia.

What has greatly tended to allay the fears of the Christians on learning the approaching departure of the French troops, is the knowledge that an English and French fleet will remain on this station, and act in concert for the preservation of public tranquillity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 63.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, June* 1, 1861.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 28th ultimo, I have the honour to report that numbers of Christians have come in to Beyrout from different parts of the Mixed districts, abandoning their silk-crops, now on the eve of being gathered, notwithstanding the measures for reassuring the Christians taken by the Turkish authorities in order to prevent emigration.

A portion of the inhabitants of Deir-el-Kamar have arrived, and are, it is understood, to be followed by the rest.

A deputation of notables, on the part of the people of Deir-el-Kamar, called upon Count Bentivoglio and upon me, yesterday, for the purpose of soliciting that an English and a French Agent might be dispatched from the two Consulates to Deir-el-Kamar, as nothing short of such a measure would, according to them, effectually reassure the inhabitants and keep them at their homes. Count Bentivoglio, they informed me, had promised them that he would go up in person on Monday next, and on his departure would leave an Agent amongst them.

I stated to the deputation that I saw no necessity for such a measure, and was of opinion that a much better way of meeting their wishes would be, that Ahmet Pasha should go to Deir-el-Kamar, agreeably with the readiness he had

already expressed to do so, and I asked them whether that would not have the desired effect.

They replied, that they thought it would.

I accordingly suggested to Ahmet Pasha the expediency of his proceeding to the place.

His Excellency said that he would consult with Fuad Pasha on the subject.

I am to-day informed that Fuad Pasha will proceed in person to the Mountain in a few days.

No. 64.

Consul Rogers to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received June* 13.)

My Lord, *Damascus, May* 30, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, copy of my despatch dated the 27th instant, and addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Sublime Porte, being a short report on my first impressions with respect to the affairs of this Pashalic.

I have, &c.

(Signed) E. T. ROGERS.

Inclosure in No. 64.

Consul Rogers to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Damascus, May* 27, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to state to your Excellency that since my arrival here, on the 23rd instant, my time has been occupied in receiving and returning official visits; I have not, therefore, yet had time to gain sufficient insight into the state of the city to be able to make a full report. I will venture, however, to trouble your Excellency with my first impressions, and of the result of my conversations with various residents here, officials and others.

The spirit of Mahometan fanaticism seems to have been cowed by the energetic measures adopted by his Excellency Fuad Pasha. The majority of the Mussulmans I have seen bitterly lament to me the sad events which occurred here last summer; they seem, in their own interest, to perceive the folly of such outbreaks, and whatever influence were brought to bear upon them, they would not consent to a recurrence of them.

Up to the present time, nothing has been published as to the system on which the fine for the indemnity of the Christians for their losses is to be levied; it is, however, understood that it is to be assessed on the rents of houses and lands, whereas the Moslems with whom I have spoken consider that if it were collected as a poll-tax on the residents, according to their rank and capacity, it would be much more just, and, at the same time, more remunerative.

The trade of Damascus is naturally at a standstill, owing to the unsettled state of affairs—residents purchase only absolute necessaries. The trade in silk and other manufactures was chiefly in the hands of the Christians, and it is therefore almost at an end for the present; there has, however, been an evident improvement within the last few days, owing to the beginning of harvest, the payment of a portion of the Government liabilities, and the return of many of the Christians from Beyrout. This latter is, of course, a very important feature.

The harvest is happily very plentiful this year, and although not quite so much land has been under cultivation as usual, the yield will probably far exceed the usual crop of the whole. In some places where the harvest has commenced, the seed has returned forty and even fifty fold. The orchards, vineyards, and olive groves also promise well, and there is, consequently, good ground for the hope that the severe losses experienced by the peasantry and others this year will be in a great measure compensated for by this providential blessing, and that, with proper management, another year or two of similar harvest would suffice to remove all traces of those sad events.

I was this morning informed by his Excellency the Scraskier Halim Pasha, that in all probability his Excellency Fuad Pasha will not think of coming to Damascus until after the evacuation of the country by the French troops.

I must beg your Excellency's indulgence in regard to this my report, lest further experience should lead me to alter my opinions.

In conclusion I have the honour to state that I feel it to be my duty to bear testimony to the efficient manner in which Mr. Wrench has acted in this Consulate from the time of the departure of Mr. Brant until my arrival at my post, during a time when, owing to the excited and unsettled state of the country, the duties were naturally most arduous.

I must not presume to say more than this, as your Excellency has had means, from the contents of Mr. Wrench's despatches, of judging of that gentleman's capabilities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. T. ROGERS.

No. 65.

Consul Rogers to Lord J. Russell.—(Received June 20.)

My Lord, *Damascus, June 1, 1861.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that a proclamation has been communicated to me, being a notice of the departure of the French troops, and at the same time, an amnesty, stating that a fresh outbreak, of which any party or individual may be guilty, will be severely punished. This notification was received without any excitement being produced.

Moreover, the Christians of this city have had a meeting to-day, and have drawn up a petition addressed to his Excellency Fuad Pasha, in which they beg that the Mahometans of that quarter called the "Meidan" may be exempted from the payment of the fine imposed upon the inhabitants, and propose that in case of the Government not consenting to account for the Meidan share of the fine, a sum equivalent to it be deducted from the indemnity due to themselves.

This is naturally a very encouraging feature in the affairs of this city. It is to my mind a proof that the Christians, when uninfluenced by those whose interest it is to promote dissension, are satisfied that the Government has been, and is still, doing all its power to render them justice. It is also a proof of their recognition of the assistance afforded them by some of the principal Mahometans of the city, independent of the exertions of his Highness the Emir Abd-el-Kader; and above all it is a proof that it is not their intention to emigrate from the country as has been stated.

The price of grain has decreased amazingly within the last three days; there is more money in circulation; and in every respect I am happy to be able to say that the prospects for the future are brightening.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. T. ROGERS.

No. 66.

Colonel Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received June 20.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, June 7, 1861.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Excellency's information, copies of despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte by Her Majesty's ship "Melpomene," proceeding to join Lord Dufferin.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 66.

Colonel Fraser to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, June 7, 1861.*

IN continuation of my despatch of the 2nd instant, in which I endeavoured to describe the simulated emigration then taking place from Mount Lebanon, with the causes which prompted it.

I have the honour further to state, for your Excellency's information, that Fuad Pasha, in fulfilment of his engagement with me to that effect, proceeded to Deir-el-Kamar on the 2nd instant, whilst I, as previously arranged, also gained that part of the Mountain by a somewhat different route.

At Deir-el-Kamar his Excellency met the principal inhabitants, none of whom, so far as I am aware, had yet deserted the place, those who had hitherto accompanied the French troops to Beyrout belonging chiefly to the lower ranks.

They made three principal demands of Fuad Pasha :—First, the punishment of the Druses ; secondly, the payment of their losses ; and thirdly, protection for the future ; accompanying the last demand with bitter complaints of the conduct of the Turkish troops last year in their hour of need.

Fuad Pasha replied that it was not his fault that the Druses had not been long ago punished, but that of the foreign Powers, who had not been able to come to an agreement on the subject ; yet, though the punishments had been delayed, they would nevertheless shortly be inflicted. With regard to the second demand, he stated that money having been received from Constantinople—for the Mufti who was its bearer had overtaken his Excellency at Deir-el-Kamar—he would now commence the payment of their indemnities. And for the third, he had an ample force, on which he could depend, to ensure the peace of the country ; and that to secure this end he would not cease to take every precautionary measure that might be suggested to him.

The result of the interview was, that the inhabitants of Deir-el-Kamar expressed themselves willing to remain in their villages, and await the fulfilment of the above-mentioned measures.

At their request I had an interview with them the same evening, at which they expressed strongly their dissatisfaction at the delay in the Druse punishments.

Without communication with Fuad Pasha, I used to them, it appeared, pretty much the same language that his Excellency had done, reminding them that several of the European Powers, commiserating their misfortunes, had at once hastened to their relief, each equally desirous of affording them help ; but as unfortunately differences of opinion had arisen as to the manner in which the most effectual aid could be given, much time had unavoidably been lost in endeavouring to reconcile these. I gave them to understand that the delay from these causes was likely to cease shortly, and that in all probability punishments awarded to the Druses would be announced in a few days. I felt authorized to say so, inasmuch as I believed that the Mufti, who had passed on to Fuad Pasha in advance of me, had been the bearer of the final decision regarding the Druse prisoners.

I mentioned to them that I knew that 12,500,000 piastres had arrived with the Mufti from Constantinople, and that a portion would be applied in settlement of the indemnity due to them.

With regard to their want of confidence in the Turkish troops, and the horrible manner in which they stated those troops had behaved towards them last year, I assured them I fully believed that, under the vigorous administration of Fuad Pasha, and Omer Pasha commanding in the Mountain, they had no reason to fear, and that sufficient protection would be given them, whether against Druses or Moslems. They said they felt reassured to hear this.

I have dwelt upon the state of affairs and of feeling at Deir-el-Kamar, inasmuch as it had been the alleged centre of the exodus said to be taking place from Mount Lebanon, in consequence of the withdrawal of the French troops. The principal inhabitants did not quit the place ; those who did were, as stated in a former despatch, either camp-followers or persons without any regular means of livelihood, who had been induced to accompany the French troops as

a political demonstration. Numbers have already returned and are daily returning to Deir-el-Kamar; I am not prepared to say, however, that its inhabitants do not prefer the French troops, from whom they have received many substantial benefits, to the Ottoman soldiers. It is not easy for them to forget the fearful memories of last year; but this I can say, that as they have no choice in the matter they are willing to remain passive, to hope that all will go well under the auspices of the Turkish garrison, and to bide what the future may have in store for them.

Having only returned from the Mountain at a late hour last night, and being anxious to take advantage of the "Melpomene's" departure to-day for the Dardanelles, I have not had an opportunity of conversing with Fuad Pasha, who returned to Beyrout two days ago, on the subject of the later incidents of his tour. But during the first two days he sufficiently assured himself that no alarm existed in the Mountain but what had been artificially and with premeditation excited, and ascertained that some inhabitants, even in the more distant parts of the Mountain, had left their villages, accompanied by their priests, for the purpose of showing themselves at Beyrout, but that they were now as steadily returning.

My own experience during this tour has been nearly identical. On my way into the Mountain I met several parties of villagers marching to Beyrout, led by their priests. On inquiring the object of their journey, they said their lives were threatened by the Turkish soldiers (and this from villagers near whom no soldiers are stationed) and the Druses, that their crops are destroyed, and that, therefore, they cannot stay in the Mountain. Yet these persons have been living in their homes without molestation for some months past, having neither French nor Turkish troops near them. I told them they had already passed Fuad Pasha, who was not in Beyrout; that if they would accompany me to his Excellency, I would undertake that those against whom they could substantiate the charges just made, whether Druses or soldiers, should be punished in the most exemplary manner. They replied, "We won't go; we don't want Fuad Pasha; we are going to Beyrout;" and so the priest marched them off again.

I beg your Excellency to bear with me while I mention one instance more, illustrative of the nature of this movement. When near Deir-el-Kamar, I overtook a priest and a party of peasants returning from Beyrout to their village of Maaser. I know the village and people well—priest included. Only a fortnight ago I had visited this place for the second time, when they informed me, at a private meeting of Christians only, that they lived on good terms with the Druses, with whom they had got on well, even during the war; but that the Relief Committee's agent at Sidon would not afford them any assistance, although he had helped other villages, as considering the friendly footing on which they lived with the Druses, he looked on them rather in the light of Druses than Christians. Yet I learned from one of the party, that these men had been led by their priest (who himself had formerly volunteered the above statement to me) to Bishop Butros at Beyrout, who had received them with joy, and had sent them, headed by the priest, to state to General de Beaufort that they were alarmed at being left with the Druses and Turkish troops, on the departure of the French force. So ashamed was the priest at being discovered by me in this barefaced attempt at deception, that he got over the parapet of the road, and laid with his face to the ground pretending to smell the flowers, in the apparent hope that I might not recognize him. In this he was disappointed, and one of his people, who left him and joined me, related their proceedings as above stated.

The people are returning to their villages, and the country is quiet.

As the harvest, whether of silk, corn, or olives, promises to be the largest known for thirty years, it is probable that the whole population will soon be employed in a way more profitable for their own interests than has been the case with those among them who have visited Beyrout during the past fortnight.

Inclosure 2 in No. 66.

Colonel Fraser to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, June 7*, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Excellency's information, that the whole of the French troops have now sailed from Beyrout, with the exception of about 1,300 men. The greater portion of these will embark, to-morrow, with General Ducrot, on board the "St. Louis" line-of-battle ship, and the remainder will follow immediately in other vessels.

It is believed that General de Beaufort will embark on the 9th instant.

The embarkation has been conducted with perfect order, and without excite ment or accident of any kind.

I regret that time will not permit of my entering into further detail on the present occasion, as the "Melpomene" is, I find, about to sail immediately for the Dardanelles.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER.

No. 67.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received June 21.)

(Extract.) *Constantinople, June 12*, 1861.

THE difference which had existed between M. de Lavalette and myself as to Aali Pasha being present at all future Conferences (the French Ambassador contending that the Representatives should first determine, by a majority, the opinions of the Great Powers, and then enforce those opinions on the Porte; I, on the contrary, contending that the Representative of the Porte should discuss, in common with ourselves, all the questions which had to be decided by common accord) was settled in my favour, and a general meeting was to take place at Aali Pasha's house on the following day.

With respect to a native Governor, the Russian Minister had received orders to change his conduct, and support the view of the French Ambassador, which view he had hitherto opposed. He seemed inclined, however, to propose a course which I was not indisposed to accept, viz., that of leaving the Porte to decide whether the selection should be from without or within the Mountain. Count Goltz, on the other hand, had given me finally to understand that he should oppose a native Governor; but on the morning of the meeting this intention was abandoned, and the Count then told me that he had just received instructions to act in an opposite sense, and declare that he had no objections to such a Governor; whilst Prince Labanow did not seem disposed to make the proposition he had originally suggested.

The discussion commenced by Aali Pasha's observing that, for his own part, the second plan of the Commissioners (that is, the one we were about to examine) was not the one which the Porte considered the best, or for the success of which it was disposed to be responsible; that the previous project, dividing Mount Lebanon into Kaimakamies and connecting these Kaimakamies with the Government at Beyrout, seemed to him the most practical mode of arrangement, and that, consequently, he only entered into the consideration of the second project, that of placing the whole Mountain under a single Christian Governor, in deference to the opinions of the Great Powers, by whom, he understood, such plan was generally preferred, but that he stated at the outset that the Porte, in adopting a single Christian Governor, was not disposed to have a native of the country, or so to constitute the office as to create thereby a new quasi-independent Principality.

I will not fatigue your Lordship by attempting to recapitulate the various arguments of the different speakers in the discussion that followed, and in which I sustained Aali Pasha.

Count Goltz then brought forward the proposal to which Prince Labanow had originally alluded.

In the general conversation that ensued, the question as to the removability of the Governor wasmooted, some contending that he should be named for life, others for a term of years, &c., all holding that he should not be too much exposed to the risk of abrupt and unjust dismissal.

I observed that if the appointment was left to the Porte, I would advise an appointment for three years, subject, however, to removal for any serious fault.

Aali Pasha adopted this idea, adding—"The Governor should be chosen by the Porte, named for three years, and not removed without a judgment."

A proposal that, at the end of three years, the question as to a native Governor should be reconsidered in reference to a new appointment was then made by the Prussian Minister; and M. de Lavalette consented to submit it to his Government.

The second conference took place last Thursday, when the Representatives had all received permission to accept that proposition, and as the result of that meeting and a subsequent one which took place on the evening of the 9th, we finally agreed to the Réglement or Plan of Constitution which your Lordship will find herewith annexed, and which is further elucidated by a short Protocol.

This Plan of Constitution places the Mountain under the government of a Christian of the highest Turkish rank (Mushir) named by the Sultan and removeable by the Porte, but appointed for three years; such functionary will receive from his Sovereign the power to appoint the principal subordinate functionaries within his province. Such appointments, however, are regulated by certain conditions, and the Mushir or head of a district must be chosen from the class or rite of the most numerous sect within that district.

The Governor will have a local police consisting of about 1,500 men under his orders, and he will have the power of summoning to his aid the Turkish troops in case of necessity.

This office gives him the executive power, the power of maintaining order and public safety throughout the Mountain, the right of levying the taxes, and nominating, as I have said, on his own responsibility, but under powers derived from the Sultan, all the administrative agents; and as, though holding his place at the Sultan's pleasure, it is agreed that he should not be displaced except as the result of a sentence passed on him for misconduct, the post is a very high and important one.

It is not stated whether he is to be a native or not, but it is known and understood that he will not be a native; neither is any rule laid down as to his being a Catholic, but it is likely he will be so.

The Porte, by the fact of having the selection of the individual who is to be Governor, retains a certain authority over the Government. This, in fact, is the whole authority it does retain, but such authority is by no means inconsiderable.

The dominant rites are favoured by the Mudirs in each district being taken necessarily from their body, but, on the other hand, the minorities are protected by each sect, whatever its number, being equally represented in the District Councils or Medjlises, and by the Provincial Medjlis being composed on a similar principle of equality.

The connection between the different powers in this Government is, in fact, framed with much ingenuity.

The Governor names his subordinates without reference to the Porte, but he is himself named by the Porte. His appointments may be the effect of individual preference, but they must be compatible with a general rule.

The majority in the district has the Chief of the district chosen from that majority; but, in the first place, the majority does not name him, and secondly, when he is named, he is controlled by a Council in which the minority is especially favoured.

It is impossible to say beforehand how far such schemes may be practically successful, and there is danger, especially in a rude society, of over-refining and over-complicating. We have, however, given credit to the Commission for having studied its proposals on the spot, and taken into consideration not only the actual wants but the actual capabilities of the population; and presuming the groundwork of the Commissioners to be laid down considerately, I think we could hardly have erected anything better than what we have done upon it.

As to general views—the general view of the French, all along, has been to make an independent Government in the Lebanon under a Maronite. For this purpose it proposed a Maronite Chief of what it considered the most powerful family; it would have had him named for life, only removeable with the consent of the Great Powers, and supported by a native army.

The idea of Her Majesty's Government has been, on the contrary, to

prevent the exclusive domination of any particular sect, and to keep the Mountain, though governed locally according to its peculiarities, religion, and usages, under the central control of the sovereign authority.

We entered into the discussion of this subject, as I have already pointed out, under great disadvantages: the occupation by the French troops, the excitement feared at their departure, and a more favourable disposition on the part of the other Powers to the notions of France than to our notions, were all against us. With respect to a native Prince, especially, we stood alone. I think, however, it will be acknowledged that the matter has terminated upon the whole favourably to our opinions; and I may add that I have had the satisfaction of being cordially thanked by Aali Pasha for the humble share I had in this result.

In the later discussions the main point contested by the French Ambassador was the occupation of the great roads by the Ottoman troops, which he asserted to be the positive occupation of the country.

I differed entirely from this assertion. It was undoubtedly proper to prevent Turkish troops being so stationed in the heart of the country as to interfere with the independent action of the Local Government, and shock the feelings of the inhabitants; to this I quite agreed: but the protection of the great roads which traverse the country and communicate between the different parts of the Empire, especially between Beyrout and Damascus, was evidently a measure of Imperial right and policy.

Moreover, I considered, and stated that I held it in the highest degree unjust to make the Ottoman Government responsible for the peace of the Mountain, and at the same time to deny it the fair and honest means of vindicating its responsibility and discharging the task imposed on it; the more especially as no other force existed, or could be formed for some time to come, capable of discharging the duties for which the Ottoman troops were required.

The interests of commerce, of free circulation, were also all connected with the security of the communications between the coast and the interior, and as we had to look to the Porte for such security it seemed to me absurd to object to the only possible mode in which she could provide for it.

My arguments on this subject at last prevailed. The Ottoman troops will occupy their present position along the great roads until a new order of things and tranquillity are established, and it is subsequently understood that the Ottoman Government shall, by means of a small but sufficient force posted in a suitable position, maintain permanently for itself and others, and against all accidents or interruptions, the free passage between Damascus and Beyrout.

Another point concerning which I deemed it essential to provide was, the abuse which, without some necessary restrictions, might be made of the engagements of the Porte to furnish such funds in the administration of the Lebanon as the taxes there did not supply.

I thought it essential, in the first place, to fix a certain point up to which the internal taxation might be carried, and, in the next, to safely guard the Porte against extraordinary expenses to which she had not given her assent, and for which there might not be any necessity.

Your Lordship will find in Article 16 the precautions which were taken on this subject.

With respect to the divisions in the Mountain, they are pretty nearly what the Commissioners counselled. From the addition made to the Kurah, a Turkish town on the coast, was, at my proposal, excepted, and also a certain small district near Deir-el-Kamar, and where there is much Mussulman and Vakouf property.

In order to favour the removal of the Christians at Hasbeya and Rasheya, and also to augment the non-Maronite population at Zahlé, Aali Pasha, at my suggestion, promised that the Porte would, by a Vizirial letter, grant a large tract of land in the neighbourhood of Zahlé to those Christians who would come and settle there. This land will not be included in the dispositions of the Mountain, but the possessors individually, by inhabiting Zahlé, will be so.

I have little further to add on these subjects, except to express the hope that I shall have fulfilled the duty imposed on me by your Lordship to Her Majesty's Government's satisfaction.

Inclosure 1 in No. 67.

Protocol signed by Aali Pasha and the Representatives of the Five Powers at a Conference held at Pera, June 9, 1861.

PROTOCOLE adopté par la Porte et les Représentants des Cinq Grandes Puissances à la suite de l'entente à laquelle a donné lieu de leur part l'examen du projet de Réglement élaboré par une Commission Internationale pour la réorganisation du Liban. Ce projet de Réglement, daté du 1 Mai, 1861, ayant été, après modifications introduites d'un commun accord, converti en réglement définitif, sera promulgué sous la forme de firman par Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, et communiqué officiellement aux Représentants des Cinq Grandes Puissances.

L'Article 1 a donné lieu à la déclaration suivante faite par son Altesse Aali Pacha, et acceptée par les cinq Représentants :—

" Le Gouverneur Chrétien chargé de l'administration du Liban sera choisi par la Porte, dont il relevera directement. Il aura le titre de Mouchir, et il résidera habituellement à Deir-el-Kamar, qui se trouve replacée sous son autorité directe. Investi de l'autorité pour trois ans, il sera néanmoins amovible, mais sa révocation ne pourra être prononcée qu'à la suite d'un jugement. Trois mois avant l'expiration de son mandat, la Porte avant d'aviser provoquera une nouvelle entente avec les Représentants des Grandes Puissances."

Il a été entendu également que le pouvoir conféré par la Porte à ce fonctionnaire, de nommer sous sa responsabilité les Agents Administratifs, lui serait conféré une fois pour toutes, au moment où il serait lui-même investi de l'autorité, et non pas à propos de chaque nomination.

Relativement à l'Article 10, qui a trait au procès entre les sujets ou protégés d'une Puissance étrangère, d'une part, et les habitants de la Montagne d'autre part, il a été convenu qu'une Commission Mixte siégeant à Beyrout serait chargée de vérifier et de reviser les titres de protection.

Afin de maintenir la sécurité et la liberté de la grande route de Beyrout à Damas en tout temps, la Sublime Porte établira un blockhouse sur le point de la susdite route qui lui paraîtra le plus convenable.

Le Gouverneur du Liban pourra procéder au désarmement de la Montagne lorsqu'il jugera les circonstances et le moment favorables.

Pera, le 9 Juin, 1861.

(Signé) AALI.
HENRY L. BULWER.
LAVALETTE.
PROKESCH-OSTEN.
GOLTZ.
A. LOBANOW.

Inclosure 2 in No. 67.

Réglement pour l'Administration du Liban.

Article 1. LE Liban sera administré par un Gouverneur Chrétien nommé par la Sublime Porte et relevant d'elle directement.

Ce fonctionnaire, amovible, sera investi de toutes les attributions du pouvoir exécutif, veillera au maintien de l'ordre et de la sécurité publique dans toute l'étendue de la Montagne, percevra les impôts, et nommera, sous sa responsabilité, en vertu du pouvoir qu'il recevra de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, les Agents Administratifs ; il instituera les juges, convoquera et présidera le Medjlis Administratif Central, et procurera l'exécution de toutes les sentences légalement rendues par les tribunaux, sauf les réserves prévues par l'Article 9.

Chacun des éléments constitutifs de la population de la Montagne sera représenté auprès du Gouverneur par un Vékil nommé par les Chefs et notables de chaque communauté.

Art. 2. Il y aura pour toute la Montagne un Medjlis Administratif Central composé de douze membres, savoir, deux Maronites, deux Druses, deux Grecs Orthodoxes, deux Grecs Catholiques, deux Métualis, et deux Musulmans, chargé

de repartir l'impôt, contrôler la gestion des revenus et des dépenses, et donner son avis consultatif sur toutes les questions qui lui seront posées par le Gouverneur.

Art. 3. La Montagne sera divisée en six Arrondissements Administratifs savoir :—

(1.) Le Koura, y compris la partie inférieure et les autres fractions de territoire avoisinantes dont la population appartient au rite Grec Orthodoxe, moins la ville de ,* située sur la côte et à peu près exclusivement habitée par des Musulmans.

(2.) La partie septentrionale du Liban, sauf le Koura, jusqu'au Nahr-el-Kelb.

(3.) Zahlé et son territoire.

(4.) Le Meten, y compris le Sahel Chrétien et les territoires de Kata et de Solima.

(5.) Le territoire situé au sud de la route de Damas à Beyrout jusqu'au Djezzin.

(6.) Le Djezzin et le Teffah.

Il y aura dans chacun de ces Arrondissements un Agent Administratif nommé par le Gouverneur et choisi dans le rite dominant, soit par le chiffre de la population, soit par l'importance de ses propriétés.

Art. 4. Il y aura dans chaque Arrondissement un Medjlis Administratif Local composé de trois à six membres représentant les divers éléments de la population et les intérêts de la propriété foncière dans l'Arrondissement.

Ce Medjlis local, présidé et convoqué annuellement par le Chef de l'Arrondissement, devra résoudre en premier ressort toutes les affaires de contentieux administratif, entendre les réclamations des habitants, fournir les renseignements statistiques nécessaires à la répartition de l'impôt dans l'Arrondissement, et donner son avis consultatif sur toutes les questions d'intérêt local.

Art. 5. Les Arrondissements Administratifs seront subdivisés en Cantons, dont le territoire, à peu près réglé sur celui des anciens Aklim, ne renfermera, autant que possible, que des groupes homogènes de population, et ces Cantons en Communes, qui se composeront chacune d'au moins 500 habitants. A la tête de chaque Canton il y aura un agent nommé par le Gouverneur sur la proposition du Chef de l'Arrondissement, et à la tête de chaque Commune un Cheik choisi par les habitants et nommé par le Gouverneur.

Dans les Communes Mixtes, chaque élément constitutif de la population aura un Cheik particulier, dont l'autorité ne s'exercera que sur ses coreligionnaires.

Art. 6. Egalité de tous devant la loi ; abolition de tous les privilèges féodaux, et notamment de ceux qui appartenaient aux Mokatadjis.

Art. 7. Il y aura dans chaque Canton un Juge de Paix pour chaque rite ; dans chaque Arrondissement un Medjlis Judiciaire de Première Instance, composé de trois à six membres représentant les divers éléments de la population, et, au siège du gouvernement un Medjlis Judiciaire Supérieur, composé de douze membres dont deux appartenant à chacune des six communautés désignées en l'Article 2, et auxquels on adjoindra un représentant des cultes Protestant et Israélite toutes les fois qu'un membre de ces communautés aura des intérêts engagés dans le procès.

La présidence des Medjlis Judiciaires sera exercée trimestriellement et à tour de rôle par chacun de leur membres.

Art. 8. Les Juges de Paix jugeront sans appel jusqu'à concurrence de 500 piastres. Les affaires en dessus de 500 piastres seront de la compétence des Medjlis Judiciaires de Première Instance.

Les affaires mixtes, c'est-à-dire, entre particuliers n'appartenant pas à un même rite, quelle que soit la valeur engagée dans le procès, seront immédiatement portées devant le Medjlis de Première Instance, à moins que les parties ne soient d'accord pour reconnaître la compétence du Juge de Paix du défendeur.

En principe toute affaire sera jugée par la totalité des membres du Medjlis. Néanmoins quand toutes les parties engagées dans le procès appartiendront au même rite, elles auront le droit de récuser le Juge appartenant à un rite différent, mais dans ce cas même les Juges récusés devront assister au jugement.

Art. 9. En matière criminelle, il y aura trois degrés de juridiction. Les contraventions seront jugées par les Juges de Paix ; les délits pour les Medjlis

* Left blank in original.

de première instance ; et les crimes par le Medjlis Judiciaire Supérieur, dont les sentences ne pourront être mises à exécution qu'après l'accomplissement des formalités d'usage dans le reste de l'Empire.

Art. 10. Tout procès en matière commerciale sera porté devant le Tribunal de Commerce de Beyrout, et tout procès, même en matière civile, entre un sujet ou protégé d'une Puissance étrangère et un habitant de la Montagne, sera soumis à la juridiction de ce même Tribunal.

Art. 11. Tous les membres des Medjlis Judiciaires et Administratifs, sans exception, ainsi que les Juges de Paix, seront choisis et désignés, après une entente avec les notables, par les chefs de leurs communautés respectives, et institués par le Gouverneur.

Le personnel des Medjlis Administratifs sera renouvellé par moitié tous les ans, et les membres sortant pourront être réélus.

Art. 12. Tous les Juges seront rétribués. Si, après enquête, il est prouvé que l'un d'entre eux a prévariqué, ou s'est rendu, par un fait quelconque, indigne de ses fonctions, il devra être révoqué, et sera en outre passible d'une peine proportionnée à la faute qu'il aura commise.

Art. 13. Les audiences de tous les Medjlis Judiciaires seront publiques, et il en sera rédigé procès-verbal par un greffier institué *ad hoc*. Ce greffier sera, en outre, chargé de tenir un registre de tous les contrats portant aliénation de biens immobiliers, lesquels contrats ne seront valables qu'après avoir été soumis à la formalité de l'enregistrement.

Art. 14. Les habitants du Liban qui auraient commis un crime ou délit dans un autre Sandjak seront justiciables des autorités de ce Sandjak, de même que les habitants des autres Arrondissements qui auraient commis un crime ou délit dans la circonscription du Liban seront justiciables des Tribunaux de la Montagne.

En conséquence les individus indigènes ou non indigènes qui se seraient rendus coupables d'un crime ou délit sur le Liban, et qui se seraient évadés dans un autre Sandjak, seront, sur la demande de l'autorité de la Montagne, arrêtés par celle du Sandjak où ils se trouvent et remis à l'administration du Liban.

De même, les indigènes de la Montagne ou les habitants d'autres Départements qui auront commis un crime ou délit dans un Sandjak quelconque et autre que le Liban, et qui s'y seront réfugiés, seront, sans retard, arrêtés par l'autorité de la Montagne sur la demande de celle du Sandjak intéressé, et seront remis à cette dernière autorité.

Les agents de l'autorité qui auraient apporté une négligence ou des retards non justifiés dans l'exécution des ordres relatifs au renvoi de coupables devant les tribunaux compétents seront, comme ceux qui chercheraient à dérober ces coupables aux poursuites de la police, punis conformément aux lois.

Enfin les rapports de l'Administration du Liban avec l'Administration respective des autres Sandjaks seront exactement les mêmes que les relations qui existent et qui seront entretenues entre tous les autres Sandjaks de l'Empire.

Art. 15. En temps ordinaire le maintien de l'ordre et l'exécution des lois seront exclusivement assurés par le Gouverneur, au moyen d'un corps de police mixte, recruté par la voie des engagements volontaires et composé à raison de sept hommes environ par mille habitants.

L'exécution par garnisaires devant être abolie et remplacée par d'autres modes de contrainte, tels que la saisie et l'emprisonnement, il sera interdit aux agents de police, sous les peines les plus sévères, d'exiger des habitants aucune rétribution, soit en argent, soit en nature. Ils devront porter un uniforme ou quelque signe extérieur de leurs fonctions, et dans l'exécution d'un ordre quelconque de l'autorité on emploiera, autant que possible, des agents appartenant à la nation ou au rite de l'individu que cette mesure concernera. Jusqu'à ce que la police locale ait été reconnue par le Gouverneur en état de faire face à tous les devoirs qui lui seront imposés en temps ordinaire, les routes de Beyrout à Damas et de Saida à Tripoli seront occupées par des troupes Impériales. Ces troupes seront sous les ordres du Gouverneur de la Montagne.

En cas extraordinaire et de nécessité, et après avoir pris l'avis du Medjlis Administratif Central, le Gouverneur pourra requérir auprès des autorités militaires de la Syrie l'assistance des troupes régulières.

L'officier qui commandera ces troupes en personne devra se concerter, pour les mesures à prendre, avec le Gouverneur de la Montagne, et, tout en conservant son droit d'initiative et d'appréciation pour toutes les questions purement militaires, telles que les questions de stratégie ou de discipline, il sera subordonné

au Gouverneur de la Montagne durant le temps de son séjour dans le Liban, et il agira sous la responsabilité de ce dernier. Ces troupes se retireront de la Montagne aussitôt que le Gouverneur aura officiellement déclaré à leur Commandant que le but pour lequel elles ont été appelées a été atteint.

Art. 16. La Porte Ottomane se réservant le droit de lever, par l'intermédiaire du Gouverneur du Liban, les 3,500 bourses qui constituent aujourd'hui l'impôt de la Montagne, impôt qui pourra être augmenté jusqu'à la somme de 7,000 bourses lorsque les circonstances le permettront, il est bien entendu que le produit de ces impôts sera affecté avant tout aux frais d'administration de la Montagne et à ses dépenses d'utilité publique ; le surplus seulement, s'il y a lieu, entrera dans les caisses de l'Etat.

Si les frais généraux strictement nécessaires à la marche régulière de l'administration dépassaient le produit des impôts, la Porte aurait à pourvoir à ces excédants de dépenses.

Mais il est entendu que pour les travaux publics ou autres dépenses extraordinaires, la Sublime Porte n'en serait responsable qu'autant qu'elle les aurait préalablement approuvés.

Art. 17. Il sera procédé, le plus tôt possible, au recensement de la population par communes et par rite, et à la levée du cadastre de toutes les terres cultivées.

Arrêté et convenu à Péra, le 9 Juin, 1861.

(Signé) AALI.
HENRY L. BULWER.
LAVALETTE.
PROKESCH-OSTEN.
GOLTZ.
LOBANOW.

No. 68.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received June* 23.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, June* 14, 1861.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 12th instant, transmitting a copy of the Protocol relative to the future government of the Lebanon, signed on the 9th instant by the Representatives of the Sublime Porte and the Five Great Powers, I have the honour to inclose, herewith, the copy of an addition to that Protocol which has been subsequently agreed to by the Representatives above mentioned.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

Inclosure in No. 68.

Article Additionnel au Protocole du 9 Juin, signé à Constantinople par les Représentants de la Sublime Porte, de l'Autriche, de la France, de la Grande Bretagne, de la Prusse, et de la Russie, et relatif à la nouvelle organisation du Mont Liban.

IL est bien entendu que le chiffre de 7,000 bourses mentionné dans l'Article 16 du Réglement du 9 Juin, 1861, ne constitue pas une limite absolue, et que si, d'une part, avant d'élever l'impôt de la Montagne jusqu'à concurrence de cette somme, il convient d'attendre que la crise causée par les derniers événements ait cessé, il se peut, d'autre part, que l'augmentation de dépenses résultant de la nouvelle organisation nécessite la levée de contributions dont le total, ajouté à l'ancien impôt, dépasserait même le chiffre de 7,000 bourses.

Le Gouverneur devra, d'ailleurs, n'user de cette faculté qu'avec une extrême réserve, et rechercher toujours et avant tout un juste équilibre entre les recettes et les dépenses ordinaires de la Montagne.

No. 69.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received June 27.)

My Lord, *Beyrout, June 7, 1861.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, copies of four despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 69.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, June 5, 1861.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the embarkation of the French army of occupation is proceeding rapidly and with perfect tranquillity. Up to this afternoon about 4,000 men have been embarked, and the greater part of them gone. It is expected that by to-morrow the whole force will have been embarked. I hear that General d'Hautpoul and his Staff will remain behind for the present.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 69.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, June 5, 1861.*

I HAVE the honour to report that Count Bentivoglio proceeded yesterday to Deir-el-Kamar and other parts of the Mountain ; it is his intention to install French Agents at Deir-el-Kamar, Zahlé, and Hammana.

Two days previously Fuad Pasha went to Deir-el-Kamar for the purpose of tranquillizing the inhabitants. Still the men continue to come down, the women remaining to look after the silk-crop, after which they also, it is said, will leave.

Ahmed Pasha, who on learning of Count Bentivoglio's intentions had asked me to follow a similar course, has since requested me to postpone doing anything until after the return of Fuad Pasha, who is expected at Beyrout this evening.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 69.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, June 7, 1861.*

I HAVE the honour to state that Mr. Hanna Freij, a leading Christian of Damascus, has on behalf of the principal Christians of that city, placed in my hands a testimonial drawn up by them in favour of Colonel Saleh Zeki Bey, with a request that I would forward it to your Excellency.

Mr. Freij represents Saleh Bey as having been the object of very unfair treatment and persecution at the hands of the Turkish military authorities at Damascus, which has ended in his being sent to Constantinople to answer certain accusations of alleged misconduct put forward to assist the designs of his ill-wishers.

Persuaded that your Excellency, gratified to learn that out of the mass of guilty and treacherous Turkish Commanders, one at least stands out a bright and honourable exception, will not permit Saleh Bey to be treated with injustice, should it be attempted, I have ventured to comply with Mr. Freij's request, and inclose herewith a translation of the testimonial.

I should add that Saleh Bey represents himself as in the possession of

documents amply sufficient to clear himself from the charges brought against him, provided they be investigated by an impartial tribunal. He is also furnished with numerous testimonials and letters of recommendation, amongst others one from the Russian Consul-General here to his Embassy, in which he is spoken of in the highest terms.

It is perhaps to be regretted that an officer of Saleh Bey's standing should be removed at the present moment from Syria, where, owing to his local knowledge and experience, and acquaintance with the language, his presence cannot be but useful, at the same time that the circumstance would not have furnished to the Christians any occasion to complain that the only Turkish officer who behaved with courage and humanity towards them should have got himself into trouble, and endangered his position in consequence.

Saleh Bey left two days ago for the capital.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

P.S.—Since writing the above, my attention has been drawn to a passage in the Syrian Blue-book (at foot of page 147), referring to Saleh Bey. It is as follows:—"Another officer, Colonel Saleh Zeki, without orders, made some of the troops fire on the rioters, and he also fired a gun once or oftener. One or two persons were killed, and some wounded."

N. M.

Inclosure 4 in No. 69.

Testimonial in favour of Colonel Saleh Zeki Bey.

(Translation.) (*Received June* 3, 1861.)

THE conduct of Saleh Zeki Bey, Colonel in the Imperial army, during the disasters which have befallen the Christians at Damascus, is well known. Nothing could exceed the activity, the zeal, and the humanity he displayed on the occasion. Colonel Saleh Zeki not only came in person to the Christian quarter to protect the Christians, but he attacked the assailants, and saved several men who were in danger of being assassinated, and saved both the lives and honour of many women, displaying an energy quite exceptional among the soldiers of the Government. He gave shelter in his own house to a great number of refugees throughout the disturbances. He also used to send to his house all those whom he saved, and none of those who sought asylum thereat were refused admittance, but were received kindly, and even generously provided with food and other necessaries. He consoled and reassured them amidst their fears; to many he provided clothing gratuitously, and as an act of charity; and all that without expecting any reward. He thus gave incontestable proofs of the highest sense of humanity and generosity, and that he had at heart the preservation of his personal and official honour, and a just appreciation of the lives of the subjects of his Government.

Having heard a report that the said Bey only afforded protection to the refugees at his house for selfish and interested motives—that is, in order to obtain compensation—we desire to record this our testimony, as we feel it a duty on the part of those who partook of such favours to prove themselves grateful, and to vindicate truth and defeat falsehood. We do so only animated by those feelings, and we hereby declare that Saleh Bey's humane conduct on the occasion was quite disinterested, and that he did not receive from any one any sort of recompense for his exertions and outlay; which we affirm of our own knowledge and by what we heard from others.

We trust sincerely that the Imperial Government of the Sublime Porte may be pleased to take into consideration, and reward Saleh Zeki Bey for his services on the occasion above referred to, and will recompense him according to the promptings of its justice and benevolence.

Dated 17 Zelkâdi, 1277.

(Signed by forty-two of the leading Christians of Damascus.)

Inclosure 5 in No. 69.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, June* 7, 1861.

A DEPLORABLE, and, under the circumstances, very serious incident, occurred in the Mountain two days ago. Three Turkish soldiers of the regular army assaulted and violated a Christian girl near Abeih. I am happy to be able to report that the offenders met with prompt and severe punishment. A court-martial sentenced two of them to death, Fuad Pasha confirmed the award, and the men were shot on the following day.

The sensation produced by the outrage amongst the Christians had been very great. It was remarked that it was perpetrated by the very men placed to watch over the safety of the Christians, and whilst the evacuation of the French troops was still incomplete. The satisfaction at the immediate and condign chastisement which has overtaken the culprits is now equally intense.

It is to be borne in mind that other Turkish troops occupy many other villages inhabited by Christians, and the example was all the more necessary.

No. 70.

Consul Rogers to Lord J. Russell.—(Received June 28.)

(Extract.) *Damascus, June* 1, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship, that yesterday the plan for the assessment and collection of the fine for the indemnification of the Christians was published, together with two proclamations from his Excellency Fuad Pasha, which were duly communicated to me by the Vali his Excellency Emir Pasha.

To-day I have obtained a copy of the detailed assessment, from which it appears that one portion of the extraordinary fine which is to be paid in cash by the people of Damascus, amounts to 1,897,204 piastres, which at the present rate of exchange is equal to about 13,500*l.* sterling, which is subdivided into two categories, namely, the general fine imposed on all non-Christian inhabitants, amounting to 1,092,473 piastres, equal to about 7,800*l.* sterling, and the special fine which I have understood refers to those people who were more seriously implicated in pillage or massacre, amounting to 804,731 piastres, which is again subdivided into two sums, namely—

	Piastres.
Payable by Moslems	564,549½
Payable by Jews	240,181½
Total in piastres	804,731

equivalent to about 5,700*l.* sterling.

I lost no time in forwarding to Colonel Fraser copies of the Proclamations above alluded to, who I am sure will seize an early opportunity for bringing the matter to the notice of his Excellency Fuad Pasha, so that either the Jews may be exempted from the fine, or satisfactory reasons be given why they should be made to contribute to it.

Furthermore I have the honour to represent that it is proposed to levy this fine on landed or house property in proportion to their rentals, and as there are several houses and many gardens in and about this city, belonging exclusively to British subjects, I have asked Colonel Fraser to favour me with his advice, as I feel that without special instructions on the point at issue it would be a dereliction of my duty were I to allow a criminal fine to be assessed on the *bonâ fide* property of British subjects who had in no way participated in the crimes for which such fine was intended as a punishment

With regard to the liability of official servants, cavasses, &c., who have throughout the whole time of the troubles here, conducted themselves with perfect decorum and propriety, I have also asked for the advice of Colonel Fraser, to whom I am forwarding this despatch under flying seal.

No. 71.

Consul Rogers to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received June* 28.)

My Lord, *Damascus, June* 10, 1861.

IN continuation of my despatch of the 1st instant, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that this city has been divided by the Local Government into eight quarters. A special Council or Commission has been appointed in each, for the due assessment of the criminal tax, whose duty it will be to see that every house contributes its equitable share.

Yesterday, I had a conversation with my French colleague, M. Outrey, on the subject. He expressed himself averse to the system of exempting any non-Christian residents, although he admitted that the Algerines, as a body, had been classed in that category; "for," he continued, "by such applications, the Government will be paralyzed, and will throw the blame upon us, in case that the whole sum is not levied within a reasonable time; and the exemption of the Jewish nation will be the source of enmity between them and the Moslems."

My Prussian colleague, however, with whom I afterwards conversed on the same subject, expressed an opposite opinion quite as strongly; and perfectly agreed with me on the injustice of condemning innocent European subjects to the payment of a criminal fine, which is recognized as a punishment for crimes in which they had no participation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. T. ROGERS.

No. 72.

Colonel Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received June* 28.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, June* 16, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, copies of three despatches I have recently addressed to Sir Henry Bulwer.

Inclosure 1 in No. 72.

Colonel Fraser to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, June* 11, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that the evacuation of Syria by the French expeditionary corps was completed yesterday, an official intimation of the same having been sent by General de Beaufort to Fuad Pasha in the course of the afternoon.

General de Beaufort, to whom I paid a farewell visit this morning, awaits a frigate, expected to arrive in the course of to-day, for the conveyance to France, probably viâ Alexandria, of himself and Staff. Besides the General and his Aides-de-camp, there now remain only some thirty or forty men connected with the Civil department, who have yet some arrangements to complete in the disposal of stores, &c.

The embarkation was effected in perfect order and without any accident.

The population manifested the utmost indifference.

Inclosure 2 in No. 72.

Colonel Fraser to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Beyrout, June* 15, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to bring under your Excellency's notice the following circumstances connected with the Druse property placed under sequestration by Fuad Pasha towards the close of the year.

When I arrived in the Druse district of Mount Lebanon from Damascus in the beginning of last month, I found much misery prevailing among the

inhabitants, in consequence of the wholesale sequestration of estates, without sufficient regard having been paid to the culpabilty or innocence of their owners, or any provision made for the sustenance of their families and dependents who lived on the produce of these estates, the revenues of which are now diverted to the public Treasury.

Fuad Pasha having requested me, on my quitting Damascus, to communicate freely with him on all subjects which might come under my observation, and which might appear to me deserving of immediate attention, I addressed a note to his Excellency on this amongst other subjects, a copy of which I transmitted at the time to Lord Dufferin. In case, however, it may not have come under your Excellency's notice, I now inclose an extract referring to this subject of sequestrated Druse properties.

I there stated my opinion, as will appear from the inclosed document, that the estates of those against whom no charge existed should at once be restored to their owners.

In consequence of numerous petitions presented both to Lord Dufferin and to myself by the wives and children of Druses imprisoned or exiled, praying for the release of property which they had acquired by inheritance, and which had never belonged to their husbands or fathers respectively, but which had nevertheless been seized in the general swoop, I subsequently requested that, when the separate title was clear, such property should also be restored to the families to whom it legally belonged, together with a few estates which had been sequestered through inadvertenc. Fuad Pasha consented that all estates coming under these heads should be at once restored; and in repeated conversations assured me that the delay was only caused by the difficulty experienced in drawing up the lists of the property to be returned, and in this sense I have replied to the various petitioners above mentioned. My surprise was therefore great when, two days ago, in answer to my fifth or sixth application for the restitution of the properties coming under the above categories, his Excellency stated that it was his intention to impose a heavy fine upon the Druse nation collectively, which should be additionally severe in consequence of the apparent intention of the Porte, in concert with the European Governments, to remit the capital or other penal sentences lately pronounced against some of that nation. Until the proposed fines should be paid, he had decided to retain the Druse estates as a guarantee, the lands having in the meantime already been leased to tenants for a term of two years, a portion of the rents accruing from which to be destined to the support of their owners, while the remainder was to be applied to the liquidation of the fine levied on the whole Druse nation, as their contribution towards indemnifying the Christians of the Mountain for their losses sustained last year.

I did not hesitate to remonstrate strongly against a mode of procedure totally at variance with that on which I had supposed his Excellency had hitherto been acting, and which he had undertaken to carry out. I urged that until a formal announcement had been made of a commutation of the capital sentences pronounced against the Druses, it was premature to inflict severer punishments on the nation collectively; that even after a decision to that effect should have been published, I questioned the expediency of meeting the presumed demands of justice by making vicarious victims of others, and commuting the capital sentences, in his Excellency's own opinion justly pronounced against certain Druses, into a general fine on the whole community.

In any case, as the International Commission had laid it down as a principle that the capital punishments to be dealt out to the Druses should fall short of those that had been inflicted on the citizens of Damascus, designating the Ottoman officials as pre-eminent in guilt—such a gradation seeming to have been acknowledged by his Excellency, at least as to the position of the Druses, in his letter of the 24th January, addressed to the Commission from Mokhtara, I thought that any penal tax now to be levied ought to be ruled by the same guiding principle.

His Excellency replied that he for one had never acquiesced in the classification I had pointed out, and could not, therefore, accept it as a guide to his proceedings in the present case; and moreover, inasmuch as the Commission was no longer sitting in Syria, he felt at liberty to use his own discretion.

From this reasoning I could not but dissent, seeing that his Excellency was thereby ignoring principles laid down by a body of which he was not merely an ordinary but a presiding member, and the opinions of which I thought should

not cease to influence his future conduct. I was careful to remark, however, that I by no means objected to the imposition of a fine on the Druses, as a contribution on their part towards the indemnity to be awarded to the Christians, but that I was anxious that its application should be regulated, and confined within reasonable limits; too little discrimination in distinguishing between the innocent and the guilty having, in my opinion, hitherto been displayed in the apportionment of the fine to be levied at Damascus, a precedent which Fuad Pasha urged as a justification, in the present instance, of the penalty he contemplated imposing on the Druses.

With regard to the question of the Druse estates, of which there had been a wholesale sequestration, before any of the proprietors had been put on their trial, I stated that I could not but regard their continued detention as unjustifiable, in the face of a decision believed to have been arrived at by the Porte decreeing their restitution. I considered, then, that those proprietors against whom no accusation was pending, as well as the wives and children of accused persons who held property in their own right, should be immediately reinstated in the full enjoyment of their estates; and that the same privilege should even be accorded to those who had compromised themselves in the late disturbances, or to their representatives, on due security being given for the liquidation of the fine with which they might be visited, as such estates would naturally be more remunerative when in the hands of their owners. It would then rest with the Government to make its own arrangements with the present lessees.

These suggestions his Excellency declined to follow, adding that the Government could not be expected to indemnify the farmers of the sequestrated estates for the surrender of their leases, a proceeding which the adoption of my views would necessarily entail. I naturally replied that the Government had itself alone to blame, if it had incautiously leased lands held on so precarious a tenure, before judgment had been pronounced on their owners, and without making any proviso for the numerous contingencies which might call for their restitution.

His Excellency, however, was not to be moved, and the discussion, which had been conducted throughout with perfect courtesy, concluded by my informing his Excellency that as I could not concur in his views I should deem it necessary to refer the whole question for your Excellency's consideration.

On reviewing the peculiar and difficult position in which Fuad Pasha is placed, I must attribute the policy he is now pursuing in the matter of the sequestration of Druse property as springing from one of two motives, or possibly from both combined; namely, either from a wish to avoid the difficulties attendant upon the restitution of the estates in question, which would entail the payment of an indemnity to their present tenants, an outlay he is ill-prepared to meet; or he may very possibly reflect that so long as the lands remain in sequestration they will furnish a constant fund for the more pressing wants of the Government, whose financial position is already deeply embarrassed: nor would it be very unwarrantable to predict that unless some improvement in this respect is effected, the Government of the day will be tempted to throw fresh obstacles in the way of a final adjustment of the question.

The Pasha has not yet decided upon the amount of the fine to be levied on the Druses, nor its mode of collection; but I think it desirable that your Excellency should have early intimation of the views he at present entertains on this subject. And here I would venture to recall to your Excellency's memory that at the instance of Her Majesty's Commissioner for Syria, a previous levy of such an impost was arrested in December last, in consequence of the utter inability of the Druse people to meet the sweeping demand at that time made upon them, as fully detailed in the Protocol of the fifteenth meeting of the Commission. I perceive that Lord Dufferin brought under your Excellency's notice, by his despatch of the 23rd December, the inconsiderate sequestration of Druse property to which I have again felt it necessary to draw your Excellency's attention in the first part of this despatch. Should the views I have expressed to Fuad Pasha be honoured by your Excellency's approbation, I trust that your Excellency may see fit to cause instructions to be issued by the Porte to Fuad Pasha, that the sequestrated estates, if not of all, at least of innocent Druses, should be restored to them, and that the amount of the fine proposed to be levied on their nation should be settled on fixed and equitable principles.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. J. FRASER.

P.S., *June* 16.—Since the above lines were written, the widow of Said Bey Joublat has come in haste to inform me that only so lately as yesterday the Government were offering to the highest bidder the next year's crop of her deceased husband's property. She entreats me to have a stop put to these proceedings without delay, and to cause the lands to be restored to herself and family.

I will again use my best efforts with Fuad Pasha in this lady's behalf, who, neither in her own case nor in that of her children, can be accused of any share in the late events, although, in consequence of the seizure by Government of her family residence and estates, with their revenues, she has been made to suffer much. I have endeavoured on repeated occasions to alleviate her position, and though sometimes successful I have not yet been able to procure for her the restitution of her home, many times promised, but still delayed.

Her present statement, which I credit, gives colour, however, to the supposition hazarded in the above despatch, that Fuad Pasha intends using the Druse estates as a convenient means of recruiting for some time to come his exhausted treasury, and further shows that the obstacle of a two years' agreement entered into with lessees, which is put forward by Fuad Pasha as a reason for his refusing the restitution of the property, has, in this case at least, no ground in fact.

A. J. F.

Inclosure 3 in No. 72.

Colonel Fraser to Fuad Pasha.

(Translation.)

(Extract.) *Mokhtara, May* 5, 1861.

IN the first place much distress exists at present among the Druse population of this portion of Mount Lebanon, not only from the generally depressed state of the country in consequence of recent events, but more particularly arising from the sequestration by Government of Druse estates, whose revenues formerly afforded the means of existence to numerous dependents, but which are now paid into the Imperial Treasury.

These properties may be divided into four classes as follows :—

1. Those belonging to Druses who have been condemned and are yet in prison.

2. Those belonging to Druses formerly arrested, but who have since been released from prison as innocent, or against whom there had been no proof of guilt.

3. Those belonging to Druses who had fled during the arrests, but who have since returned, and against whom no accusation exists.

4. Those belonging to Druses who have been banished.

It appears to me that the properties coming under the second and third categories should be immediately released from sequestration, and that until a final decision be taken at Constantinople or elsewhere regarding those of the first and fourth classes, that some provision should be made by Government either from the revenues of the sequestered properties, or from the public chest, for maintaining the families of the prisoners and exiles in question. Their distress is such that compassion, not less than the reputation of the Government itself, demands that instant measures be taken for lodging, clothing, and feeding these women and children.

Omer Pasha (commanding at Mokhtara) informs me that he has addressed two communications to Achmet Pasha, Governor of the Province of Saida, on this subject, but as no relief has yet been afforded, I permit myself to bring the urgency of the case to your Excellency's notice.

Inclosure 4 in No. 72.

Colonel Fraser to Sir H. Bulwer.

(Extract.) *Beyrout, June* 16, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to state for your Excellency's information that quiet continues to prevail in this portion of Syria, and the peasantry now move about Mount Lebanon unarmed, a sight rarely witnessed of late years.

A political demonstration of minor importance is stated to have occurred in the Kesrouan, in consequence of its having been announced that the Emir Mejid of the Shehab family, General de Beaufort's nominee, had been appointed Governor of Mount Lebanon, his nomination being distasteful to a large portion of even the Maronite community, and especially so to all other denominations.

Fuad Pasha returned to Beyrout yesterday afternoon after a three days' visit to Zahleh and the Metn. He found all quiet, and was everywhere exceedingly well received.

General de Beaufort is yet in Beyrout; he called to pay me a farewell visit two days ago, and mentioned having been delayed by the non-arrival of a frigate he expected from France. I imagine he desires to await, if possible, the final decision of the Porte with regard to the government of Mount Lebanon.

The "Mogador" frigate arrived yesterday from Tripoli of Syria, and, it is said, will convey the General in a day or two to Alexandria on his way to France.

P.S.—As the mail is closing I have been informed that General de Beaufort leaves to-morrow in the "Mogador." The few men attached to the Commissariat who were left here after the departure of the expeditionary force proceed to France in the mail-packet leaving to-morrow morning.

No. 73.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received June* 28.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, June* 18, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Sultan has definitively approved the appointment of Daoud Effendi as Governor of the Lebanon, with the rank and title of Mushir. His investiture will take place at the Porte on Saturday next, the 22nd instant.

Daoud Efendi, by birth an Armenian, and of the Roman Catholic persuasion, was formerly in the Diplomatic service of Turkey, and at one time held the office of Ottoman member of the European Commission for the Navigation of the Danube. His last appointment was that of Director-General of the Telegraphic System, in which he has displayed no ordinary capacity for business, and a determination to overcome the difficulties which are opposed to progress of all kinds in this country.

On the whole, it would, perhaps, have been difficult to make a better selection for this appointment amongst the available candidates, and the only objection I have heard raised to Daoud Efendi is that he is unacquainted with the Arabic language.

I have, &c.
For Sir H. Bulwer,
(Signed) E. M. ERSKINE.

No. 74.

Colonel Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received July* 5.)

(Extract.) *Beyrout, June* 22, 1861.

I HAVE the pleasure to report that quiet continues to prevail in this part of Syria, and that those portions of the population who had sought shelter in Beyrout during the winter are now returning to their villages. At the request of the Protestants of Hasbeya, I have made arrangements with Fuad Pasha for their conveyance to their homes, and the continuance, for a time, of the Government aid they have hitherto received at Beyrout.

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MAPS

REFERRED TO AT PAGE 104,

OF THE

"CORRESPONDENCE

(PART II.)

RELATING TO THE

AFFAIRS OF SYRIA."

Presented to Parliament, July 15, 1861.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1861.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

THE LEBANON.

DIVIDED INTO KAIMAKAMIYES ACCORDING TO THE COMMISSIONER'S 1ST PROJECT, OF XLVII ARTICLES.

a. The Druse Population of the Metn was to have been exchanged with a portion of the Christian population of the mixed Districts

b Zahleh, a separate Muderiyeh, under a mixed administration

c. It was proposed that Deir el Kamar and a part of the Aklim of Menâsif should form part of the Christian administration. Fuad Pasha desired to annex it under a Mussulman to the adjoining Aklim of Kharub

d. As the majority of the population of the Kharub is Mussulman, and as the soil is the exclusive property of Druses or Moslems, Fuad Pasha suggested that this Aklim should be detached from the Druse Kaimakamyeh, and placed under a Moslem administration, of which Deir el Kamar was to have been the seat

e As the population of this portion of the mountain is Christian, and the property Druse, it was proposed to give estates elsewhere to the Druse land owners, and invite a portion of the Christian Population of the Druse Kaimakamyeh to occupy the vacated territory: by this and similar arrangements the Christians would have been in a great measure separated from the Druses and made proprietors, instead of tenants of the lands they occupy.

1. It was proposed to connect the Southern Christian Kaimakamyeh with the Northern one by a slip of land along the coast. Fuad Pasha suggested instead the erection of the Southern District into a separate Christian Kaimakamyeh: and in this he was supported by the Austrian and British Commissioner

2 Lower el Kurah does not at present form part of the Lebanon. Its population is almost exclusively Greek Orthodox. It is proposed to reannex it to the Lebanon.

3 Tripoli, Beirût, and Sidon, with their adjoining Districts, are under the immediate jurisdiction of the Porte.

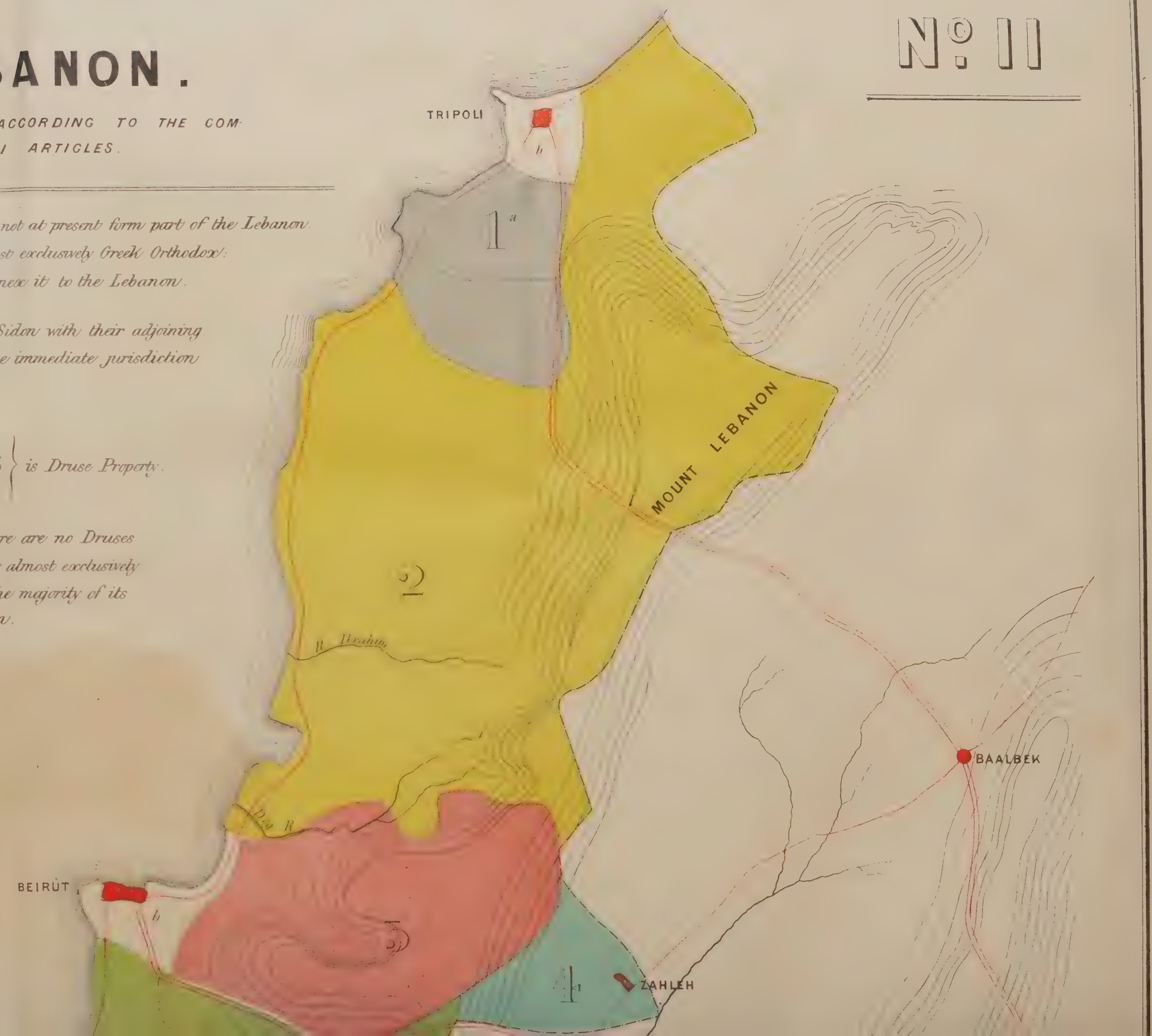
N°. I

CATHOLIC & ORTHODOX
GHARB
DAIRD
Schahar
R. Damur
MANASIF
DEIR EL KAMAR
DRUSE
SHEF
KHARRUB
SIDON
MARONITE
TEFFAH
R. Zaherani
R. Litany
MOUNT LEBANON
ANTI LEBANON
DAMASCUS
RASCHEIYA
HERMON
MOUNT
HASBEIYA
R. Kasmiyeh
R. Jordan
TYRE
Edwyns Burnaby Jr.
Lt Colonel

THE LEBANON.

DIVIDED INTO CIRCUMSCRIPTIONS ACCORDING TO THE COMMISSIONER'S IIND PROJECT, OF XVI ARTICLES.

1 KÛRAH	*a. Lower El Kurah does not at present form part of the Lebanon. Its population is almost exclusively Greek Orthodox. It is proposed to reannex it to the Lebanon.*
2 EZ ZAWÎEH	
JIBBET	*b. Tripoli, Beirût and Sidon with their adjoining Districts are under the immediate jurisdiction of the Porte.*
BSCHERREH	
BATRÛN	*c. The fifth part of 3 / The greater part of 5 } is Druse Property. / The whole of 7*
JEBEIL	
MUNEITEIRA	*d. (In The Kharub) There are no Druses though the property is almost exclusively Druse or Moslem. The majority of its population is Moslem.*
FETÛH	
KESRAWAN	
7 METN	
4 ZAHLEH	
5 GHARB	
JURD	
ARKÛB	
SHÛF	
SCHAHÂR	



Nº II

6 DEIR EL KAMAR

7 TEFFAH

DJEZZIN

R. Damur

DEIR EL KAMAR

6

d

KHARÛB

SIDON

b

7

R. Taberani

R. Kasmieh

TYRE

MOUNT LEBANON

R. Litany

ANTI LEBANON

DAMASCUS

RASCHEIYA

HERMON

HASBEIYA

MOUNT

Edwyn S Burnaby Jr
Le Colonel

THE LEBANON,

Divided into Circumscriptions, according to the Commissioners' Second Project of XVI Articles.

1. KÛRAH.

Greek Orthodox	9,000
Moslems and Metawaly	1,000
Maronites	500

2. EZ-ZAWÎEH. JIBBET. BSCHERREH. BATRÛN. JEBEIL. MUNEITEIRA. FETÛH. KESRAWAN.

Maronites	62,000
Greek Orthodox	3,500
Moslems and Metawaly	2,100
Greek Catholic	1,500

3. METN and SAHEL.

Maronites	18,750
Greek Orthodox	11,000
Druses	7,910
Greek Catholic	5,750
Moslems and Metawaly	420

4. ZAHLEH.

Greek Catholic	15,000
Moslems and Metawaly	2,005
Greek Orthodox	2,000
Druses	600
Maronites	600

5. GHARB. JURD. ARKÛB. SHÛF. SCHAHÂR. MENÂSIF. KHARUB.

Druses	24,000
Maronites	17,000
Greek Catholic	9,675
Greek Orthodox	4,875
Moslems and Metawaly	4,385
Protestants	500

6. DEIR-EL-KAMAR.

Maronites	3,300
Greek Catholic	(?) 1,950
Druses	700
Jews	290

7. TEFFÂH. JEZZÎN.

Maronites	5,750
Greek Catholic	5,500
Moslems and Metawaly	200

REMARK.

The statistics of population in this table ar the only official returns in existence. probably very correct, but the error is in Christian portion of the population.

TOTALS OF EACH SE

MARONITES

GREEK CATHOLIC.. 38,

DRUSES .. 35,

GREEK ORTHODOX 30,3

MOSLEMS & METAWALY. 10,510.

PROTESTANTS .. 500.

JEWS .. 290.

EDWYN S. BUR